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No. 1

A WISDOM FROM THE DEAD

Slowly all-devouring earth
Obliterates my death and birth,—
Creeping cannibal of clay,
Wastes and crumbles me away.

All-devouring, for he feeds
On the fanes of countless creeds,
On prison-walls and palace-towers
And the immeasurable hours.

Thou that movest overhead,
Mark a wisdom from the dead:
I have learned, dissolving here,
Man's sole enemy is fear.

My whole life long I was afraid,
Doubted, hesitated, prayed,—
A minim lost within a maze
Of dusty and deceitful days.

Sorely worn I wandered till
Down I sank and lay right still,
Believing in my quiet bed
It was better to be dead.

No. Light from heat, and peace from pain!
Ah, friend, were I to live again,
Fate I should face with stoic brow;
But I must pass to silence now.

We are. We cease. We shall not be.
Change only is eternity;
And good and evil, sweet or strange,
Are changing ministers of Change.

GEORGE HERBERT CLARKE.

THE INHERITANCE OF TALENT AMONG CANADIANS*

OF all the single factors making for the success of an individual or a group, the most influential is that of intelligence. Compared with this factor all others pale into insignificance. Consequently any reliable information regarding the intelligence of Canadians is of major importance to all of us. In this address I hope to present certain facts gathered from intelligence tests given to Canadians—to adults as well as to school children. Since intelligence is a trait that is passed on by heredity from generation to generation it matters little whether the facts about it are gained from young or old.

Although many attempts had been made to measure intelligence prior to 1905, it is generally conceded that Binet's Scale produced in that year was the first test on which reliance could be placed. That it was not considered a final measure is shown by the fact that Binet himself twice improved it (in 1908 and 1911) and other workers have since continued the search for improved forms of intelligence tests. Of first importance was the discovery of group tests by American psychologists which, as the name implies, could be given to groups of people at one and the same time. To Otis, more than to any single worker, the success of the first group test—the American Army Alpha Test of intelligence—is due. This test, given to all recruits of the American army during the Great War, proved its worth from the start. Feeble-minded recruits who could not be entrusted with a bag of Mill's bombs in a front line trench were soon weeded out; very intelligent recruits were given commissions and other positions of responsibility in the army. Before the Armistice was concluded the Army Alpha had been given to more than 1,800,000 recruits. As these men were drawn by quota from every state of the Union, a mass of valuable information rela-

*Lecture given before a General Meeting of the S. E. A., Regina, Easter, 1927.

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tive to the average intelligence of the American people as a whole was to hand. After the war the results were carefully analysed and published as Vol. XV of the "Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences" in 1921. The volume is a veritable gold mine of information, but only those facts pertinent to our subject will be mentioned.

The first thing that strikes anybody who studies the results of intelligence testing in the American army is the great diversity of the intelligence ratings there shown. Not only do the intelligence ratings differ greatly according to the Camps in which they were made, but they also differ according to occupational groups, according to the arm of service, according to nativity, according to race, according to states from which recruits were drawn, and, in fact, in every conceivable way.

The editor of the memoir gives tables of distribution by states but does not analyse them. Perhaps discretion was the better part of valour. However, I have taken the trouble to analyse the Table which gives the scores of groups I and II, white draft, by states. These men were the literates of the army and took only the Alpha test which demanded facility in the reading and writing of English. They represent, therefore, the more intelligent men found in the American army. Table I gives a summary of the findings. It is arranged in the order of least frequency of grade D, the lowest grade of the table.

Table I. Percentage Distribution of Letter Grades in Intelligence by States arranged according to lowest ranking in D's.

States	D	C	B	A
Utah . . . . .	.7	79.4	13.8	6.1
California	1.1	74.8	15.7	8.2
Washington	1.6	71.7	15.6	11.1
Oregon	2.0	71.6	16.7	9.7
Nevada	2.4	79.0	14.9	3.7
Idaho	2.8	74.0	16.3	6.9
Wyoming	3.0	74.1	16.3	6.6
Connecticut	3.0	74.5	14.3	8.1
New York	3.2	79.5	11.3	6.1
Vermont	3.4	74.6	12.8	9.2
Massachusetts	3.9	73.0	13.0	10.2
Maine	4.37	76.5	11.0	8.3
Montana	4.4	78.7	12.2	4.7
Minnesota	5.0	78.3	10.9	5.8
Nebraska	6.0	78.1	11.9	4.0

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District of Columbia	6.5	62.4	15.6	15.6
Iowa	7.0	75.0	11.3	6.7
Colorado	7.1	68.4	14.2	10.1
Kansas	7.9	76.9	10.2	4.8
Pennsylvania	8.3	74.0	11.4	6.3
New Hampshire	8.7	71.6	14.8	4.9
Rhode Island	8.7	78.0	9.3	4.1
South Dakota	9.0	75.6	9.2	6.2
New Mexico	9.2	79.4	7.6	3.8
Michigan	9.3	74.2	11.0	5.7
Ohio	9.3	68.5	13.7	8.5
Illinois	9.7	73.0	11.4	5.7
Missouri	9.8	75.7	9.9	4.6
Total White	10.0	73.7	10.8	5.6
Indiana	10.3	77.6	9.5	2.6
Florida	10.7	70.4	6.4	12.8
Oklahoma	11.3	77.8	7.7	3.2
Texas	12.2	78.2	6.9	2.6
North Dakota	12.6	73.3	9.6	4.6
West Virginia	15.1	71.2	9.4	4.3
Wisconsin	15.4	68.8	10.1	5.7
Maryland	15.6	73.1	7.3	4.1
South Carolina	16.7	76.1	5.0	2.2
Louisiana	19.1	73.3	5.4	2.2
Alabama	19.2	71.6	6.0	3.2
Mississippi	19.3	75.8	3.9	1.0
Virginia	20.0	66.2	10.3	3.6
Tennessee	20.2	69.3	7.9	2.6
Georgia	20.8	70.4	6.7	2.1
North Carolina	20.9	72.5	4.4	2.1
Arkansas	23.8	72.3	3.2	.6
Delaware	26.8	61.2	5.6	6.4
Kentucky	28.5	64.7	4.6	2.3
New Jersey	28.7	56.3	9.6	5.4

Although Utah is found at the head of the list, Washington can claim to be the most intelligent state of the Union if all grades are taken into consideration. But Washington is closely followed by Oregon, California and Utah. The point to notice is that the states of the Pacific slope stand highest on the list, although the other western states—Idaho, Wyoming and Nevada—are not far behind. The New England states with Massachusetts in the lead are next in order. Following these we get a group of mid-western states, and finally, at the foot of the list, come the Southern states, Kentucky and Arkansas run a close race for bottom place, although New Jersey is not far above them.

A considerable number of men born in foreign countries were included in the American army and were tested along with the native-born recruits. The main findings relative to the grades they made are given in Table II.

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Table II. Rank order of Countries according to percentage of final letter grades better than D and also according to the percentage of A and B letter grades combined.

Rank order	Per cent. D, D—, E	Rank order	Per cent. A, B
England	8.7	England	19.7
Holland	9.2	Scotland	13.0
Denmark	13.4	White Draft	12.1
Scotland	13.6	Holland	10.7
Germany	15.0	Canada	10.5
Sweden	19.4	Germany	8.3
Canada	19.5	Denmark	5.4
Belgium	24.0	Sweden	4.3
White Draft	24.1	Norway	4.1
Norway	25.6	Ireland	4.1
Austria	37.5	All foreign countries . . .	4.0
Ireland	39.4	Turkey	3.4
Turkey	42.0	Austria	3.4
Greece	43.6	Russia	2.7
All foreign countries . . .	45.6	Greece	2.1
Russia	60.4	Italy . . . . .	.8
Italy	63.4	Belgium . . . . .	.8
Poland	69.9	Poland . . . . .	.5

Combining these results into one scale we get Table III.

Table III. Intelligence and Nativity of Foreign-born recruits in terms of theoretical combined scale.

Country	Mean of Combined Scale	Standard Duration	Number of cases	Mean Mental Age
Canada	13.74	2.71	948	13.29
England, Ireland & Scotland	13.37	2.83	1214	13.00
Denmark, Norway & Sweden	13.30	2.41	1610	12.95
Germany and Austria	13.17	2.69	597	12.85
Greece	11.90	2.57	573	11.86
Russia	11.16	2.96	2701	11.28
Italy	11.04	2.60	4002	11.19

Reference to Table II shows that the range of differences between the countries is a very wide one. Among the men from England only 8.7 per cent. were rated D or less, while among the Russians, Italians and Poles almost two-thirds were so rated. In general, the English and Scandinavian speaking countries stand high in the list, while the Slavic and Latin countries stand low. If now the high ranks A and B are considered, England and Scotland are found to contribute a greater percentage than the White Draft taken as a whole, while Holland and Canada do not fall much below it. Again

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the Latin and Slavic countries are now, Poland once more being at the bottom of the list.

Table III, which shows a combination of all examinations and therefore is the most reliable, places Canada at the head of the list and the British Isles second. Italy, Russia and Greece make a poor showing, the average mental age of recruits from these countries being about two years lower than that of Canadians.

We have taken some time to present the foregoing data. Owing to the fact that such large number are under consideration, the results possess a high degree of reliability. Their interpretation is somewhat difficult, but it will nevertheless be attempted. Why should the people of the Pacific slopes be more intelligent than the rest of Americans? The answer seems to be *selection*. When the Pacific slopes were peopled, only the hardier, the more intelligent and those showing greatest tenacity of purpose were enabled to survive the dangers of the great trek and force the mountain barriers to reach the chosen land. Those of you who saw the moving picture called "The Covered Wagon" will appreciate the argument I am trying to advance. The feeble-minded were left at home. In later times California has been peopled largely by retired merchants and professional men from other parts of the States. Their success in life points to a degree of intelligence higher than the average. This relatively high intelligence has been passed on to succeeding generations so that now California as a whole possesses a more intelligent population than is found elsewhere in the United States.

This factor of progressive selection is no new feature in the history of the world. Nomads of the deserts, rigidly selected for physical and mental fitness, have repeatedly swarmed down on their neighbours, conquered them, and set up virile empires. The Arabs swarmed across Egypt and North Africa, and, crossing the Straits of Gibraltar, established the Moorish Kingdom of Spain. The Mongols and Manchus in China, the Moguls in India, the Hebrews of Exodus fame in Palestine, the Goths in Italy and the Turks in Asia Minor are only a few among many other examples which could be cited. It is very probable that the high intelligence

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of the British is due to the same rigid process of selection. Before the age of steamships and aeroplanes, the only people who could obtain a footing in the British Isles were intrepid sailors of the Viking type. These ancestors of ours, pirates though they were, were brave, hardy and the more intelligent of their tribes. The weaklings and feeble-minded never joined their forays. Founding a kingdom at home, their descendants have peopled North America and extended the Empire to the four quarters of the earth.

Examine Tables II and III for a moment. Notice the high positions that Canadians and Britishers occupy. It is with feelings of mingled pride and regret that one finds Canadian emigrants to the United States occupying the head of the Tables of racial intelligence; pride in Canadian mentality but regret that so many valuable Canadian brains are lost to their native land. For I have not the slightest doubt that the Canadians who emigrate to the United States are a selected group—the more intelligent and more enterprising among us, although, perhaps, a little less loyal than we who stay behind.

This high standing of Canadians in the United States is confirmed in many ways but I will only give one proof. Ellsworth Huntingdon in a new book entitled "The Pulse of Progress" has analysed the occupations of foreign-born persons listed in "Who's Who", 1924-25, now domiciled in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Minnesota. Calculating per each 100 that would be expected if the foreign-born population produced eminent people at the same rate as native-born in proportion to the men over twenty-one years of age, he obtains Table IV.

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Table IV. Number of Foreign-born persons in "Who's Who", 1924-25, in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota calculated on the basis that would give 100 Americans to each profession.

Occupation	Actual No. of persons	Old Russia	Italy	Old Austria-Hungary	Scandinavia	Germany	France, Switzerland, Belgium & Netherlands	Ireland	Great Britain	Canada	All
Government . .	19	0	0	16	43	5	0	0	68	49	18
Law	13	0	0	20	0	12	0	51	33	121	15
Journalism . .	13	0	0	0	55	0	59	0	138	247	31
Medicine . . .	31	0	50	14	14	32	30	0	81	477	38
Literature . .	24	16	0	9	18	25	0	36	210	247	38
Business . . .	48	4	0	0	20	14	68	45	168	231	33
Art	15	17	0	20	38	35	250	75	97	262	50
Music	38	185	268	104	34	384	150	0	785	468	229
Engineering . .	14	32	0	0	36	11	0	0	122	163	39
Science	28	5	0	5	10	52	45	20	65	117	25
Education . . .	78	2	13	11	22	33	108	21	70	353	38
Religion	67	5	0	18	70	54	25	134	310	344	69
All (%)* . . .		8	10	13	27	33	54	35	130	245	38
Total number of persons* . .	395	17	8	22	49	65	23	17	94	99	

Table IV reads that the foreign-born men listed in the American "Who's Who" produced medical men on the basis of 100 for American native-born in the proportions of 0 for Russia, 50 for Italy, 14 for Austria-Hungary, and 477 for Canada. In other words Canada produced four and three-quarters times as many medical men, sufficiently eminent to be listed in "Who's Who", as the Americans. In only one branch, Government, does Canada fall below her quota, and this is only to be expected. The Canadians in the United States become eminent on the average two and one-half times as frequently as the Americans, despite the handicap of foreign birth. Obviously if America wants to restrict her immigration by means of the 'Quota', she should aim to keep out as far as possible Russians (Poles), Italians and Greeks and encourage in their stead Canadians, Britishers, Germans and Danes. And this is exactly what her 'Quota' regulations are designed to do. They are a direct result of the American army tests which opened the eyes of American statesmen to

*Including 2 farmers, 2 social workers, and 3 labour leaders.

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the dangers of diluting the intelligence of the native stock with large numbers from races of inferior intelligence. For its quota percentages the first set of regulations deliberately went back to the 90's, when the centre of immigration was Copenhagen rather than Constantinople, and when the so-called Nordic element was far more numerous than the Latin and Slav.

One more curious illustration of the reality of progressive selection can be drawn from the American Army results. The negroes as a whole showed a striking inferiority of intelligence when compared with the white recruits. Table V shows the percentages of negro and white recruits making various ratings.

Table V. Comparison of ratings of negro and white recruits in the American Army.

Race	No. of cases	Percentage making grade						
		D—	D	C—	C	C+	B	A
Whites, Groups I, II, IV	.93,973	7.0	17.1	23.8	25.0	15.0	8.0	4.1
Negroes, Group IV	. . . .18,891	49.0	29.7	12.9	5.7	2.0	0.6	0.1

More than three-quarters of the negro recruits graded D and D—; only one-quarter of the whites were similarly rated. If, however, the ratings of the northern negroes are separated from those of the southern negroes, we find a striking difference between them. The northern negroes, as can be seen from Table VI, make a far greater showing than the southern. In other words, the more intelligent and more enterprising negroes have left the region of 'Jim Crow' cars and emigrated north beyond the Mason-Dixon line; the less intelligent have stayed at home.

Table VI. Comparison of northern and southern negroes. Percentage distribution by letter grades.

Group V. Negroes of Five Northern States

State	No. of cases	D ₁	D	C—	C	C+	B	A
Illinois	1,139	10.6	32.4	28.1	18.5	6.5	2.4	1.4
Indiana	259	20.1	19.7	25.4	22.0	8.5	3.9	0.4
New Jersey ...	967	22.2	28.6	24.7	15.8	6.0	2.2	0.4
New York	1,264	7.0	31.9	26.0	20.7	9.5	4.0	0.8
Pennsylvania ..	1,076	18.1	34.3	24.5	15.3	6.1	1.5	0.2
Total	4,705	14.4	31.2	25.8	18.0	7.2	2.7	0.7

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Group IV. Negroes of Four Southern States

Alabama . . .	1,342	67.6	20.8	7.4	3.2	0.7	0.2	0.1
Georgia	2,187	51.9	33.9	10.4	2.9	0.6	0.3	0.1
Louisiana . . .	1,398	55.3	28.9	11.2	3.4	0.9	0.4	
Mississippi . . .	1,919	57.1	30.2	9.2	2.8	0.8		
Total	6,846	57.0	29.2	9.6	3.4	0.7	0.2	0.1

Not only was intelligence found to vary with region and and race, but also with occupation. The median ratings, C—, C, C+, etc., obtained by various occupational groups were as follows:

- C— Labourer, Miner, Teamster, Barber.
- C Horseshoer, Bricklayer, Cook, Baker, Painter, General Blacksmith, General Carpenter, Butcher, Gen. Machinist, Hand Rivetter, Tel. and Tel. Lineman, Gen. Pipefitter, Plumber, Tool and Gauge Maker, Gunsmith, Gen. Mechanic, Gen. Auto Repairman, Auto Engine Mechanic, Auto Assembler, Ship Carpenter.
- C+ Concrete Const. Foreman, Stock-keeper, Photographer, Telegrapher, R.R. Clerk, Filing Clerk, Gen. Clerk, Army Nurse, Book-keeper.
- B Dental Officer, Mechanical Draftsman, Accountant, Civil Engineer, Medical Officer.
- A Engineer Officer.

These are almost in the order of Taussig's classification of occupations. The higher occupational groups demand and secure a higher degree of intelligence from those pursuing them than do the lower and less skilled groups. Memoir XV does not show the relative mobility of occupational groups, but it is very probable that some occupations, more than other, lend themselves to migration from one part of the country to another and even from one country to another on the part of the persons engaged in them. Huntingdon in "The Pulse of Progress" mentioned earlier, has measured the migratory tendencies of certain occupational groups listed in "Who's Who" for the United States. The Migratory Indices for fifteen groups are listed below:

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Index of Migration</i>
Farmers . . . . .	.72
Government officials	1.09
Lawyers	1.27
Editors, journalists	1.31
Doctors, surgeons, etc.	1.34
Authors, lecturers, etc.	1.35
Business men	1.36
Artists, architects	1.43
Musicians	1.44
Philanthropists, publicists	1.59

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Labour leaders	1.65
Engineers	1.67
Scientists	1.69
Educators	1.69
Religious leaders	1.77

The relative average intelligence of a community must be affected by this differential mobility of occupational groups.

The British Columbia School Survey

So far we have dealt with borrowed evidence, as it were, regarding the intelligence of Canadians and the factors which might probably have had an influence upon it. Fortunately it is possible to offer direct objective data gathered from a personal investigation into the matter. In the summer of 1924, I was requested to conduct a testing programme in the schools of British Columbia in connection with the School Survey that was then being undertaken by Dr. J. H. Putman and Dr. G. M. Weir. A most comprehensive set of intelligence tests and educational tests was elaborated, and carried out in November of the same year. It is not my intention to enter into details of the Survey. Suffice it to say that 10,000 elementary school pupils were given an intelligence test and 7 educational tests; 5,000 High School pupils and all the Normal School students were given an intelligence test and 8 educational tests; and 500 freshmen students in British Columbia University were given an intelligence test. In addition, 500 Chinese and Japanese pupils of the Vancouver Public Schools were given a special intelligence test which did not involve either reading or writing. What I shall say refers to the results obtained from the intelligence tests given to High School pupils, Normal School students, Freshmen of the University of British Columbia, and to the Chinese and Japanese pupils of the Vancouver Public Schools.

The Intelligence Test used was a modification of the American Army Alpha which had proved its reliability when used in successive years on students in Toronto. Results obtained from the test could, therefore, be usefully compared with those obtained in Toronto, and, within limits, with those obtained from the Army Alpha itself. Each pupil was required to state his or her grade, sex, date of birth, birthplace, race, birthplace of parents, occupation of father, and names

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of school, teacher, and municipality in which the school was situated. By judicious procedures, a number of extraordinarily interesting comparisons were made. The labour of computation was enormous, over 1000 hours of work being found necessary.

The first question we asked ourselves was—how do the scores obtained by pupils in British Columbia compare with those obtained by similar groups elsewhere? The answer is found in Table VII.

Table VII. Intelligence Test Scores: Comparisons of median scores of various groups in British Columbia with similar groups outside.

British Columbia Groups			Groups Elsewhere		
Name of Group	No. of cases	Median Score	Name of Group	No. of cases	Median Score
Grade IX	1695	75.0	Grade IX, Mt. Pleasant	91	85.0
Grade X	1372	87.4	Grade IX, Milan	99	85.0
Grade XI	1093	100.9	Grade X, Mt. Pleasant..	69	101.0
Normal School Students	568	104.9	Grade X, Milan	45	99.0
U.B.C. Freshmen	508	113.8	Grade XI, Mt. Pleasant	46	120.0
U.B.C. Graduates	45	137.1	4 Normal Schools, U.S.A.		
			M.	163	115.0
			7 Normal Schools, U.S.A.		
			F.	723	111.0
			Ohio State University,		
			Freshmen	2021	102.0
			Ohio State Univ., Grads.	51	133.0
			Univ. of Tor. Grads, 1921	118	129.3
			" " " 1922	178	132.8
			" " " 1923	232	135.2
			" " " 1924	258	134.8
			33 Colleges, U.S.A.....	4750	127.0

While the High School and Normal School results are rather disappointing, the University students, both of British Columbia and Toronto, compare very favourably with similar groups of the United States.

The next enquiry was to find out if the pupils born in British Columbia were of higher or lower intelligence than those born elsewhere. In other words, was immigration into British Columbia raising or lowering the average intelligence of its people? There is reason to believe, from evidence al-

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ready given, that immigration during the two decades ending in 1920 has seriously diluted the average intelligence of the American people. Has Canada been similarly affected? In order to get rid of the age factor and so make the results strictly comparable, the scores were turned into Intelligence Quotients. The results are given in Table IX.

Table IX. Comparison of I. Q.'s of all High School Pupils, Normal School students, and University Students according to Birthplace.

Group according to Birthplace	No. of cases	Median I.Q.
(a) British Columbia	2,475	103.13
(b) Rest of Canada	1,404	102.94
(c) British Isles	817	103.80
(d) U. S. A.	315	102.94
(e) Rest of World	136	98.22

Obviously British Columbia is not diluting the intelligence of her population by admitting immigrants from the British Isles, rather is she increasing her average thereby. Nor is she seriously disturbing it by the accessions to her population from other provinces in Canada or from the United States. The danger point is European emigration other than that from the British Isles. These foreign High School pupils, Normal School and University students, a selected group, who should not be seriously handicapped by a language difficulty, actually make a score which is below that of the average of the general population (100).

What are the I. Q.'s of the various racial elements comprising the British Columbia population? In the United States, it will be remembered, certain racial elements, those of British and German stock, were found to be very desirable as immigrants, while those of Slavic and Latin stock were found, on the whole, to be undesirable. I am very hesitant about condemning a whole race, and believe that it is wrong to do so, nevertheless, all evidence points to the desirability of scanning more closely than we have hitherto done the intellectual credentials of many racial elements seeking admission to this country. The facts found in the British Columbia Survey are presented in Table X.

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Table X. Comparison of the I. Q.'s of High School Pupils, Normal School and University students, according to racial origin.

Group according to Racial Origin	No. of cases	Median I.Q.
English	2,172	103.6
Scotch	1,195	103.9
Irish	461	103.5
Scandinavian	162	96.9
Rest of World	351	100.

The lovers of bagpipes and oatmeal porridge are justified in the belief of their intellectual superiority for they head the list. But the English and Irish are not far behind. The Scandinavian element makes a very poor showing. In British Columbia it is mostly composed of Norwegians who live in Prince Rupert and engage in the halibut fisheries. The Norwegians also made rather a poor showing in the American army tests. Yet Danes and Swedes did remarkably well. And we all know what excellent Canadians the Icelanders of the Prairie Provinces have made. I am inclined to think that the Scandinavian may have been slightly handicapped by the linguistic nature of the test, but I give the results as I found them.

In order to discover whether the intelligence possessed by parents is passed on to children, a study of parental occupations and intelligence of offspring was made. We gave no tests to the British Columbia parents, but have previously given results from the American army ratings which showed a close relationship existing between occupational demands and intelligence of workers. While the British Columbia results were being analysed Haggerty and Nash* published the findings of a similar investigation in the schools of New York state. It was thought that if the British Columbia results were worked up in exactly the same manner as Haggerty and Nash had worked theirs, an interesting comparison could be made between British Columbia and New York. The New York survey included results obtained both from elementary and high school pupils; in British Columbia none from elementary school pupils was included. Otherwise the two findings are strictly comparable.

*Haggerty and Nash: *Mental Capacity of Children and Parental Occupation*. Journal of Educational Psychology, December, 1924, pp. 559-572.

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Haggerty and Nash used groupings given in Taussig's "Principles of Economics" except that farmers were placed in a class by themselves. In spite of the doubtful wisdom of including retail merchants in group 5, Haggerty's groupings were followed faithfully.

The occupational groupings used in the British Columbia study were as follows:

- (1) *Unskilled workers:*
Miner, labourer, lumberman, teamster, logger.
- (2) *Farmers:*
Farmer, gardener, rancher, fruit-grower, orchardist.
- (3) *Semi-skilled workers:*
Brakeman, policeman, barber, soldier, sailor, fisherman, mail-carrier, truck-driver, chauffeur, motorman, factory-hand, janitor.
- (4) *Skilled workers:*
Mason, stone-cutter, stone worker, printer, carpenter, cheesemaker, metal worker, inspector, plumber, shoemaker, baker, cook, painter, machinist, cooper, tailor, mechanic, engineer, electrician, blacksmith, engraver, and unclassified skilled workers.
- (5) *Business and clerical workers:*
Mill owner, railway conductor, foreman, office worker, salesman, contractor, clerk, agents (express and station), retail merchants, real estate, insurance, manufacturer, civil servant, bookkeeper.
- (6) *Professional workers:*
Civil engineer, architect, accountant, editor, author, publisher, druggist, broker, lawyer, teacher, banker, minister, dentist, assayer, musician and unclassified professions.

The findings are given in Table XI.

Table XI. Comparison of I.Q.'s of British Columbia students in High Schools, Normal Schools and University, according to the occupations of their Fathers.

Occupational Groups	No. of cases	Median I.Q.'s
(1) Unskilled	456	100.8
(2) Farmers	573	102.4
(3) Semi-skilled.....	429	101.7
(4) Skilled	1384	102.5
(5) Clerical and Business	1551	103.4
(6) Professional	659	105.1

The results show a distinctive change of intelligence level with parental occupational grouping. A similar result was found by Haggerty and Nash as may be seen in Table XII.

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Table XII. Comparative Order of Intelligence (measured by I. Q.'s) of pupils in New York and British Columbia grouped according to Parental Occupations.

<i>New York</i>		<i>British Columbia</i>
Grade Schools	High Schools	High Schools, Normal Schools & University
Professional	Professional	Professional
Business and clerical	Business and clerical	Business and clerical
Skilled	Unskilled	Skilled
Semi-skilled	Skilled	Farmers
Farmers	Semi-skilled	Semi-skilled
Unskilled	Farmers	Unskilled

In each case the professional group heads the list, and the clerical group is second. The farmers of British Columbia apparently are a more intelligent group than the farmers of New York. Probably this is due to the fact that many of the orchardists of British Columbia are retired business and professional men who take up fruit-farming as a leisure occupation. The position of the unskilled group in the High Schools of New York is perhaps to be explained by selection, since the child of an unskilled worker will be sent to High School only if his intelligence is indubitably high. What the facts seem to prove is this important point—intelligence sufficiently high to achieve success in a profession is handed down to children.

One very important part of the Survey is that which dealt with the intelligence of Oriental children. The test given to 500 Chinese and Japanese was the Pinter-Paterson "Scale of Performance Tests"—an individual test in which a possible language handicap was discounted. There are four methods of scoring the test, the one used in the Survey being that of the Year Scale. The results when tabulated were somewhat surprising, even startling. They are given in Table XIII.

Table XIII. Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese pupils (measured by I. Q.'s) in the Vancouver Public Schools.

Race and Sex	No. of cases	Median I.Q.
Japanese males	144	115.4
Japanese females	132	112.8
All Japanese	276	114.2
Chinese males	131	107.7
Chinese females	93	107.0
All Chinese	224	107.4

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As the test had supposedly been standardized on white children of Ohio, whose median I. Q., of course, should have been 100, the pronounced superiority of the Orientals to whites was profoundly disturbing. Nevertheless, the results as found were printed in the Survey Report. As I had the original test records on file I went through them again, this time using the three other methods of scoring. The results of this later work showed that the Year Scale method of scoring was probably too high. I summarized this later study as follows: "The Japanese and Chinese are not so intelligent as Table XIII makes them out to be. But what correction should be made is still uncertain. Taking every form of evidence that is available into consideration there is every reason for believing that the Japanese are the most intelligent racial group resident in British Columbia, with the Chinese a more doubtful second."

"The superiority is undoubtedly due to selection. In the main it is the Chinese and Japanese possessing the qualities of cleverness, resourcefulness and courage who emigrate to British Columbia; the dullards and the less enterprising are left behind. This superiority of an emigrant stock is no phenomenon in world history. . . Secondly, the groups tested in the elementary schools are probably a selected group; the relatively more intelligent Chinese and Japanese children will be sent to school in higher proportion than obtains among the whites. But from the political and economic standpoints the presence of an industrious, clever and frugal alien group, capable (as far as mentality is concerned) of competing successfully with the native whites in most of the occupations they mutually engage in, constitutes a problem which calls for the highest quality of statesmanship if it is to be solved satisfactorily." *

Since I wrote the above, Miss Kerr, who kindly conducted the testing of Orientals for the Survey, has given the same test to an unselected group of white children in the Vancouver public schools. Scoring the results by the Year Scale method it is possible to get a comparison with the Survey results. They are given in Table XIV.

**Journal of Educational Psychology*, September, 1926, p. 366.

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Table XIV. Summary showing median I. Q.'s of Orientals and Whites
in Vancouver Public Schools.

Race	No. of cases	Median I.Q.
Japanese	276	114.2
Chinese	224	107.4
Whites	419	113.0

These results are more encouraging. While the Japanese still retain their superiority, the showing of the whites is only 1.2 points below. The whites are distinctly superior to the Chinese, so the word 'doubtful' written before 'second' (supra) was more than justified.

The foregoing facts, if interpreted aright, provide extremely valuable suggestions for those in charge of our immigration policies. In the first place we should avoid the obvious mistake of the United States who "pumped in population" irrespective of the intellectual calibre of the immigrants. No one who dispassionately studies the facts can deny that the average intelligence of Americans has been seriously lowered by the reckless immigration policy she has pursued. But there was some excuse for her. Her high tide of immigration was in the pre-intelligence-test days. Ours is coming at a time when intelligence can be measured with a fair degree of reliability.

It seems to me that three basic principles regarding immigration should be immediately adopted.

(1) No immigrant with defective mentality should be accepted, and every effort should be made to select those who are above rather than below our present Canadian average. Intelligence testing should become a routine procedure of our immigration department.

(2) No immigrant with seriously impaired health should be allowed to embark on an immigrant ship bound for Canada. Here again we have a workable instrument in our hands, for medical examinations are now so reliable that the fit may be separated from the unfit with practically unerring accuracy.

(3) As far as possible the morality of our immigrants should be up to Canadian standards. Unfortunately tests for morality are still in their infancy, but we could at least exclude all who had a criminal record.

These are the main principles. I have said nothing about races or colour. I would exclude none of the white races who

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measured up to the three-fold standards of intellect, health and morality. The problem of coloured immigration is a vexed one. Personally I am inclined to believe that the climate of Canada, with the exception of British Columbia, will prove too severe for most Asiatic immigrants. But we should not blind ourselves to the patent fact that the new meeting place of East and West is no longer in Asia Minor, but along the Pacific coast of North America. The Pacific Ocean instead of being a barrier between Asia and America is now, through the hundreds of steamships plying to and fro on its waters, an important connecting link. This fact alone calls for far-sighted statesmanship on the part of our rulers.

One other important conclusion emerges from our studies, namely, that it is better to allow natural laws to take their course rather than to stimulate immigration by artificial means. Assisted immigration, whether governmental or private, unless very carefully planned, will lead to the selection of inferiors who have failed in their native countries. Canada needs population, desperately needs it, but I, for one, am more concerned over quality than quantity. Quantity will solve itself in course of time, but quality through inheritance will leave its permanent mark on our people. We shall be better advised to 'grin and pay' taxes than to escape them at the expense of generations of Canadians still unborn.

PETER SANDIFORD.

IN DEBT TO DEATH

The best is ever the brittlest toy.
Joy that is safe is little joy.
In its first notes the sweetest tune
Breathes of the cadence closing soon.
The bow is bent that the shaft may fly.
'Tis night that brightens the noonday sky.
And beyond all else that perisheth,
Love is most deep in debt to death.

Alpha and Omega are friends.
Beauty beginnings hath and ends.
In this our world of space and time
Death answers birth in endless rhyme.
Each thought of you is fierce with fear
Of days when you will not be near.
But the night to the noontide answereth,
"Love is most deep in debt to death."

Only the coward heart will choose
Possessions that it cannot lose.
The best of life must always be
Clutched fast in joyous jeopardy.
I hold you now with closer clasp
Who one day will elude my grasp.
Pity and terror quicken my breath.
Love is most deep in debt to death.

Sweet, at the end the night will fall.
Even now its shadow is over all.
And still my heart in the evening saith,
"Love is most deep in debt to death."

B. K. SANDWELL.

THE CRADLE OF EMPIRE

IT frequently happens that a matter which at the time may have been regarded as of no great moment will in the course of the years prove to be of imperishable importance.

A significant illustration of this statement is found in the meeting of twenty men in the old Court House of Halifax one hundred and seventy-five years ago. They had come from different parts of the province, sailing along the coast, or making their way through a blazed path on horseback or on foot. They were assembled in obedience to the King's command and as the elected representatives of the people, and when Robert Sanderson was appointed Speaker of the House they constituted the first legislature of Nova Scotia. This Assembly represents the first instance of parliamentary government in what is now the Dominion of Canada; it marks the beginning of a policy of self-government, the continuance and enlargement of which has made the British Empire; and it furnishes the first example in human history of the granting of representative government to a colony which has remained loyal to the parent nation.

These men were trained in the art of self-defence, for the alliance of French and Indians had been but recently broken. Their presence in America betrayed the spirit of the pioneer. Accustomed to face the perils of the sea and the hardships peculiar to a new country, they had developed those qualities of initiative and resource subsequently reflected in their legislative enactments. Men of faith they were who saw from afar the social and educational advantages which their descendants have gratefully inherited. They were well fitted to lay the foundation of representative government in this country and to mark a period in a nation's life.

The brilliant celebration at Quebec some twenty years ago recalled the founding of that city in the year 1608. It also pointed to the Plains of Abraham and the settlement of 1759, which made Britain an American power. But the gathering of these Maritime men one year before the latter event, speaks not of war but of peace, not of freedom through the exercise of power but of power through the exercise of freedom. These men, representing settlements of Highland and

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Lowland Scotch, English and Irish, German and New England folk, might well have accentuated their differences and involved their native countries in endless trouble. On the contrary, one of their first legislative Acts concerned "the better observance of the Lord's Day," followed by other Acts dealing with "the regulation of public worship," "the establishment of English schools" and "the suppression of immorality and intemperance." Perusing that invaluable manuscript, *The Minutes of the First Assembly*, one might imagine himself reading the proceedings of one of our local legislatures but a year ago.

This first Assembly constitutes a clear departure in the history of colonial administration. No instance of self-government can be found in the ancient colonies of Phoenicia, Greece or Rome. These range anywhere from complete independence to complete subjection. Among modern colonizing powers, neither Spain nor France offers an illustration of a similar policy. On the one hand there is restriction and on the other conciliation, but in neither case is there proper understanding of the principles of successful colonization. The British race alone has shown an unexampled energy and capacity in this direction and has evolved a policy of colonial administration which becomes clearer and more successful as the generations pass and which has become the steadily growing wonder of the world. This policy based upon faith in the people as the ultimate source of government, saw its first great triumph at Halifax on the 2nd day of October, 1758, when twenty of Acadia's freeholders met in solemn state, and assuring Governor Lawrence of their devotion to the Crown, proceeded to the business of making laws for the good of the people.

As these hardy men sat in judgment on the pseudo-legislation passed by the governor and his Council—a Council composed of his own officials, who were also the judges of the day—and as they proceeded to make laws for the material and moral welfare of the people, we realize that a new day has dawned and that the colonists are becoming conscious of their right to freedom and of an inherent power of self-government to which the British Parliament has made a wise and timely response. At their first meeting they constructed the cradle in which the British Commonwealth of Nations was born.

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This policy was adopted in Nova Scotia when Ontario and Quebec were still under the military rule of the King of France; eighteen years before the American Republic came into existence; over one hundred years before it was approved in British Columbia, and one hundred and fifty years before the acceptance of a similar policy in South Africa.

It was fitting, therefore, that the legislature of Nova Scotia, which had held regular sessions for one hundred and fifty years, should have shown its appreciation of the historic significance of this mile post. With becoming ceremony a memorial tablet was unveiled in the Provincial Building.

But the semi-tercentenary of so momentous an event, concerned not only the province of Nova Scotia, but all the provinces of Canada and the other overseas dominions. It was felt, therefore, that a more striking and more public memorial was called for; one that would be at once national and imperial in character; one that would visibly appeal to the loyalty of the coming generations.

Every nation expresses in one form or another its protest against oblivion. Man's instinct for immortality prompts him to pick the stones from the river bed through which he has passed and set them up in orderly array. Joseph Howe once said that "a wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead, repairs its great public structures and fosters national pride and love of country by perpetual reference to the sacrifices and glories of the past." His statement is fully illustrated in history. In China, the *Toov Tang* preserved a record of the deeds of "the worthy," and the *Pai Loo* were built in honor of philosophers, princes and famous generals. The pyramids and obelisks of Egypt served a somewhat similar purpose. The Cabot tower expresses a people's appreciation of a great navigator who lived four hundred years ago.

But the event here referred to is of greater importance than the achievements of any individual. It marks a turning point in a nation's life and the adoption of a new policy which has in it the promise and potency of expanding greatness. How should this event be most worthily remembered?

The late Sir Sandford Fleming was the first to bring the imperialistic phase of the question before the public. In his

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desire to see the event fittingly commemorated, he offered a free site for a memorial tower, together with a large tract of land bordering on the North-West Arm at Halifax to be set apart as a public memorial park. The Canadian Club of Halifax accepted this generous offer and undertook to finance the building of the tower. The corner-stone was laid on October 2, 1908, by the late Duncan Cameron Fraser, the then popular Lieutenant-Governor of the province, and the tower was duly erected. A noble and dignified structure, it is symbolic in character, with its base resting on solid Nova Scotia granite, suggestive of the establishment of representative government in 1758. For a space above the foundation the architecture is characterized by massive simplicity of outline and associated with the name of Pitt (1758-1841); the next tier, somewhat more ornate, is associated with the name of Joseph Howe and other famous Nova Scotians who played a part in the reforms which issued in responsible government (1841-1848). The whole pile is an ornamental structure imperial in its character, commemorative of the birth and development of British parliamentary government within the limits of Greater Britain and expressive of a people's gratitude for the greatest gift that any nation can bestow. It also speaks appreciation of the faithful pioneers who bequeathed to us a noble heritage; of our loyalty to the Crown and the great mother of parliaments and our faith in the principles of liberty and justice as the twin pillars upon which the British Empire is permanently established.

How fortunate that this experiment in the matter of representative government should have been followed by a movement for the establishment of a popular educational system. It was expressly stated at the time that the dangers besetting the stability of the colony would have to be met by such a system. The most significant event in the working out of this idea was neither the endowment of King's College at Windsor—the oldest British College outside the United Kingdom, founded in 1789 and erected by royal charter to the status of a University in 1802—nor the starting of Dalhousie University at Halifax—although these two historic institutions, now happily united, have for the last one hundred years and more played a not inconsiderable part in mould-

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ing and inspiring the educational ideals of the Maritime provinces—but the founding of the now famous Academy at Pictou. This school of learning played a large part in training the leaders and preparing the people for the discharge of the obligations involved in representative government. The language question was faced in no temporizing manner. Membership in the colony did not carry with it the freedom of every group—New Englander, Highlander, German, French and Indian—to perpetuate the distinctive features of his own group, but rather the responsibility to share in the common task of building up on this side of the Atlantic a colony, and eventually a nation, that would be worthy of the government establishing it.

It is not therefore a matter of chance that Pictou County, Nova Scotia, has had a large share in moulding the educational and national ideals of the Dominion. Its place is largely due to the influence of a wholesome educational policy. Sectarianism was not unknown in those early days, but the fame of Pictou Academy and its far extending influence was due to its love of learning and the insistence of its teachers that in the enrichment of life and character, sectarianism and religion are two distinct things.

At the centenary of Pictou Academy celebrated ten years ago, perhaps the most striking feature was the presentation to the institution of two globes brought to this country from the old land in 1803. Arriving at Pictou Harbor, it is related that Thomas McCulloch, the founder of the Academy, would entrust these globes to nobody but himself, and, placing the celestial globe under his right arm and the terrestrial under the left, he climbed the steep slopes leading from the shore.—The seer follows closely on the heels of the pioneer; the idealist, with his celestial globe and his globe terrestrial, shares in the making of the new world and symbolizes the transplanting of the culture of the old land into the rich soil of the new. The educationalist is making possible the working out of a liberal and democratic system of government. The influence of this and similar institutions subsequently established cannot be over-estimated. It made possible the free and gradual unfolding of an idea, until to-day it is to be reckoned with wherever the flag of Britain is unfurled.

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The development of this ideal of government was challenged in the New England colonies. The result is a matter of history. It may be a part of the divine economy that experiments in the development of national life on this continent should be made in two different directions: on the one hand separation and a certain detachment toward European problems; on the other, union and a growing recognition of responsibility inherent in nationhood. The character and contrast of these two solutions became strikingly apparent during the Great War.

Let it be admitted that the negative solution of the United States may have been the condition of the success of Britain's policy in Canada. In business "nothing succeeds like success." In the lives of men and nations it is truer to say that nothing succeeds like failure. A wise nation will capitalize its mistakes and in soberness of judgment convert its immediate failure into ultimate triumph. The experience of 1776 is vitally related to the unprecedented imperial phenomenon of August, 1914, when a whole group of self-governing nations leaped like swords from their scabbards in response to the motherland and in defence of the democratic ideal that created them.

Thus what began in Halifax in 1758 when representative government was first established, was stabilized by the early adoption of popular education and assumed significant proportions when Canada's half million soldiers fought in Europe side by side with men of equal prowess from every other nation of the British Commonwealth and came to a fitting culmination when, at the recent Conference in London, Canada's status as a free nation was frankly acknowledged and proudly acclaimed.

In imagination let us repair to the shelter of Halifax Harbor and the seclusion of the North-West Arm. No more fitting place could have been chosen for a memorial tower and park. Here young people gather in thousands to enjoy the out of doors. Here the host brings his visitors to spend the day. Here oarsmen develop biceps and win their laurel wreaths. Here, too, wandered in their younger days men whose names shall live in the history of our country—Howe, Johnston, Cunard, Haliburton, Tupper, Thompson, Fielding

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and Borden. Here the pulse of the mighty deep is felt, though faintly, and the placid waters speak of peace.

“Beyond the harbor sea-fogs and the moan
Of storms and billows white with foaming crest;
Within, the guardian shore looks kindly down,
With benediction of unbroken rest.”

“The mirrored water meets the heaving deep,
The green-clad slopes merge into shoreless space,
’Tis mighty powers alone such stillness keep
An ocean’s fulness thunders in its place.”

People enjoying their leisure hours by the shores of the old Atlantic will look with pride at the magnificent pile that speaks to them a message of freedom from the past and calls them to go forward to a fuller realization of the ideal Commonwealth. Parents shall wander through the park in the heat of the day and their children shall say, “What mean ye by these stones?” Then shall they answer and say, “This is a birthday tower erected by a grateful people to inform the world that a new nation was born, and with its birth the old mother became larger, nobler and more perfect than before.”

MURDOCH MACKINNON.

Toronto.

“THE HERETIC KING”¹

EGYPT to-day is an interesting country, possessing its own peculiar fascinations. It furnishes difficult problems for British statesmen and has been for some time the happy hunting ground for archaeologists and tourists. But our present concern is with the Egypt of long ago, before Israel, Greece and Rome had come upon the stage. We have nothing to do with Alexandria, the famous seaport, founded by Alexander the Great 322 B.C., nor with Cairo, the present capital, founded by the Fatimite califs about 970 A.D., but Thebes, where the village of Luxor now stands and where so many interesting ruins are now to be seen, stood then, that is, three thousand five hundred years ago, in all its original splendour. A few lines from Breasted will indicate this: “A walk round the Temple of Karnak at Thebes is as instructive in studying the Empire as we have found the Gizeh cemetery to be in studying the Pyramid Age. We find the walls of this immense temple covered with enormous sculptures in relief, depicting the wars of the Egyptians in Asia. We see the giant figure of the Pharaoh as he stands in his war chariot, scattering the enemy before his plunging horses. The Pharaohs of the Pyramid Age (3000 to 2500 B.C.) had never seen a horse, and this is the first time we have met the horse on the ancient monuments. After the close of the Feudal Age (2000 B.C.) the animal began to be imported from Asia; the chariot came with him, and Egypt, having learned warfare on a scale unknown before, became a military empire. The Pharaohs were now generals with a well-organized standing army made up chiefly of archers and heavy masses of chariots. With these forces the Pharaohs conquered an empire which extended from the Euphrates in Asia to the Fourth Cataract of the Nile in Africa. By an empire we mean a group of nations subdued and ruled over by the most powerful among them (1580 to 1150 B.C.)”²

¹A chapter on this subject, in a somewhat different style, may be found in my recent volume, *History and Revelation or The Individuality of Israel*.—W. G. J.

²Breasted, *Ancient Times*, etc., p. 80.

“THE HERETIC KING”

We trace our civilization to Hebrews, Greeks and Romans, but we are now learning that their life had its roots in a more distant past. The debt to Egypt is regarded by some as large and important and by others as comparatively insignificant; into that general question we cannot enter. The point just now is that the strength and glory of Egypt belongs to the really ancient times, that it ended about three thousand years ago. Egypt, as a country, has had a long continuous history. Since the beginning of the Persian dynasty 527 B.C. to our own time the periods of native rule have been brief. Persians, Greeks, Romans, Saracens and Turks have held sway in turn. It is now naturally one of the show places of the world with its wonderful climate, its great river and its magnificent monuments of the distant past.

Egypt has its own peculiar physical features and one can understand that the sun and the Nile must play a large part in its life and religion. “Egypt lies in the valley of a single river. The Nile, to which the country owes its life, receives its waters from the great lakes in the heart of Africa and from the Abyssinian mountains, it empties itself into the Mediterranean at the north-eastern corner of the continent. Though flowing two thousand miles through desolate regions, its banks are mostly fertile, owing to accretions of vegetable mould brought down annually by the river when in flood. Below Khartum, where the main streams unite, it receives only one tributary, the Atbara, and then it pursues a solitary course, until at Cairo, about a hundred miles from the sea, it divides into numerous branches which find their several ways into the Mediterranean.”

Thus we have the two Egypts: Upper, the long strip of land on the banks of the Nile, a rainless and yet a fertile region; and Lower, the Delta, formed by the deposits of countless ages at the mouth of the great river. “But this fertile valley will not yield its abundant harvests without unremitting care and labour on the part of those who cultivate the soil. Through all time past the Nile, fed by tropical rains, has yearly spread its waters over the level plains through which it flows, depositing over the soil a layer of fertilizing mould brought down from the Abyssinian hills. The height of this inundation is inconstant and an ever present anxiety. If the

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water rise too high it flows swiftly on and would not, left to itself, deposit this necessary sediment; if too low, then the land remains unwatered, baked and sterile. The regulation of this overflow is thus vital to the country. The water is now drawn into canals and channels and by help of embankments nicely engineered it is divided in due measure throughout the country. To utilize this phenomenon to the full, the farmer must be ever watchful and always toiling.”¹

About fifty years ago Nubar Pasha, a Christian Armenian, Prime Minister of Egypt, declared that the country needed two things for its prosperity, “justice and water,” and he regarded the British connection as the best, perhaps the only means, of getting those essential things. It is well known that since that time real help in that direction has been given by British engineers and administrators. The problem of saving and distributing the water was always there, and in the ancient records “the cry for justice” can still be heard. A land peculiar in its form, its climate, its peoples, its culture and religion, where the gifts of nature were bounteous to those who knew how to use them!

An outline of its history can be carried back six thousand years or more, but about 1600 B.C. the chronology begins to be more definite though not absolutely precise. At this period the emperors had strengthened their position, claiming autocratic powers and divine glory. We meet with Thutmose III (Thatmes) who is regarded as “the Napoleon of the ancient East,” “the first great general in history”; he carried on war for twenty years crushing the cities and kingdoms of Western Asia, and created an empire which lasted for a long time. This led to an increase of commerce, of wealth and luxury among the higher classes, which gave great scope to the skill of engineers, sculptors and painters. So much of this was concentrated at Thebes, the home of what has been called “The Theban Papacy,” that it became “a monumental city,” one of the wonders of the world. “Two enormous portraits of Amenhelep III, the most luxurious and splendid of the Egyptian emperors, still stand on the western plain of Thebes, across the river from Karnak. As we approach them we see rising behind them the majestic western

¹Newberry and Garstang.

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cliffs in which are cut hundreds of tomb-chapels belonging to the great men of the empire. Here were buried the able generals who marched with the Pharaohs on their campaigns in Asia and in Nubia. Here lay the gifted artists and architects who built the vast monuments we have just visited and made Thebes the first great ‘monumental city’ of the ancient world. Here in these tomb-chapels we may read their names and often long accounts of their lives.”²

Before we come to our hero, we meet Amenhatop III, one of the splendid figures of the Imperialistic period, but it was a swollen condition, an artificial prosperity, and even under favourable conditions could scarcely be expected to last long. The situation cannot be expressed more briefly and clearly than in the following words: “But under Amenhatop the Third the tide of conquest again rolled forward, until the Egyptian Empire assumed its greatest extent, and embracing the whole valley of the Euphrates, the earliest rival of the Nile, and reaching up the Tigris to Assyria and Mesopotamia. While the power of Egypt had spread itself over Western Asia, the upper reaches of the Nile, though less attractive, had been brought under the sway of Thebes. Thus, for a time, perhaps three centuries, the old world state that had slumbered many centuries in seclusion on the Nile swelled by some internal national fervour into one of the great empires of the ancient world. But it was soon to burst; the forces were already at work from outside and within that were to tear away the lightly held fabric and to threaten even the framework of the kingdom itself.” (N. and G.) In the meantime this meant an increase of luxury and an advance in all the arts. A piece of woven tapestry taken from the tomb of Thotmes IV is said to be the best example of such work known to the world in the whole history of the art. Skilled workers were imported, and Syrian princesses found their way to the court. This meant the introduction of new ideas; how far these were powerful in the sphere of religion it is difficult to say.

Under Amenhetep IV we have to watch the breakdown of this system and to consider the part played by “a new

²Breasted, *Ancient Times*, etc., p. 89.

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theology." At this stage something must be said about one of the most important archaeological discoveries of the nineteenth century. In 1887 some fellahin were digging at Tel-El-Amarna, about 170 miles south of Cairo, and came across a collection of over three hundred clay tablets written in the Assyrio-Babylonian language. It was soon recognized as a wonderful treasure, a body of diplomatic correspondence belonging to the fifteenth century B.C. As the code of Hammurabi is the world's oldest code of laws, so this is the oldest specimen of international correspondence.¹ These letters show the conditions of unrest prevailing at that time. During the three hundred years of its imperial expansion Egypt had been the overlord of Palestine. The administration is now breaking down, fierce tribes are pushing in from the desert, and the rulers of the small kingdoms are appealing to Egypt for help. But in vain; the emperor is so busy seeking to revolutionize the theology of his country that he cannot attend to his kingly duties. Amenhotep IV becomes Ikhнатon, and we must note the significance of this change of name. Egypt had many gods and much of its religion, specially its worship of animals, was low and degraded; but Amon (or Amen) was one of the great gods; the state religion during the Theban rule was that of "Amen-Ra, the union of the local cult of Amen with that of the old kings derived from the north." Whether we can solve completely the mystery of the young emperor's theological views or not we can see that it was a tremendous task that he attempted, regarded merely as a political movement. He wished to promote one of the gods, the Sun-god, not only to supremacy but also to monopoly. To show his change of view he changed his name so that, as the divine element in it *aton* appears instead of *amon*. It was evident that this drastic change could not be carried out completely at Thebes so he built for himself a city, on the Nile, about a hundred miles further north, which he called "Horizon of Aton." "It is now called Amarna. The city was forsaken a few years after Ikhнатon's death, and beneath the rubbish of its ruins to-day we find the lower portions of the walls and palaces which once adorned it. Recently the ruins

¹See *Bible Criticisms and Modern Thought*, by W. G. Jordan, p. 78.

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of a studio of a sculptor was uncovered there and found to contain many beautiful works, which have greatly increased our knowledge of the wonderful sculpture of the age. The cliffs behind the city still contain the cliff-tombs of the followers whom the young king was able to convert to the new faith, and in them we find engraved on the walls beautifully sculptured scenes picturing the life of the now forgotten city.”² These ruins of Ikhnaton’s new city and part of the royal records, as we have seen, come to light after being buried over three thousand years.

After its great expansion Egypt was, in any case, beginning to face a crisis; even a man of great military genius might not have been able to avert it altogether. But this movement, creating confusion within the country, played into the hands of the various outside enemies. While many details and precise dates may be lacking, the situation can in general be reconstructed and we can see the beginning of the end. In the midst of the confusion, which was increased by his reforming zeal, Ikhnaton died and for a while things were in a chaotic condition. After many changes we come to the last of the conquerors and to the long reign of Rameses II, The Great, supposed to begin about 1325 B.C.

The great religious movement failed, the priests of Thebes were able to make reprisals to blot out the name of *aton*, and to brand this emperor as “heretic” and “criminal.” Now he is set on a pedestal as “the first individual of history,” a great thinker, remarkable for his piety and poetry. He has been referred to in pulpits as a great king who sacrificed an empire to his pacifism and idealism. There is a certain amount of discord in the judgments of scholars but it is pretty generally admitted that, while he was unfitted for the political and military duties, he was a remarkable man whose career presents a difficult problem to the historian. “While he played and sang the Egyptian Empire was tottering to its fall” (T. E. Peet); this may be a fact but it does not solve the problem. Hall refers to him “as the first doctrinaire in history, and what is the same thing the first prig.” “Of entirely original brain, yet so insensate, so disastrous was

²Breasted, *Ancient Times*, etc., p. 92.

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his obliviousness to anything else but his own 'fads', that one may well wonder if he was not really half insane." And yet this scholar sees in his heresy "the highest development of religious ideas before the Hebrew prophets."¹ A philosopher was evidently not fit to be a Pharaoh and to face the world policy of that time; that is admitted by those who acclaim him as a theologian who was, as to his thoughts of God, centuries in advance of his own age. "One might believe that Almighty God had, for a moment, revealed Himself to Egypt, and had been more clearly, though more momentarily, interpreted there than even He was in Syria or Palestine before the time of Christ" (Weigall). Budge, who concedes that it was monotheistic and intolerant, is inclined to regard it as something like a glorified materialism with a ritual similar to that of the old Heliopolitan sun-worship. Other judgments similar or dissimilar might be quoted but they might tend to increase rather than to lessen the mystery. Dr. Breasted has consistently put Ikhnaton in the highest place as one who had a clear vision of the one God, "a kindly Father, who maintained all his creatures by his goodness, so that even the birds in the marshes were aware of his kindness, and uplifted their wings like arms of praise to him, as a beautiful line from one of the hymns tells us." The latest, and one of the most brilliant apologies, is given by a Canadian Professor in a review of Baikie's book, *The Amarna Age*. "Just as in the case of the prophets, this Divine touch transformed him from the frail and diffident boy, which his physique and his bearing in other matters lead us to postulate, into a 'fortified city, and an iron pillar, and brazen words against the whole land.' Herein we have the key to his boldness, his iconoclasm, his reckless independence in the face of the hoary traditions of his realm: hacking out divine names in venerable reliefs and still defying the mighty priesthood of Thebes, outraging all conventions in removing his court to Akhetaton—in short, going a lone and erratic and defiant way; he had seen his God seated upon a throne, high and lifted up, and heard Him say, 'Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?'" Perhaps I should not have used the word. Professor

¹It is not the first time that the vision of the prophet has been connected with madness.

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Irwin does not believe that any apology is needed in his case any more than in that of Isaiah or Jesus. The real tragedy is that: “Egypt had her opportunity to become a light to lighten the Gentiles, but alas! she knew not the day of her visitation nor the time of refreshing from on high.”²

Without settling the question of praise or blame it is conceded that so far as Egypt is concerned the movement was a failure and that the condition of religious affairs was worse instead of better. Tutankamen, who has been so widely advertised lately, while we do not know much about him, shows by his name that Amen, the god of Thebes, has conquered. The next question arises as to the significance of the Ikhnaton movement for the outside world and later times. It is an interesting problem, now that it is brought to light by the discovery and decipherment of long buried records. But how about direct traceable influence? Breasted, who ranks the man and the movement most highly, declares that “the faith in one god which he attempted to introduce perished with him.” “Though effecting momentarily a forced change in art, equally shorn of its convention, and stimulating some of the best literature that has been handed down, the effort died with him” (N. and G.). On the traditional view that Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians (Acts vii, 22) there may be a direct connection. But the modern critic can not find a secure place for Moses in the Egyptians. Books and monographs have been written on “the date of the Exodus,” but it remains an unsettled if not an insoluble problem.

Professor W. A. Irwin is not the only one who, holding the critical views of the Pentateuch, would like to link together the names of Ikhnaton and Moses. “And if we come to Moses the trail leads straight into Egypt, and there certainly not to the gorgeous impotence of the official religion: the one phase of Egyptian thought that could have given impulse to Israel’s spiritual quest was Atonism. Vague as is our dating of the Mosaic period, the available evidence yet leaves it possible that Moses came in contact with and pondered over, and was himself transformed by some record or survival of this the highest thought of God which the human mind had conceived.” But alas, this view can not claim the character

²*The Canadian Journal of Religious Thought*, May-June, 1927.

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of real history. "However, the dependence of Moses upon Atonism is mere speculation. It may be that Egypt remembered Ikhnaton only to despise him, and Israel knew him not; it may be that his great venture of truth perished so utterly as to seem almost never to have been."

All kinds of lessons can of course be drawn, such as that there must be some correspondence between the seed and the soil; that even an autocratic emperor cannot ignore actual conditions and suddenly suppress deep-rooted traditions. If one man can have a larger vision of God's goodness and greatness, he can not by military force or courtly fashion lift the mass of the people to the same level. The story of the growth of Hebrew monotheism is that of a long slow growth, with ebb and flow, alternate victory and defeat; its different stages can be marked with some definiteness, it does not scale the heavens at one stroke but seeks to make each simple step secure so as to be ready for the next contribution from the many prophetic souls who play their individual part. The story of Ikhnaton is the story of one strange figure, standing out from the long list of Pharaohs as a thinker and dreamer, who, breaking the royal routine, sought to have his own vision and live his own life.

W. G. J.

THOREAU: THE INTERPRETER OF THE REAL INDIAN¹

"I long ago lost a hound, a bay-horse, and a turtle-dove, and am still on their trail. Many are the travellers I have spoken concerning them, describing their tracks and what calls they answered to. I have met one or two who had heard the hound, and the tramp of the horse, and even seen the dove disappear behind a cloud, and they seemed as anxious to recover them as if they had lost them themselves."

Thus wrote Henry David Thoreau in *Walden*, in obscure and cryptic words. Léon Bazalgette has thus expressed Thoreau's mysticism:

"Mon ami montrera de l'audace dans ses conjectures. Il cherchera sans peur à deviner le sens de mes paroles." (*Henri Thoreau, Sauvage.*)

But, in spite of the foregoing statements, it is certain that the naturalist had clear, definite, and specific opinions on many subjects, including his penchant for the Indian. References to the savage abound in his manuscripts and published works, particularly in *The Indian Notebook*, the *Week*, and *The Maine Woods*. Emerson said that no truer American existed than Thoreau, especially in his aversion for English and European manners and tastes. Granting that this was so, his interests in things American, and in matters pertaining to the aborigines, more than compensated for any lack of foreign culture. In this he expressed his Puritan strain.

It is interesting to discover the actual knowledge which our author had of the *real* Indian. In all the fields and grainlands around Concord were found relics of the now vanished race—a people gone as completely as if trodden in the earth. Wherever he went he walked in the former footsteps of the red man; and made a notable collection of their relics for which he felt as much regard as for the Greek classics.

He writes that in his youth the descendants of former tribes used to come and camp in the Concord Meadows each spring to weave their baskets, string beads, and initiate the

¹The Thoreau *Indian Notebook* has been consulted through the kind permission of the Trustees of the John Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

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white youths into the art of paddling an Indian canoe. In 1839 he and his brother John made the *voyage* described in the famous *Week*, and then continued on a land trip which led them through the Franconias and the White Mountains. This part of the country was in a very primitive state and abounded in Indian legends which Hawthorne used so successfully in his short stories. He taught in Maine during the college vacation of 1835 and made his second visit to that State—probably to relatives in Bangor—in 1838. A journey to the wilderness country and the summit of Mount Ktaadn came in 1846; a trip to Cape Cod in 1849; and a visit to Quebec in 1850, where he probably made the acquaintance of members of the St. Francis and Abenaki Tribes.

In 1853 he made another visit to Maine, where his party went to Chesuncook Lake; in 1855 to Cape Cod again, of which he made a more extensive study than of any locality excepting only the Maine Woods; in 1857 came the last pilgrimage to the Pine Tree State when he explored the Allegash and the East Branch—in a country which is primitive, even at the present time—and made valuable Indian observations. From May 11 to July 10, 1861, he took his first and only Western tour to Minnesota and the Mississippi. Of this trip he kept no regular journal, but we find that he made a few notes about a dance given by the Sioux Indians at the request of the Governor of Minnesota, although he seemed to have been more interested in the Maine savages. He makes a reference to the speeches delivered on both sides, and how the Indians had “the advantage of truth and earnestness, as usual.” Describing the dance, he writes:

“In it were thirty men dancing, and twelve musicians with drums; others struck their arrows against their bows. Some dancers blew flutes and kept good time moving their feet or their shoulders—sometimes one, sometimes both. They wore no shirts.”

He was a close observer of Indian antiquities. Walking one day with a group of friends, he uncovered by pure guess work an Indian fire-place near a river, and a spring. After the party had examined it he carefully replaced the turf—“not wishing to have the domestic altar of the aborigines profaned by mere curiosity.”

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In addition to his keen observation, past events in Indian life fascinated him. In one of his journals, published after his death, he asserted that our curiosity about the history of the aborigine should be whetted (a homely metaphor); that the historian, wielding the pen instead of the gun, had shown much inhumanity toward the red man; for the spirit of humanity, animating the so-called savages and the so-called civilized nations alike, interests us the most.

"A conceited old Quaker minister . . . told me with a sanctified air, 'I think that the Indians are human beings; dost thee not think so?' He only convinced me of his doubt and narrowness." (*Journal XIV.*)

If a man were to be placed in some remote region of our country, a knowledge of Thoreau the naturalist and the interpreter of the real Indian would stimulate his eyes to see and his ears to hear all the little commonplace things about him, which make life so unfathomable and wondrous.

Perhaps the best source of his extreme interest in Indian history is found in the eleven manuscript volumes of his *Indian Notebook*—practically unknown—and collected as a basis for the history of the aborigines which he did not live to write. This excellent anthology forms the background of Thoreau's actual knowledge of real Indian life and customs. In these manuscripts are many detailed notes from the books of the early French, Dutch, English, and American writers, bringing the material down to the time when he could co-ordinate it with his personal knowledge of the New England Indian. He illustrates the text with drawings of Indian weapons, and implements of the hunt and field. From the Moravian Missionary Heckewelder (1743-1823), he gives us the traditional story of the arrival of the first Europeans at York Island. The account bears repeating for its vividness and interest:

"There was great excitement on the shores of the island when the ship was seen, and the untutored aborigines decided that the Mannitto was making them a personal visit in the form of a large house or big fish. Runners summoned warriors and chiefs, meat was furnished for a sacrifice, the images were put in order, and an entertaining and propitiatory dance was set in motion. The runners made further re-

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port that the "house" was crowded with a new kind of game—presumably sent by the Mannitto; then, as it drew nearer, that the decks were crowded with a race of different color, one of whom was dressed all in red and must be the Great Spirit himself. An evil day had come for the red man: one of the supposed Mannitto's attendants landed and offered the Indian a glass of liquor. He drank it, staggered, fell, and awoke after some time, declaring that he never felt so happy in all his life. Such desire for joy became contagious; the whole assembly became intoxicated; the downfall of the Indian had begun, for he had made his first contact with the evils of civilization. From this event the island took the name of *Manhattan*, which is said to signify in the Indian tongue *the place of general intoxication.*"

Thoreau's notes are usually favorable to the character, customs, and manners of the red man. They are written without any system, except a loose chronological order, in a hand which is exceedingly difficult to read. To avoid exaggeration he states that the Indian is in a less advanced state of society than the Polynesian—without poetry, literature, or organized agriculture, or, in most instances, hereditary government. In writing this he seems to have been ignorant of the machinery of the great Iroquois League, which, in its most prosperous days, before the white men came into contact with its members, *extended a representative rule* from the Atlantic to the Mississippi—from the St. Lawrence to the Tennessee Rivers. He recognized the Indian's cold temperament which had a strong hold on life, but whose power was finally dissipated by the white man's ruthlessness. Continual quotations from Paul le Jeune's *Relation* for 1634 and later years seem destined as material for introductory chapters. This *Relation* treats of the real savage as the Frenchman found him. It covers the activities of his daily life: eating, praying, sleeping, fishing, famine measures, temperance, feasting, and courtesy to strangers *who adapt themselves to the savage mode of life.*

"Their religion, or rather superstition, consists *encore à prier*; but, O my God! What prayers they make! In the morning the little children going out of the cabin cry out in a loud voice: Cacouakhi; Pakhais; Amiscouakhi; Pakhais; Monsouakhi; Pakhais: Come Porcupines, come beavers, come stags!"

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The five things which a Montagnais chief said that he did not do after he became a Christian were: to love women, eat the hearts of his enemies, believe in dreams, have the desire to kill the Iroquois, or believe in sorcerers.

Thoreau explained that the Indian had a genius for diplomacy as well as for making war; that the savages were equal to civilized men in their treaties, and not essentially worse in their wars. To illustrate this he gives part of the speech of Canassateego, Chief of the Onondagas, at a council held in Philadelphia, July 7, 1742, in behalf of the Six Nations:

"We received from the proprietors yesterday some goods in consideration of our release of the lands on the West side of the Susquehannah. It is true that we have the full quantity according to agreement. . . . If the goods were only to be divided amongst the Indians present, a single person would have but a small portion; but if you consider what numbers are left behind, equally entitled with us to a share, there will be extremely little. We therefore desire, if you have the keys to the proprietor's chest, you will open it and take out a little more for us. We know our lands are now become more valuable: the white people think we do not know their value; but we are sensible that the land is everlasting and the few goods we receive for it are soon worn out and gone. . . . "It is customary with us to make a present of skins whenever we renew our treaties. We are ashamed to offer our brethren so few, but your horses and cows have eaten the grass our deer used to feed on."

Mr. Willard Yager, an authority on the Indian, has characterized this chief as the most interesting *American* of the period, and as rather better worthy of study, in so far as the data permit, than Benjamin Franklin, for instance; who seems, after all, but a somewhat exceptional product of civilization.

When Thoreau wrote the most of *Walden* he was living on the shores of Walden Pond in his native town. The rather impertinent inquiries of the townspeople about his mode of life led to the publication of this book, describing his sojourn of two years and two months: what he ate, what he thought, how he earned his living; and a few people asked him how

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many poor children he supported. The *text* for that volume might well be expressed in his own words:

"I have travelled a good deal—in Concord."

These *travels*, like his others, limited though they were, are interesting in the highest degree; the influence of the Indian on his life experience is everywhere evident. The descendants of the aborigines who used to return to the Concord meadows every year inspired his imagination. From that time on his interest in the red man increased and is found, without interruption, in all his journals. To prove a point he quotes from Gookin an account of the Indian wigwam of different types, ending with:

"I have often lodged in their wigwams and found them as warm as the best English houses." And, again: "In the Indian gazettes a wigwam was the symbol of a day's march; and a row of them, cut or painted on the bark of a tree, signified so many times that they had camped."

In the *Indian Notebook* he shows a knowledge of the early Jesuit Missionary writers, and comments on the fact that they were balked and baffled by the savages, who, being burned at the stake, suggested new methods of torture to their tormentors. Cooper insinuated that this was the purpose of enraging their captors so that they would become angry and end their lives more quickly; but Thoreau assumes that they were not only superior to physical suffering, but to any consolation which the missionary could offer them; that they loved their enemies in a new fashion, and in this way came near to forgiving them all they did.

In an aside Thoreau tells the reader of his experiments in making genuine hoe-cakes from Indian meal, ground from the corn which he raised himself. He had never found that the Indian purchased salt as he did, nor went to the seashore for his supply, but did without it. He observed that if he himself did not use it, he would probably drink less water.

"But let wild nature reign here once more, and the tender and luxurious English grains will probably disappear before a myriad of foes, and without the care of man the crow may carry back even the last seed of corn to the great cornfield of the Indian's God in the south-west, whence he is said to have brought it. . . ."

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On a visit of Governor Winslow to Massasoit the Indians shared three fish with forty people, including their two famished white guests; Thoreau observed that the savages could not have done better, for they had nothing to eat themselves, and apologies could not supply the place of food. Yet on a later visit food was plentiful and the Englishmen were feasted.

Again he admired their immobility, their self-possession, and sense of remoteness to the white man, for he had great sympathy with the spirit of a savage and decaying race. The human representatives of wild life in New England attracted his sympathies in much the same manner that the roving gipsy tribes attracted the interest of George Borrow in *Romany Rye*. He had confidence in their natural goodness and ability.

During his lifetime the Concord Philosopher published but two books: *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* and *Walden*. In the *Introduction* to the *Week* (*Walden Edition*), Ralph Waldo Emerson tells us that Thoreau much preferred a good Indian to a fine house, good dress, and polished manners, considering these qualities as a hindrance to conversation when he desired to meet his companion on the simplest terms. He had, as we have seen, an uncanny sense for finding relics of the ancient inhabitants. "One day, walking with a stranger, who inquired where Indian arrow-heads could be found, he replied, 'Everywhere', and stooping forward, picked one on the instant from the ground." At times he appeared to feel like a hound or a panther, and confessed that he would have been a fell hunter if he had been born among the Indians. His knowledge of native plants was complete, and he owned to a preference of weeds over the imported plants, as of the Indian over civilized man:

"The white man's mullein soon reigned in Indian corn-fields, and sweet-scented English grasses clothed the new soil. Where, then, could the red man set his foot? The honey-bee hummed through the Massachusetts woods and sipped the wild flowers round the Indian's wigwam, when, with prophetic warning, it stung the red child's hand, forerunner of that industrious tribe that was to come and pluck the wild flower of his race up by the root." (*Walden*).

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Thoreau maintained what many of us have long felt: *that the Indian does well to continue an Indian.*

In an admirable paper Thomas Wentworth Higginson states that the Concord naturalist depicted an Indian with such minute observation and admirable verbal skill that one feels as if neither Catlin nor Schoolcraft ever saw the actual creature—that is if one doesn't read him too long at a time so that his statements become tiresome.

Consequently it is refreshing to find a detailed account of Indian observations in his three trips to Maine in 1846, 1853, and 1857. He went North chiefly because he loved the native American, rejoiced in his skill, desired to make his acquaintance, and wished to ask him questions—"though he knew that asking questions of Indians is like catechising beavers and rabbits." His enthusiasm increased as he entered the wilderness north of Bangor.

He marvelled at the intelligence which the Indian possessed and the white man had not, and tells how it increased his faith to observe them and to find intelligence flowing in other channels than he knew, thereby strengthening his oldest convictions. The goal of his first trip was the summit of Ktaadn. Speaking of the hills, he said:

"The tops of the mountains are among the unfinished parts of the globe, whither it is a slight insult to the Gods to climb and pry into their secrets, and try their effect on our humanity. Only daring and insolent men, perchance, go there. Simple races, as savages, do not climb mountains—their tops are sacred and mysterious tracts never visited by them. Pamola, [the Indian avenging spirit of Ktaadn], is always angry with those who climb to the summit of Ktaadn."

On this first visit the savages whom he met had come under the influence of the white man and were "a sorry woe-begone lot." But the native red man still lived in the great forests to the North; their virtues he extolled whenever possible.

On the second trip of 1853 a native was employed in order that the author might have an opportunity to study his ways. In this he was not disappointed, for he found the Indian a cleaner and more refined companion than the lumberman. Around the camp-fires he listened to their chatter in

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Abenaki—"a primitive wild American sound—and gossip and laughter in the tongue in which Eliot's *Indian Bible* is written." He urged that a poet should travel the logger's path and the Indian's trail for strength and beauty to drink at some new and more bracing fountain of the muses, far in the recesses of the wilderness.

Four years later, on July 20, 1857, he made his last journey to Maine for the purpose of exploring the Allegash and the East Branch. This was a real wilderness trip, and Joe Polis, an aristocrat among the Old Town natives, was hired as a guide. Thoreau characterizes him as one of the most intelligent men he had ever met. He was impressed, again, by his Indian intelligence in wilderness matters and in common-sense woodcraft; but it must be remembered that he had the temperament to understand and to appreciate aboriginal nature. Once he heard a Chippewa lecture, where many of the Indian sounds were brought into English, which he described as a wild refreshing sound; like that of the wind among the pines or the booming of the surf upon the shore—the bow-arrow tang.

One evening Indian Joe offered to give an exhibition of Indian singing in the form of a slow, nasal Indian chant. His performance carried Thoreau back to the period of the discovery of America, to San Salvador and the Incas, when the European first encountered the simple faith of the Indian. "There was, indeed, a beautiful simplicity about it; nothing of the dark and the savage, only the mild and infantile. The sentiments of reverence and humility chiefly were expressed."

The aborigine has not acquired our method of finding direction by cataloguing ideas and methods. One revelation has been made to the Indian and another to his conqueror. Thoreau states that he had much to learn from the Indian but nothing from white men. He had so much in common with the savage that he appreciated thoroughly the fine points in their character which lesser philosophers could not see—points originating from their primitive forest environment. Yet he did not overlook the discomforts of the Indian camps: the unappetizing diet, the lack of sanitation, and the evils of a too free use of liquor. But he excuses all failings, because this child of nature has a different environment and lives in

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a different world. He treats the Indian as a human being—superior to the white man in reading the secrets of nature, in simple living, and in common-sense philosophy. The real Indian could support himself in the forest, find his way through an unmapped country, evolve an adequate system of philosophy, invent things for his own use, and develop a sufficient language. He had little to learn from our religion to benefit himself. He was remarkable for his precision and left no opportunity for a misunderstanding. Each speaker summed up what the previous man had said in council as a test of memory.

In his *Familiar Letters*, he wrote:

“I have now returned [from Maine] and think I have had quite a profitable journey, chiefly from association with an intelligent Indian [Joe Polis] . . . I have made a short excursion into the new world which the Indian dwells in, or is. He begins where we leave off. It is worth the while to detect new faculties in man—he is so much the more divine; and anything that fairly excites our imagination expands us. The Indian, who can find his way so wonderfully in the woods, possesses so much intelligence which the white man does not.”

He maintained that the charm of the savage is his ability to stand free and unconstrained in Nature, to be her habitant instead of her guest, and to wear her easily and gracefully. Yet he has grasped the dark side of Nature while the white man has seized the bright side. The European is an imported weed like the burdock and the mullein. In the struggle for the survival of the fittest he dies; his Genius judges well for him; far from being crushed in the fight he migrates beyond the Pacific to a more spacious and happier hunting-ground.

Thoreau's critics are unanimous in their opinion that he knew the real Indian as did few men of his time. He was an authority on Indian remains; every circumstance touching the savage was important in his eyes; and he was a defender of the vanishing race.

Emerson told Mr. Woodbury that Thoreau was one of the keenest observers of external nature he had ever seen; that he had the trained sense of the Indian, and eyes that saw in the night.

THOREAU: INTERPRETER OF THE REAL INDIAN

William Ellery Channing kept a *Conversation Notebook* of his talks with the naturalist. In this he reports Thoreau as saying that the savage loved to drink at running brooks which were warm, but he (Thoreau) enjoyed ice-cold water. He added that Thoreau's writings on the Indians form a library by themselves.

"There's always a slight haze or mist on the brow of an Indian. . . Indian customs in Natick are savage customs in Brazil." And Channing added: "From Homer who made a corner with Grecian Mythology, to his beloved Indian, whose life of scalping and clam-bakes was a religion, he could appreciate the good of creeds and forms and omit the scruples."

Illustrating Thoreau's sensitiveness to the mystery of the deep forest, Paul Elmer More takes the following extract from *Chesuncook*:

"We heard, come faintly echoing, or creeping from afar, through the moss-clad aisles, a dull, dry, rushing sound, with a solid core to it, yet as if half-smothered under the grasp of the luxuriant and fungus-like foliage, like the shutting of a door in some distant entry of the damp and shaggy wilderness. If we had not been there, no mortal had heard it. When we asked Joe in a whisper what it was, he answered, 'Tree fall'." This is a remarkable paragraph; only one who is familiar with the forests of the north country can get the full music of these lines.

James Russell Lowell, in his *Essay on Thoreau*, said: "Do you love nature because she is beautiful? He will find a better argument in her ugliness. Are you tired of the artificial man? He instantly dresses you up the ideal in a Penobscot Indian. . . ." To the first settlers the red man was as much of a curiosity and demanded as much study as the earth they came to cultivate; their books are full of graphic pictures of savage life; and it would seem as if now, in Thoreau, this inherited interest had secured at last its ripest expression.

John Brown, Walt Whitman, and Joe Polis were the three men who most impressed him—an original and virile trio who were significant of freedom in its widest sense: Brown fought for the enfranchisement of the negro and died the death of a martyr; Whitman wrote with racy realism; Joe Polis by his wary independence and the aloofness of his dim forest life

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preserved his intercourse with his native Gods, and thereby was admitted to a rare and peculiar society with Nature.

In the closing scenes of his life his thoughts were occupied with the Indian, the object of his heart's affections—whom he resembled in his sympathies and in his wild nature; in his stoical reserve, unfaltering self-command, and passive acquiescence. Like an epitaph for the Vanishing American he drew a final picture in his *Journal*:

“Still here and there an Indian squaw with her dog . . . a lone Indian woman without children, accompanied by her dog, wearing the shroud of her race, performing the last offices for her departed race.”

He died with the words *moose* and *Indian* on his lips.

“Thus perchance, the Indian hunter,
Many a lagging year ago,
Gliding o'er thy rippling waters,
Lowly hummed a natural song.

“Now the sun's behind the willows,
Now he gleams along the waves;
Faintly o'er the wearied billows
Come the spirits of the braves.”²

JASON ALMUS RUSSELL.

Cornell University.

²Thoreau.

ST. FRANCIS AND THE BIRDS

FOLLOWING the life of St. Francis of Assisi, who died just seven hundred years ago, there began a revolution in man's relation to bird life which has never died and which in these latter days is advancing with the creation of bird sanctuaries in all parts of the world. Always there has been a company of disciples, world-wide in extent, whose lives have been sweetened and purified by the love of birds and whose inspiration, fidelity, joy and love in the presence of bird life have been sustained and renewed by the immortal memory of Saint Francis of Assisi.

“Thou Saint Francis, blesser of our wings,
Priest of the morning lark that soars and sings,
Confessor of the Finches, loving Dreamer,
Who by thy faith became the Bird's Redeemer.”

—*Rostand.*

From the great mind before which Saint Francis bowed in such exquisite humility, the mind of Christ, there issued some mysterious and mighty power which survives all the controversy, all the bitterness, all the insincerity and the ugly amalgam that have marred the history of the world. In the presence of it men know that they are in contact with the greatest power in the world, the power of love. To Saint Francis this power was the secret life and religion and through it his immortality is a pulsing emotion, ever beating in the hearts of all who love birds. His contemporaries are but names in the history of the world. There came little from them that the world needed. From Saint Francis there has issued, as from the mind of Christ, a stream of emotional loveliness which has never run dry and which has cleansed the hearts of men and refreshed their spirits when no other power could avail. Many men, scarcely understanding themselves, expert marksmen who have carried their guns into the wilderness for the greater portion of their lives, have come in contact with the Bird's Redeemer and have put away their guns, “In the dear name of Francis of Assisi.”

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A century ago, it is said, Goethe visited the little Umbrian town of Assisi; he looked for a few moments at the portico of the ancient temple of Minerva and then he went away. There seemed little to detain him. Now three hotels can scarcely accommodate the crowd of visitors of all nationalities who flock to Assisi at Easter. They do not go to see the temple of Minerva; there are better temples at Rome and elsewhere. They go because Assisi is the home of Saint Francis and to visit the bird sanctuary. A mile from the town is this bird sanctuary, bearing the inscription on its walls, "Shooting strictly prohibited." Within the walls is a tiny monastery. A priest points out an old ilex tree where Saint Francis used to converse with and sing with the birds. The sanctuary is a world of bird song. The traveller who supplies this description concludes: "The sense that the greatest of bird lovers loved this place above all others gives to the familiar melodies of Blackcap, Wren and Chaffinch a lovelier and more spiritual meaning." Here Saint Francis "lives again," in minds made better by his presence.

When Rostand set himself to study the mysterious minds of the birds, in his "Chanticleer," he found it quite impossible to separate them from their beloved Saint. Probably in all literatures, not forgetting the "Little Flowers" and Housman's "Little Plays of Saint Francis", there is nothing to be compared with Rostand's Birds' Prayer, as representative and reproductive of the spirit of Saint Francis.

O GOD OF LITTLE BIRDS

O God of little birds,
Who made our bodies light as spoken words;
Who painted Thy blue sky upon our wings;
We thank Thee for the Day, and for the Springs
Wherefrom we drank; the wholesome grain we ate;
For all Thy care of us who on Thee wait;
The brightness of our eyes so small and round
Which spy the foes no human eyes had found;
The tools Thy tiny gardeners never lack,—
Our rakes and pruning-hooks of white and black.

To-morrow we will strive with weed and blight:
Forgive, we pray, our little sins to-night,—

ST. FRANCIS AND THE BIRDS

The stolen, tempting berries, two or three.
We cannot sleep if unforgiven by Thee,
Unless Thou close our triple-guarded eyes
And keep us 'neath Thy wing till morn arise.

Lord, if some man have paid with snare and stone
The songs Thy birds about his path have strown,
The toil that slew the weevil in his wheat,
—Aye though his net have caught some fledgling sweet,
Teach us forgiveness, though it be not easy,
In the dear name of Francis of Assisi,
Forgiving man whatever hurts or girds
Because one man hath said, "My brother birds."

And thou Saint Francis, blesser of our wings,
Pray for us!
Priest of the morning lark that soars and sings,
Pray for us!
Confessor of the Finches, loving Dreamer,
Who by thy faith became the Bird's Redeemer,
Gave us our souls, absolved them of all taint,
Pray for us! and obtain, beloved Saint,
Our grain of barley—millet—and of wheat,
So be it! So be it! So be it!

His spirit of love of birds finds expression seven centuries after his death not on one, but in every Continent in the ever-growing interest in birds and their protection. Sanctuaries for birds are world wide and Canada has some dozens of them.

MARJORIE MACKENZIE.

WAGNER'S "TANNHAUSER"

THE Greeks never dreamt of combining Aphrodite with Pallas Athene. For the sons of Hellas, the goddess of love and the goddess of wisdom represented two hostile forces, which were in eternal competition for the apple of Paris; and since the Greeks were a young people, profoundly imbued with what John Erskine calls "the love of life", Aphrodite carried off the apple every time. The twentieth century, being more frankly introspective and less hypocritical than any of the preceding ages since classical antiquity, has returned to the Greek point of view. We no longer babble about loving a woman for her mind, we laugh at "Platonic love," and we admit that where we love a woman, we love her because she is (or we think she is) physically beautiful. We do not deny that a man can get intellectual companionship from a woman—far from it. We simply face the truth that what a man seeks in a woman as woman is earthly love; if he seeks intellect in her, he is not appealing to her feminine qualities at all. Similarly, the peculiarly masculine attraction of a man for a woman is decidedly of an earthly nature, and if a woman admires a man's intellect, she admires him not as a man but as a child of Pallas; for intellect is equally a property of both man and woman.

Now this is by no means as degrading a view of human nature as it may seem. For we do not claim that every man sees in his wife a mistress only. On the contrary, we assert most emphatically that the intellectual element is necessary to assure stability and happiness in a domestic association. We recognize that, however sweet and delectable the pleasures of Venus may be, a period must finally come when they become cloying and wearisome. And then, if the intellectual companionship is not ready to step in and replace the outworn delights of the body, misery and divorce must needs result. In short, we recognize that both sacred and profane love exist, that both are necessary to stabilize life and make it liveable. But we insist that the two are different in nature and are not to be confused; and above all, we will not tolerate the per-

WAGNER'S "TANNHAUSER"

icious habit, which has arisen due to the influence of Christian Europe, of parading purely sensual love in a cloak of divinity, and investing it with an odour of sanctity. We will not have the Miltons tell us that they want divorces from their wives because they can get no intellectual companionship from them, when the facts show us plainly that what they really want is the consummation of their marriage.

The Tannhäuser legend embodies this problem which we have been discussing. Reduced to its basic elements, it becomes the symbol of the man who has drained the cup of love to the dregs, who has steeped himself entirely in the pursuit of bodily pleasures, without a thought of something higher, until even this sweetness has become cloying. As is then psychologically inevitable, he feels remorse for his foolish excesses, and seeks atonement by turning his thoughts heavenward and desiring intellectual companionship. There is the problem of the legend and its complication. We have still to supply a solution to the problem, a *dénouement*. Will he find this companionship or not? We cannot expect a definite and decisive answer to so difficult a riddle; because it is a problem which goes back to the most fundamental traits in human nature, to the very roots of psychology, and every one's answer will of necessity be conditioned by his outlook upon life, by his peculiar psychological make-up, by his cultural background. But we can expect to shed a great deal of light on this problem by examining the lives of great men holding varied attitudes towards life, who have gone through the Tannhäuser complex, to use a modern psychological term.

We mentioned Milton in this connection. Milton claimed that he wished to be divorced from his wife because he could find no intellectual companionship with her. Unable to obtain a divorce, they separated; but a few years after their separation, they reunited and seem to have lived together rather peacefully. Thus Tannhäuser returned to the Venusberg contenting himself with beauty, where wisdom was not to be had; and Milton, we must remember, was a good Christian. As a young man, Goethe spent a number of years in the arms of Venus. Before he passed the age of twenty-six he had gone through five love-affairs. With his arrival at Weimar and his intercourse with Frau von Stein, he entered upon his period

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of repentance, his pilgrimage to Rome as it were. The end of the matter was that he married Christiane Vulpius, a Venus pure and simple, without any of the attributes ascribed to Pallas. He found his intellectual companionship in the flock of great men who came to Weimar, and in his own towering genius. Thus Goethe, too, returned to the Venusberg, after roaming about in the great world outside, and being refused absolution by the pope. But then Goethe was the great heathen. Heine's Venus was his wife Mathilda—beautiful, comely, graceful, but unintelligent Mathilda. For years he gloried in her beauty and then felt the surfeit of excess.

Ich schmachte nach Bitternissen

he cried and tried to escape from her clutches. But the pope had no remedy to offer him. Heine, too, became eternally damned to receive intellectual companionship from another source (from Camille Selden in his case) and to go on tasting earthly bliss from the hands of Mathilda. And Heine was neither a thorough Greek nor a thorough Christian; he was an unstable combination of the two.

Thus we find three types of poets all solving the Tannhäuser complex in the same way, although they are as different from each other as they can be—one a thorough Christian, the other a thorough pagan, and the third a pagan Christian, or a Christian pagan combined. What do we find in Wagner's treatment of the theme?

In Wagner we have for the first time a different solution—but one which is extremely problematical. Tannhäuser leaves the Venusberg because he is oversatiated with that particular brand of pleasure. He yearns for nature, for freedom, for death itself, rather than to go on living this bestially sensual life. He goes into the world and finds what he has been seeking—a beautiful mind in a beautiful body, a combination of sacred and profane love. But in spite of the praises sung to Platonic love by Wolfram von Eschenbach, Walter der Vogelweide and Biterolf, he can think only of Venus, and yearns back to the mountain of love.

Wer dich mit Gluth in seinen Arm geschlossen,
was Liebe ist, kennt er, nur er allein;—
Armselige, die ihr Liebe nie genossen,
zieht hin, zieht in den Berg der Venus ein!

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But Urania is not so utterly devoid of charm. For she manages to persuade the degenerate lover to go to Rome and seek absolution; and after a great psychological struggle he goes. But his adventure is a tale of miserable failure; the call of Venus is too strong for him. Then the miracle happens. When he learns that Elizabeth has sacrificed her life for his salvation, he forsakes Venus for ever and dies on the spot, thus passing into the world-to-come—a world of spiritual love, where Venus has no sway.

This ending is highly unsatisfactory, because it is contradictory to itself, to the fundamental rules of art, and to Wagner's outlook upon life. I should be very glad to be able to say that Wagner teaches us in his treatment of the legend, not what to follow, but rather what to avoid. But such a view is quite out of the question; because the last speech in the play is a sort of adaptation of the Greek chorus, and expresses clearly and unequivocally the author's own views. Tannhäuser is saved; that is beyond doubt. But we ask ourselves: at what price? and the answer is: at the price of death. Now, we must not forget that from an artistic point of view, death is the highest penalty that a human being can pay for anything; in fact, it is too high a penalty for almost everything. The Romantic idea that death is a trifle compared to some things simply will not hold in the field of aesthetics. Suppose a dramatist were to teach that it was a good thing for Socrates to die, because it brought him the bliss of heaven all the sooner, how many artists would agree? A few of the minor Catholic Romantics like Werner or Brentano might; but certainly no great dramatist would. For if such a doctrine were to win the approval of the poets, humanity would have a good excuse for making examples of its Socrates and its Christs and its Brunos and its Spinozas. No; clearly a drama must confine itself to actions which can be judged by secular criteria, and if Tannhäuser's salvation is bought at the price of death, and moreover if that salvation consists of a dubious bliss in after-life, its price alone is the greatest argument against it. So that Wagner's conclusion really contradicts itself.

But there is a greater difficulty still. If Wagner were a poet of the Werner or Brentano type, we could understand

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such a conclusion, and despise him as an artist who has subordinated art to theology, and thus committed one of the greatest of artistic crimes. But the fact is that Wagner was anything but a "Schwärmer." He was an intensely practical man, who was constantly on earth, and who, as Heine puts it, resembled the giant Antaeus, who accumulated more and more force every time he touched mother earth. Wagner should therefore have been the last poet on earth to give such an answer to the Tannhäuser problem, when even so devout a Christian as Milton gave the more human solution. Why then this queer attitude on the part of Wagner? The question is indeed very perplexing.

Finally, to return to our introductory remarks. This seeking of the realization of the ideal of spiritual love in woman smacks too much of romanticism, sentimentality, and chivalry. It is untrue to life; for very few young men go out in search of ideal love and fewer still find it—witness Milton, Goethe, Heine. Why run to extremes, when it would be much more practical to advocate a golden mean between body and mind? Besides, even Wagner admits that an Elizabeth can be appreciated only after she is dead, and Tannhäuser shows his appreciation by dying himself. A fine way to end, indeed!

C. STEINHAUER.

THE PROBLEM OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL

(Part II)

In Part I of this article there was discussed the problem of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel and the relationship which it bore to the Synoptics from the standpoint of historical, religious, and theological interests. It was seen to be specially marked by the character of "spirituality." Notice was taken of the relation which it sustained to Pauline mysticism and to the incipient Gnosticism of the early second century. One primary purpose of the author was to demonstrate that in Christianity was to be found the true gnosis or way of redemption through knowledge. He was concerned to establish both the full divinity and the real humanity of the Person of Christ. Thus the elements of the Christological problem later to be resolved in doctrinal formulations of the Trinity and of the natures of Christ were unconsciously given a place of prominence in this Gospel.

In continuation, the Fourth Evangelist was faced with the problem of what attitude should be adopted by the Church toward the life and institutions of Judaism. He is quite emphatic upon the point that the Church is the true Israel, that the Hebrews by their rejection of Christ have forfeited their high religious privilege and are nothing but a schismatic sect. Chapter five is largely devoted to a polemic delivered against the Jews for their spiritual blindness in failing to recognize in the Christ the One foretold in Hebrew Law and prophecy. "Think not that I will accuse you to the Father: there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, on whom ye have set your hope. For if ye believed Moses, ye would believe me, for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?" (5: 45-47). Thus he emphasizes the unbelief of the Hebrews and sets in relief the universality of the Christian faith. Incidents in the life of Jesus such as his visit to Samaria, which pointed to the outreach of the new religion to the Gentile world, are given much prominence. Christianity is a universal religion and the Church a spiritual community universal in its character.

Thus our author shows that he had scant sympathy for the

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position of the Jews who retained the orthodox Jewish position. He was himself a Hellenist. He knew the world outside Palestine. He wrote in popular Greek. He appealed to the Greek world. His sympathies went out missionary-wise towards the needs of the wider world. His discourses reflect a good deal of that animus which from the first century to the twentieth has marked the religious relations of Jew and Christian. In his recent scholarly book on Jesus, Rabbi Klausner has nothing but praise for the exalted idealism of the ethical teaching of Jesus but at the same time vindicates His rejection by the leaders of Judaism on the ground that His conceptions were too inclusive to fit with the nationalistic hopes of the Jewish people. It is indeed the inclusiveness of the Christ-message that is so marked in the Fourth Gospel. When one turns to Luke it is the humanitarian Christ above all that greets the view; in John it is the universal Christ. The Christ of Luke's Gospel is pre-eminently the friend of publicans and sinners. This extract from the letter of an abandoned Japanese criminal may serve to illustrate the effect of that intense human sympathy which marks Luke's portraiture of the Christ.—“Still (he writes) I was not sufficiently impressed to have any special belief in what I was reading. I simply thought they were words which any preacher might have used. I put the New Testament on the shelf and did not read it for some time. A little later, when I was tired of doing nothing, I took down the book again and began to read. This time I saw how Jesus was handed over to Pilate, was tried unjustly, and put to death by crucifixion. As I read this I began to think. This person they called Jesus was evidently a man who at any rate tried to lead others into the path of virtue, and it seemed an inhuman thing to crucify him, simply because he had different religious opinions from others. Even I, hardened criminal that I was, thought it a shame that his enemies should have treated him in this way.

“I went on, and my attention was next taken by these words: ‘And Jesus said, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.’ I stopped. I was stabbed to the heart as if pierced by a five-inch nail. What did the verse reveal to me? Shall I call it the love of the heart of Christ? Shall I call it his compassion? I do not know what to call it. I only

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know that with an unspeakably grateful heart, I believed. Through this simple sentence I was led into the whole of Christianity."

In Luke it is the social service aspect of Christianity that comes to the fore; in John it is the aspect of universalism. Christ is the Light and Life of the world, the mediator of a universal salvation. "For God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish but have eternal life. For God sent not the Son into the world to judge the world; but that the world should be saved through Him." The priceless treasure of salvation was not to be limited to those of any one class or race. Christ was the Founder of a new spiritual community whose membership transcended the conventional limitations of sect and cult. Its membership comprised all those who were born of the Spirit. Both Samaritan and Jew had free access. Worship was not after the prescribed forms of the ritual service of the Temple at Jerusalem or on Mt. Gerizim; but was transcendental. "Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem shall ye worship the Father . . . God is a Spirit: and they that worship Him must worship in spirit and in truth." (John 4: 21, 24.) The author's conception of the Church carries out the Pauline idea of the one body in Christ. The great Apostle used the imagery of the body, a composite of many members bearing a close and necessary relation of dependence upon one another and upon the Head. Our Evangelist thinks in terms of the Vine and the branches or of the Shepherd and the sheepfold. "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one Shepherd." (10: 16). The Church was a communion of believers united by the intangible bonds of the Spirit.

In the ideal sense, then, the new religion is a universal religion, and its Founder a universal Figure. The author of the Fourth Gospel could say with Paul that "if *any* man be in Christ Jesus, he is a new creature." And yet this very universalism is the ground of a certain countervailing exclusivism that accompanies it. The Evangelist who puts into the mouth of the Master the words: "I am the Light of the

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world" also makes Him say: "I pray not for the world but for those whom Thou hast given me." Indeed the whole Gospel may be said to hinge upon this clear-cut distinction between the world as such and those elected to the communion of believers. In the very nature of the case it was only those who had affinity with the spirit of Christ who could enter into the possession of the "life eternal" which corresponds to the "Kingdom of God" of the Synoptics. Thus the universalism of Christianity as we find it in John was paralleled by the idea of a select community or the Church. Comprised of a membership drawn from all nations and classes, it was one with Christ its Founder, but was sharply differentiated from the world. It lived in the world but was not of the world. Within its fellowship the reign of love and mutual service ought always to prevail. But this same spirit was not necessarily to be exhibited toward those without.

We have then in this picture drawn for us by the Fourth Evangelist a reflection of the growing tendency in the Church of the first and second centuries. The Church comprised, not the world but the communion of believers elect from every nation, knit together by the spiritual bonds of a common faith. Within its fold there was joy, peace, and mutual love. History has yet to show a finer demonstration of the exercise of whole-hearted love and philanthropy than that which obtained among Christians in those days. The growing hostility of the outer world towards the Church served to intensify the bonds of affection which sustained it. As the heavy hand of Rome fell in strokes of persecution, Christians sang *Te Deums* and comforted one another. This consciousness of an inner unity of faith and interest coupled with a sense of distinctness from the external world both marks the thought of the Fourth Gospel and reflects the contemporary situation in the early Christian Church. The Evangelist is painfully aware of factions and parties which play the part of rivals and foes of the young Church. Unlike the Apostle Paul he does not give us a clear notion of their activity; yet he leaves us to assume their presence in Asia Minor. Note, for instance, the frequent references to "the Jews." Always in the background there is this constant sense of the presence of the dissenting, cavilling, disputatious Jew.—"The Jews therefore

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murmured concerning Him, because He said, I am the bread which came down out of heaven" (6: 41). "The Jews therefore strove one with another, saying, How can this man give us His flesh to eat?" (6: 52). "Art Thou greater than our father Abraham?" (8: 53). But it is of interest to note that the points at issue are not at all those which we find in the Synoptic Gospels. In the latter Jesus charged scribes and Pharisees with hypocrisy and greed; and they in turn challenged his attitude toward the Law, the Sabbath, and above all His claim to the messiahship. In the Johannine Gospel the issues have assumed a distinctly theological cast. It is a case of the question of sacraments, and the issue of monotheism. Under the head of the blanket term "the Jews" the author sets forward those stock arguments against Christianity which were raised by sons of Israel everywhere at a later time when Judaism and Christianity were engaged in open warfare. The arguments of the philosopher Celsus derived from Jewish sources and the "Dialog with (the Jew) Trypho" of Justin Martyr illustrate the later acute phase of a controversy which was already developed sufficiently to be reflected in the Johannine Gospel.

Another problem of absorbing interest in the study of the Fourth Gospel is that of its symbolism. Where does history as such end and the symbolic interpretation of given incidents begin? Recent commentaries are disposed to give a very large place to the element of symbolism in this highly mystical and "spiritual" work. It is evident on the face of it that the author was not primarily concerned with the narration *in extenso* of all the known facts of the life and teaching of the Master. What he has given us is a series of meditations upon selected scenes drawn from that marvellous life, in accord with the profoundly sympathetic insight of rare religious devotion and imagination. For such a purpose the use of symbolism was suited admirably. Says Professor Manson in his excellent commentary "The Incarnate Glory": "The allegory of the Good Shepherd who gives eternal life to His own is appropriately followed by the Raising of Lazarus (11:1-44), which as illustrating the principle that Christ is the Resurrection and the Life has the same kind of typical or symbolic significance as the Opening of the Eyes of the Blind Man in

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chapter 9. Both incidents in fact are sacramental in the sense of being outward signs or seals of spiritual realities. As events in the physical world they are isolated and abnormal; they do not permit of inferences being drawn from them with regard to the natural order of things in the Christian world. But the spiritual principles which for the moment find expression in and through them, are normal and constant. Jesus did not come to restore sight literally to all blind eyes, or to raise literally from the grave all men who have died, but in the two incidents under consideration may be seen the special manifestation of an eternal will to open the inward eyes of men, and to raise their souls from the grave of sin. So at any rate the evangelist represents them. In his eyes they have a sort of sacramental significance.”¹

Whatever view we take of the miracle narratives of the Fourth Gospel, whether or no we choose to emphasize the literal miracle as a ‘sign’ or manifestation of the divine power exercised by Christ in controlling material elements and bending them to His will, at all events it seems reasonably clear that our Evangelist saw in these incidents something more than external signs. The Jews were seekers after signs. Again and again did they put the demand, “Show us a sign.” The Jesus of history was never eager to appease this native curiosity on their part. No sign was to be given them save the sign of the prophet Jonah. His real interest was in teaching and preaching the ‘good news’ of the Kingdom. In the Fourth Gospel the author never pauses at the conclusion of a miracle-narrative but passes immediately to dwell upon the spiritual significance of the incident. It is the didactic or the homiletical interest that he is supremely concerned with. The conversion of water into wine at Cana of Galilee signified primarily the transforming work of Christ in producing the wine of the new Christian faith out of the work-righteous legalistic system of Judaism. And so throughout the work we find the constant utilization of material elements each with its symbolic counterpart. The marriage at Cana, the facts of birth, illness and death, the elements of water and bread and many other such, are made to yield a deep

¹Manson, *The Incarnate Glory*, pp. 163-4.

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spiritual meaning. Allegory and symbolism run their full gamut. With profound and real insight the Evangelist has caught unerringly the inwardness of the Master's teaching. His signs were wrought, not in the interest of spectacular display, but to inculcate the true wisdom of life. Thus Bishop Westcott has paraphrased the words of John 6: 26—"That one last miracle . . . was to you a gross material satisfaction, and not a pledge, a parable of something higher. You fail to see in it the lesson which it was designed to teach, that I am waiting to relieve the hunger of the soul."

Thus everywhere in the Fourth Gospel the narration of the incident-matter passes over into the exposition of the underlying spiritual values wrapped in the incident itself. The author is a homiletic artist: he gives us the sense of the Master's meanings, although we cannot be sure that we have a photographic reproduction of the Master's actual words and deeds. As mystic and preacher and missionary to the Greek world he sets forth essential Christianity in such a way as to present Christ, the bringer of Life and Light and the mediator of salvation to universal man. He is interested not so much in individuals as in universals; for him persons straightway become types. Nicodemus comes to inquire of Jesus by night. But who is Nicodemus? He is the type of the highly-trained Jewish mind that is drawn by the magnet of the rare Personality of the Master but lacks the leonine courage of a Paul to go forward in the way of self-surrender. He must be born again! The incident of the secret night-visit of Nicodemus is the springboard which launches the writer into a discussion of the New Birth, the love of God and the divine plan of salvation. He passes at once from the particular to the universal.

Again in the narration of the feeding of the five thousand the incident provides the setting for a lengthy discourse on the Person of Christ as the Bread of Life. It is not the miracle *per se*, it is the mystical doctrine of Christ the perennial Source of spiritual food that the author dwells upon. The external sign, the spectacular display, the abnormal show of power was what attracted the sign-seeking Jew. For such the message of the Master was, 'Ye must be born again'. The seekers after signs and those who laid the emphasis on such

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must be born again of water and the Spirit. They must discern spiritual things spiritually; they must come to see that the true values of life are spiritual. The earthly bread perishes, the Bread of heaven is eternal. In the midst of a wonder-seeking world in Galilee Jesus affirmed that the *spiritual* hunger of man was deepest after all; and in the midst of twentieth century multitudes to-day who build confidently upon the external display of miraculous power Jesus still affirms the selfsame truth, the earthly bread perishes; live in and for the Bread of Life; ye must be born again of the Spirit. "It is the spirit that gives life, the flesh is of no avail; the words which I have spoken to you are spirit and life." (6: 63.)

Again, in the story of the raising of Lazarus, whilst a double interest prevails in this eleventh chapter of John, there is no doubt at all but that the author was concerned primarily with the fact of Christ the Resurrection and the Life. It is futile for us to discuss the question of the pure historicity of the narrative of the miraculous event. Historians raise the point that it is incredible that so stupendous a happening should have been unknown to the Synoptics who were silent with reference to it. This, however, is not the sole instance of material recorded in John's Gospel alone. Moreover, there is the problem of the traditional antecedents of the story as it came to the ears of the Fourth Evangelist. At all events he himself seems to have accepted it in good faith and dwells circumstantially on the details. But apart from that it is obvious again that the author was not primarily interested in the physical fact but in the underlying spiritual significance. The Gospel is reticent in the matter of the recording of wonders—there are only seven in all—but lavish in the exposition of spiritual truths. The whole incident is made to turn upon the memorable words: "Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth on me, though he die, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die." (11: 25, 26.) The centre of attention is removed from the conventional Jewish conception of a resurrection of the dead at a given point of time in future and fixed upon the emergent Christian conception of personal attachment to Christ the Fountain of eternal life. To be united

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with Him is to enter into the possession of life. "Whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die."

Once again, in the post-resurrection narrative of the draught of fishes, while the incident as such may be taken historically or symbolically, it is evident that from the author's standpoint what was of value in the narrative was the underlying spiritual truth. There are no doubt those who will extract comfort from the fact that Oppianus Cilix in the reign of Marcus Aurelius estimated the total number of varieties of fishes of the sea to be 153, and that the Johannine reference to the draught of 153 fishes therefore implied the catching of men of every race, class, and station. At all events it cannot be gainsaid that the revelation of the risen Christ to the disciples who had betaken themselves to their former occupation, signified that henceforth their work was to be missionary in its character; they were to 'carry on' in the pursuit of men. The command to cast their nets on the right side of the boat may have carried with it the further meaning that they were to be seekers of Gentiles in the new mission. The Jews had not responded; there had been no success among them. Henceforth they should go to the non-Jewish world.

In a closing section of this study we may consider briefly some of those functions of the Person of Christ which have ever been associated with the experiential faith in Him. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with or 'toward' God," as some scholars prefer to translate it. The author of the Fourth Gospel was conscious of a metaphysical as well as a religious interest, and he was striving to give adequate expression to this factor in his thinking. He was feeling his way toward an expression of what Christ stood for in His relationship with the Eternal; seeking to fit Him into a world-view. God was nothing if not a self-revealing God; and it was through the Logos or Word that this self-revelation had been made. Professor Galloway in his "*Philosophy of Religion*"¹ develops the distinction between the God reached by metaphysics and the God required by the Christian religion, and proceeds to show that both are needed in an

¹Galloway, *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 396.

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adequate philosophy. Reliance upon either to the exclusion of the other leads to a one-sided view. "A speculative theory of religion will seek ultimately to connect these lines of argument, the metaphysical and the religious, and if possible to harmonize their results." The Fourth Evangelist was moved first of all by the urge of his religious experience rather than by a philosophical interest. Nevertheless the latter was present. He saw in the Person of Christ a World-Figure. And he was at pains to link up that Figure with the Supreme Being as well as to paint His portrait in colors adequate to that lofty station. In short, what our author did was to make use of the Logos conception for purely practical purposes in order to make more intelligible the divine nature of Christ. But his line of emphasis was quite different from that of the Greek philosophical view. It was the moral and personal attributes rather than the metaphysical that he emphasized. Christ was the Word, not as the immanent Reason of the universe according to the Stoics, but a personal, spiritual Agent, the revealing Word of God.

Having opened his narrative with this initial impression of an exalted heavenly Being, pre-existent from the beginning with the Father-God of the universe yet independent in His own Person, the Revelation of the creative and redemptive purpose and activity of God, the author proceeds to unfold his account of the Incarnation and earthly life of this divine Being. He is interested not in the Word but in the Word "made flesh." But he is careful to delineate the character and circumstances of the earthly life of Christ on the exalted plane of the opening verses. Throughout the stress is laid on the miracles wrought by the incarnate Word, as the manifestations of His heavenly dignity and glory; they were wrought for the express purpose of demonstrating the supernatural power of the Word. The miracles narrated were of such a marvellous character as to preclude the possibility of their having been performed by the exercise of a merely human instrumentality. The man healed of his blindness had been blind from birth; the raising of Lazarus was not of one on the borderline between life and death but of a man dead four days, whose body was passing into corruption. It is Christ the Word of God, the exalted heavenly Being who for

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a little time has surrendered His dignity in order to appear in the flesh among men as the Life and Light of the world, that walks through the pages of the Johannine Gospel. He is possessed of the attributes of divinity without qualification. He is omniscient.—“But Jesus did not trust himself unto them, for that he knew all men, and because he needed not that any one should bear witness concerning man; for he himself knew what was in man.” (2: 24-25.) In the words of Professor Scott: “In this well-marked strain of Johannine thought we have little difficulty in discerning the influence of the Logos idea penetrating the actual reminiscence of the life of Christ. He who became flesh was not only allied to God by the glory of His moral nature, but partook of the divine essence. He was sovereign as God Himself was, and asserted His divine prerogative, in spite of the earthly conditions that seemed to constrain and limit Him.”²

Christ was the Logos or Self-revealing Word of God. He was also for our author the Son of God or simply “the Son.” Here again we have to notice a line of interpretation which is distinctive. The Fourth Evangelist was not concerned with the messianic function and consciousness of Jesus. The historic Jesus *did* think of himself as the Messiah of Jewish expectation, although He re-interpreted the messianic role. Of that there can be no reasonable doubt. His favorite self-designation was that of ‘Son of man,’ a title drawn from the chief Old Testament apocalyptic work, the book of Daniel. Moreover, Jesus was conscious of a perfect harmony of will and purpose with His Father; such that He could think of himself as in very truth God’s Son. That relationship was certainly, however, a moral rather than a metaphysical one. But the Fourth Evangelist in his interpretation of the position and function of Jesus reflects the growth of theological speculation constantly at work in primitive Christianity. He did not work with the idea of messiahship but with the title “Son of God” which he frequently abbreviated to the phrase “the Son.” He was addressing, not Jews but Greeks. He was interpreting Jesus to the Graeco-Roman world in categories that they would find readily accessible to the understanding.

²E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, p. 170.

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The messiahship, a national role of the Jews, would mean little or nothing to them; but Saviour and Son of God were terms already familiar to the uneducated, whilst the Logos-concept was current coin in the language of the schools. It is as the Word of God and as the Son of God that the Christ-Figure appears before us in the Johannine Gospel.

The Son is represented as of the same essence as the Father. It is not the unique sense of a union and harmony of will and purpose, but the sense of oneness in nature and essence that marks the relationship between the Son and the Father. The Son is the "only-begotten" of the Father and sustains a relation to Him different from the sonship that is attainable by men. His Incarnation, His "works" and His "words" all bear explicit witness to this essential divinity. The Virgin Birth is probably presupposed, but is not mentioned. The mode of the birth did not concern the Evangelist. What did concern him was the Incarnation of the divine Son of God.

In perfect consistency with this scheme it is the Incarnation that is the pivot on which the whole redemptive activity of Christ turns. The Apostle Paul had stressed the death and resurrection and the deliverance from sin as effected by the atoning death of Christ. But in John the central fact lies in the very appearance of the Divine in human form. By His coming into the world He has become at once Revealer, Judge, and Life-bringer. He brings life and light to His own who are instinctively drawn to Him as having affinity with him. They are His own and are sharply distinguished from "the world" who appertain to the darkness rather than the light. The essential thing is belief on Christ as divine and the entrance into the eternal life which He brings to His own. Christ is Judge, but not in the apocalyptic sense of a spectacular world-judgment at a given future time when all men shall be drawn up in formal array before the seat of divine judgment. Rather His very life and character have exercised the judicial function in that they have served to attract or to repel men as the individual case might be. Thus the death of Christ has not the conspicuous place in the thought of John that it occupies in Paul. It is the portal by which the Son of God returns to His heavenly glory and thence returns in

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the spiritual presence to fellowship with all those who have entered into life through His name. Thus it is the death that makes possible that return of the Spirit, the Comforter, as a source of blessing and unity to the upspringing Church.

The Evangelist has thoroughly spiritualized the conception of the Return of Christ. To the mass of Christians looking in vain for a spectacular parting of the clouds and descent of their Lord preparatory to His setting up of a thousand year reign on the earth, our author would say that the Lord has already come. The "little time" of which He had spoken, referred to the brief interval between the Passion and the Ascension. That interval having elapsed, He returned immediately in the spiritual presence and is even now an ever-present Friend to all His own. Only to those was He able to reveal himself, and they are already reunited to Him in the bonds of love. Moreover, this Parousia or Second Coming in the spiritual sense has advantages over a visible coming at a given point of time in future, in that it is a universal experience felt by Christians everywhere, it is an inward reality and is marked by a permanent relation. Nothing more satisfying to the religious life could be asked for than such a possession. Only through the death and exaltation of the Son of God could this boon be granted through His return in the Spirit as a constant inward source of spiritual life and power.

Surely it must be admitted that the writer of this Gospel has penetrated with marvellous insight into the real meaning and the true purpose of the life of the divine Master whom he loved so well. The coarser features of apocalyptic he set aside as alien to the character of his 'spiritual' Gospel. That spectacular catastrophic invasion of the world-order through the advent of a nationalist Messiah was not the role of the divine Son of God. Nor was the spectacular visible Second Coming on the clouds of heaven at a given predicted point of time the manner of the Return of Christ. The Evangelist saw it quite clearly. With spiritual eye he discerned the truth of spiritual reality. The real return was in the form of the quickening power of the Holy Spirit in the soul of the believer. Thus in some sense it was God Himself Who continued the divine fellowship with men. As Christ who is Himself with God unites us to Him, so also in some sense are we too knit

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together with the life and love of the Father of all. Such is the height of the mystical, spiritual dynamic view of the Christian life that is presented in this wonderful book which in a unique way has fed the spirit and the flame of mystical piety from the second century even till now.

"Clear cut from alien elements the outlines of the heavenly Kingdom were gradually revealed to human eyes—a Kingdom not descending swiftly from above, but inwardly and increasingly developing in the hearts and lives of men. The symbol was not the sign in the sky, but the leaven silently operating till the whole was leavened. . . . So the Christian conception of the Kingdom of God, which is the destiny of man, is in one sense future, for it is as yet unfulfilled, and denotes the ideal goal of humanity; but in another sense it is already present, since it works as a purifying and uplifting power in the souls of men and in the heart of society." ¹

J. S. CORNETT.

¹Galloway, *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 552.

CHARLES DICKENS—TWO PICTURES OF ENGLISH LIFE

IN his earlier sketches and writings, including the *Pickwick Papers*, we see Dickens as a man full of the joy of life. The love of wholesome things, of sport, spending a day in the country with friends, or the evening in a country inn. These outbursts of mirth in literature were to a large extent the results of his experiences as a newspaper reporter. Undoubtedly his varied career had led him into many corners of life, hitherto untouched by previous writers. His earlier works at once stamped him as a master of humour. In fact his *Pickwick Papers* might have classified him as a writer of the Tory type, somewhat similar to Sir Leicester Dedlock as a believer in the squirearchy of the old regime, who hated hard grinding business, factories and smoke.

In *Hard Times* he gives us a picture of England as he saw it, with the eye of a revolutionist. It is at once arresting and the reader is held spellbound by the description given of the methods used by Bounderby and Gradgrind. Dickens paints a very vivid picture of the mean, sordid and oppressive conditions existing in the manufacturing towns at that time. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, and the earlier part of the nineteenth century, there had arisen in England an industrial situation such as had never been seen before. Due to the rapid development of steam power and machinery, the villages and small towns in the northern Midlands of England grew with remarkable rapidity. Men and women left the comfortable countryside for the freedom of the towns.

It was the age of scientific discovery, England had probably outdistanced her continental rivals in many branches. Her scientists had conceived and developed theories far in advance of others. But England did not stop here, her commercial activities made her the envy of her neighbours. She built up a huge mercantile marine service, with which she penetrated every corner of the globe. Her navigators and explorers undertook journeys others had never dreamed of. Both in the north and south polar regions English explorers carried out their work of geographic discovery.

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From these few examples it can easily be seen it was an era of progress. It was the ideal of the race and the final goal of achievement. Never before had there been such great evidences of wealth and prosperity. The nation was rich and extremely powerful. Progress had apparently reached its apex, the old order of things had been replaced. The old squirearchy which had retarded the industrial activities of the nation had been swept aside, relegated to the background of a picturesque past.

Those who now stepped in were the cotton lords and coal kings, whose code of ethics was to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest. To the few, then, it was reserved to amass great sums of money. Men and women, who were forced to work in these factories from early morning till late in the evening, began to question the right or the freedom of these cotton lords to pile up colossal fortunes at the expense of human flesh and blood. The more courageous of the workers who sought restitution were promptly seized and thrown into jail; they had transgressed the law, they were told. So this lordly philosophy of the ruling classes held sway. They argued that ruin would inevitably sweep the whole country if the workers were granted any privileges!

If we look closely we find the spirit of England slowly being vitiated and undermined. Side by side with great wealth grew poverty and gloom. Squalid cities sprang up all over the northern Midlands. Vice and greed overshadowed idealism. Boys and girls were forced to work in the factories and coal mines at the tender age of nine or even eight years. Many grew up to manhood and womanhood under this so-called age of "progress", unable to read or write. The cotton lords stormed and raved at the idea of education for the masses, it was preposterous, ridiculous and outrageous for anyone to preach such a doctrine, they said.

No! education was a dangerous weapon, they could not dream of the workingman being taught at the expense of the wealthier classes. It might create a revolution as it had done in France but a few years previously, and England if reduced to a state of chaos and anarchy and rebellion, would lie at the mercy of foreign competitors. If their workmen received more pay, it meant less profit and eventually might

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mean losing trade where they now held the monopoly in manufactured goods. So the code of ethics of the cotton lords was a doctrine of utility and aggrandizement. It was expounded in the factories and coal mines, in newspapers and literature of every description, by the town councillor, by the mayor, by the politician, by parliament, and last of all by the church itself; namely, that education was for the esoteric only and that the workingman must remain content with the fact that he was granted the privilege of being allowed to spend his time shut up in a large box-like factory. At that period the factory "hands" seldom enjoyed God's sunshine, perhaps they caught a glimpse of the sun or the blue sky through one of the darkened window panes—but that was all!

The system was inexorable, it was based on fact, it was fact when a child started and fact when the child grew too old to work. For more than fifty years these working people of the northern Midlands had been forced to bear in silence cruelties and injustices, impalpable and gross. Humanists and social reformers who tried to point out the serious state of affairs were crushed by the wealthier classes. Yet slowly a reaction was taking place, everywhere men began to question one another. It came somewhat haltingly at the first; gradually they perceived a glimmering of the true state of affairs. They slowly realized what "progress" had brought to them. Wealth for the few, and poverty, ignorance and squalid surroundings for themselves. They asked what right had any man to make such unfair demands, at the expense of human flesh and blood. They saw too how wide they were of the mark they had aimed at, when they flocked to the towns from the country expecting to find freedom there. Gradually this growth took root, and forthwith began to flourish. With it there arose some of the great champions of liberty, among whom we have Charles Dickens and John Ruskin. These two men of genius drove home incessantly the need for reform, the idea that England was slowly being choked to death by the deadening conditions which existed everywhere among the working classes. The common people were held in the thralldom of industrial serfdom. Possibly a more despicable state of affairs had not prevailed for centuries. A hard fact to face, yet nevertheless true, the age of industrialism or "pro-

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gress" as it was termed, became instrumental not only in retarding the natural process of evolutionary advancement, but actually threw the poorer classes into a state of degradation and want, for which there is scarcely any parallel in English history.

To make these references doubly clear, here are two perfectly true pictures of English life; one in the year 1637 and the other in 1856; one under the old squirearchy, and the other under the pitiless rule of the capitalist system.

The first picture of English life is taken from the diary of Lady Eleanor Willoughby. From its pages one can glean many a beautiful episode of life as it was then lived, in the small village of Bolton-le-Moors. How different the outlook on life was at that time, as compared with the outlook some two hundred years later, when Bolton-le-Moors became one of the centres of industry, as well as one of the worst offenders against social reform. It is a delightful scene Lady Eleanor draws of the May Day festivities in 1637—it might be added that the description she gives would be typical of thousands of May Day scenes throughout England at that time. She writes: "We walked down to the village at an early hour, just in time to see the procession of the May-Pole, which was adorned with ribbons and garlands. Lads and lasses were at their merry games, the May Queen in her holiday finerie, the crown of flowers, looking happier than the wearer of a real crown, I ween, groups of old people looking on. For a while there was a lack of young men and maidens. But a number shortly appeared with Robin Hood and Maid Marian." After making a few remarks on other items of interest our gentle diarist continues: "After a while, the sport seeming to flag, my lord offered to head a party at Prison Bars, and the game was set on with great spirit. Ale and victuals came down from the hall."

On the next page she mentions sending "plaister and flannel" to one of her poor sick tenants. Further on she writes of the festivities of Yuletide: At that time Christmas Day and New Year's Day coincided. For it was not until a century later that Christmas Day was celebrated on December 25th. She gives a charming picture of the Yuletide games held at the hall and in the village. She tells us, "A goodly

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assembly were gathered together of the neighbours. . . my lord led the first dance with the bailiff's daughter. The young men followed his example, and chose out the prettiest damsels, my favourite Cicely being one of them, and they went down a long Country Dance, Old John and his son played the viol and the pipe. Games followed, bob-apple and the like."

It is a very beautiful and vivid picture of a Christmas nearly three hundred years ago. The lads and lasses who participated in the dance have gone to rest. My Lady Eleanor, who painted such an admirable vignette of the time, is no more, her eyes have long been closed in the darkness of death. On the death of her friend Lady Hampden, Lady Eleanor wrote in her diary—"death is but a transition from the Tabernacle of Claye and a fellowship with Mortals to a celestial Mansion and Communion with Deity."

That is a picture of Merry England under the squirearchy. No ugly squalid manufacturing towns, but beautiful green hill-sides and winding lanes and nestling villages. There was a quiet simplicity about these villagers, they lived in peaceful surroundings, there was no bustle or turmoil to distract them.

But towards the close of the eighteenth century, trade was revitalized and quickened by better machinery. The towns increased their population with amazing rapidity. The villagers gave up their mess of pottage for the apparent freedom of the towns. They, too, would enter into the spirit of the new age, it was an era of wealth and liberty of thought, so they said. They had cast off the yoke they had been forced to bear under the squirearchy, only to find their present one no more congenial than that which the West African slaves were under. Here was a situation similar in many respects to the one in France previous to the French Revolution. The French peasants when employed on the land were happy enough: it was after being driven to the urban districts they became discontented, and finally in the larger cities, as history records, they broke into open revolt. The same can be said of Russia and her people. For several centuries the majority of the people in Russia had lived on the land. However intolerable Tzardom was in the cities, it left the people in the villages practically untouched. The late war forced the

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people into the towns, there they experienced Tzardom at its worst. These Russian peasants once having seen and felt the corruption and brutality of the old regime, decided there and then to purge it. The structure that had stood for two centuries fell before the peasants in a few days.

So in England, this new revolutionary spirit was at work. The second picture will show conditions such as Dickens found when he wrote *Hard Times*, a picture not only of the poverty and deadening conditions which prevailed, but also of the self-sufficiency and snobbishness of the officials. With true insight, Mr. Bernard Shaw pronounces *Hard Times* to be "the first of a series of exposures of our civilization."

The story about to be related here is one of a tragic incident only too common in the middle of the nineteenth century. It was originally used by John Ruskin in one of his lectures, later he included it in his *Sesame and Lilies*. The clipping reads: "An inquiry was held on Friday by Mr. Richards, deputy coroner, at the White Horse tavern, Christ Church, Spitalfields, respecting the death of Michael Collins, aged 58 years. Mary Collins, a miserable looking woman said that she lived with the deceased and his son in a room at 2 Cobb's Court, Christ Church. Deceased was a "translator" of boots. Witness went out and bought old boots, deceased and his son made them into good ones, and then witness sold them for what she could get at the shops, which was very little indeed."

"Deceased and his son used to work night and day to try and get a little bread and tea, and pay for the room (2s. a week) so as to keep a home together. On Friday night week, deceased got up from his bench and began to shiver. He threw down the boots, saying, 'Somebody else must finish them when I am gone, for I can do no more!' There was no fire and he said, 'I would be better if I was warm.' Witness went out and sold two pairs of 'translated' boots but she could only get 14d for the two pairs, for the people of the shop said, 'we must have our profit.' Witness got 14 lbs. of coal, and a little tea and bread. Her son sat up the whole night to make the 'translations' to get money, but deceased died on Saturday morning. The family never had enough to eat. Coroner—"It seems to me deplorable that you did not go into the work-house." Witness—"We wanted the comforts of our little home."

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A juror asked what the comforts were, for he only saw a little straw in the corner of the room, the windows of which were broken. The witness began to cry, and said that they had a quilt and other little things. The deceased said he never would go into the workhouse! In summer, when the season was good, they sometimes made as much as 10s a week. They then saved towards the next week, which was generally a bad one. In winter they did not make half so much. For three years they had been getting from bad to worse. Cornelius Collins said that he had assisted his father since 1847. They used to work so far into the night that both nearly lost their eyesight. Witness now had a film over his eyes. Five years ago deceased applied to the parish for aid. The relieving officer gave him a 4-lb. loaf, and told him if he came again he should get the 'stones'. That disgusted deceased, and he would have nothing to do with them since. They got worse and worse until last Friday week they had not even a half-penny to buy a candle. Deceased then lay down on the straw, and said he could not live till morning. Dr. G. P. Walker said deceased died from syncope, from exhaustion from want of food. The deceased had had no bedclothes. For four months he had had nothing but bread to eat. There was not a particle of fat on the body. There was no disease, but if there had been medical attendance he might have survived the syncope or fainting. The coroner having remarked upon the painful nature of the case, the jury returned the following verdict, 'That deceased died from exhaustion from want of food and the common necessities of life, also through want of medical aid.'

That is a picture of conditions only too prevalent in England during the Victorian era. Under a system as oppressive as that in Russia, bullied and tormented, schooled almost from infancy with the mendacious and insular cotton lord philosophy, these poor creatures, untaught, worked mechanically at their tasks, no minds, just lumps of flesh, they knew not what to do, nor what to say.

Is it any wonder Dickens changed his outlook on life? He was bubbling over with mirth at the time he wrote the *Sketches* and the *Pickwick Papers*. Although he retained his laughing philosophy throughout his life it no longer held first

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place in his heart. With his books *Oliver Twist* and *Hard Times* he opened up a new national thought. These two books alone were instrumental in changing and remaking our conception of the child. The social reform inaugurated by Dickens was colossal and far reaching. It touched every phase of our civilization and especially taught the Victorians—who had up to this time shown no vestige of sympathy for reform—rather they were extremely indifferent to the uplifting of their more unfortunate fellow-men. Even Forster, Dickens' own biographer, never really understood these two books; his attitude was a typically mid-Victorian one, therefore it is easily seen why he failed to grasp the dramatic force and realistic truth those books portrayed. Brilliant as Macaulay was, he too failed to grasp what *Hard Times* stood for—a private comment of his on the book shows an unfairness and hostility prevalent among writers at the time towards this style of literature. His criticism runs, "One or two passages of exquisite pathos, and the rest sullen socialism."

It is no exaggeration to say that Dickens by his writings brought about more reforms than any public servant who had preceded him. One by one he attacked these infamous and barbarian systems and razed them to the ground. With a combination of optimism and iconoclasm, he cleared away many of the deadening influences which held sway over the working classes. Very early in life he caught the true secret, that the one criterion for the writer or novelist was to see the truth. No matter whether the scenes depicted be sordid or repellant, the character pleasing or uncouth, the life high or low, he must above all things free himself of pedantry and prejudice. Throughout his life, his great quest was truth, to paint the truth no matter what might be the consequences. This desire to depict the truth, augmented by his brilliant genius and ebullient wit, gave him the vision to reveal the world around him. In turn he showed up the evils, the atrocious school at Dotheboys Hall, the barbarous inefficiency of the workhouse authorities, the industrial horrors, the debtors' prisons, nursing parochialism, the Court of Chancery, public executions, and paramount among these was his task as the emancipator of children. Dickens saw clearly into these injustices, he flung the weight of his genius against

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them. With all England's much vaunted prestige and wealth, her pre-eminence in the arts and sciences and the honourable achievements she had gained in the fields of exploration and discovery, Dickens by his pen alone, flung aside the wrappings and gaudy tinsel, exposing the rotten core beneath of pretense and ignorance. He awoke the self-satisfied Victorians from their smugness and lethargy. With all his might he hammered home his theme, that no country could hope to be magnanimous if it allowed such conditions to exist; for a time might come when the whole moral fabric of the nation would be shattered and ruined by the indifference and apathy of the governing classes towards reform. He readily admitted that England had dispensed justice in various parts of the world to the benefit of all concerned. His cry was, she had paid insufficient attention to it at home. He argued that no country could be morally great if it spent thousands or millions of pounds in sending soldiers to a foreign field to relieve illiterate natives from persecution, and in turn calmly watched its own citizens die off in thousands, in the dark noisome prisons, and disease stricken homes of the poor. There was no abatement of his energies, he attacked evils and lashed them with the stinging whip of his own satire. Any nation disregarding the innocent poor for the money-making mob, would eventually be repaid in its own coin. Nor could a country ever become noble at heart if it allowed a poor boy to be imprisoned for stealing a few pennies' worth of sweetmeats, and allowed a rich banker or capitalist to deliberately rob the people of their money. Let it first of all clear out the pestilential sins of bribery and intrigue, perverted justice and false representation.

The iron entered Dickens' soul very early in life, disillusionment came, upon his father being thrown into the debtors' prison at Marshalsea. His own boyish dreams shattered, his outlook hopeless to the extreme degree, the dreadful finality of that incident touched his supersensitive young heart with a poignancy never to be forgotten. Happily his term in the blacking factory was of brief duration. But in later years the experience he gained there became of incalculable worth; the trials and discipline merely served to quicken his own genius. That experience served Dickens in much the same

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way as the cold dip of a frosty morning affects a person out walking. Like the cold of a frosty morning, he realized that mental anguish if carried beyond a certain point of experimentation would end in disaster. But Dickens never descended to that stage. He retained a vivid recollection of his early sufferings, and it was this recollection that gave him the insight to see the brutal and monstrous sins being committed in the name of justice. These broken dreams, ineradicable as they were, became the background of his sympathy and indignation. He saw with penetrative insight how the environment of callous brutality and squalor, repressed and stunted the soul growth of the child. Millions of children who never witnessed a spring time out in the country, but were forced to live in the vitiated air of the slums, where nought seemed to thrive save vice and crime. Such were the conditions that aroused Dickens' compassion towards these battered and neglected children. Whether surrounded by luxury or poverty, these children are revealed to us in their resurgent and irrepressible child growth. The delineations of childhood are drawn with a matchless diversity, now as a monument of knavery, or again as contagious spirits, rollicking and free. In his portraiture of children, whether in pathos or comedy, or through storm and stress, he painted their life as they really felt it. The spiritual ardour of Dickens' writing, like a clear stream, refreshed the dry ground of the Victorian era. It helped to remake the world and to put courage into timorous hearts.

We might ask the question, why was it that Dickens so successfully achieved his end? John Ruskin, too, fought a terrific fight to bring about reforms. Both of these men sought to right the wrongs. Ruskin, both as teacher and prophet, spent the whole of his life in trying to reorganize mankind along nobler lines. In endeavouring to do this he spent the whole of his fortune. It is readily admitted he was one of the most beautiful and thoughtful writers of the nineteenth century. Strangely enough, his writings are more respected than read. With Dickens there has been no abatement; popular as his writings were four or five decades ago, they are more widely known now than ever before. Answering the question, "Why was it that Dickens so successfully

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achieved his end?" one may say that it was because his ebullient humour outweighed any didactic tendency he possessed. Further, he held, that it was far better to build a noble human creature than a cathedral, and more delightful to enjoy the friendship of people round about, than to rave over inarticulate figures of stone.

In his delineation of character, Charles Dickens brings us face to face with human baseness and suffering. Yet the trickery of men like Dodson and Fogg, is alleviated by the presence of Mr. Pickwick, who is so childlike, so unsuspecting and so pitiful. There never was a character so essentially beautiful as Mr. Pickwick. In all his trying experiences, he may appear ridiculous, yet he is never contemptible. He raises our laughter without losing our esteem. Above all he elevates our view of human nature. In Pickwick there is no cynicism and no malady. We read the book, and we feel that life and humanity are both good after all.

HAROLD BIBBY.

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PERHAPS I am getting old fashioned, perhaps I was born so, but I am quite sure that by the time you have heard what I have to say you will be convinced that I am. At any rate I am often old fashioned enough, when I want to see light on some difficult problem, to go back two thousand years or more, to Greece, to see what Plato or Aristotle had to say on the subject. In them one always finds not merely a fearless disregard of popular prejudice and public opinion, but a wonderful knack of disentangling the essentials, of going to the very heart of the question.

So, in the present case I turned up my Plato and found certain ideas which, it seems to me, are as true to-day as the day they were written with a reed pen on papyrus. And this is part of what I read:

“A young person cannot judge what is allegorical and what is literal; anything that he receives into his mind at that age is likely to become indelible and unalterable; and therefore it is most important that the tales that the young hear and read should be models of virtuous thoughts.” “And therefore,” he goes on, speaking of the poet—there were no novelists then—whose stories corrupt the mind by telling of the amours of the gods and goddesses, “when we have anointed him with myrrh, and have set a garland upon his head, we shall send him away to another city.”

You will of course see that Plato is looking at Literature from a political or ethical point of view; he is concerned with the formation of character, with the training of good citizens in his ideal Republic. He does not look at the aesthetic problem, does not believe in Art for art's sake, but in art only as an instrument of education.

Now some may quarrel with his onesidedness and complain that he is narrow, but no really sane person, no one who loves his fellow-man, who is toiling for the uplift of humanity, will assert that the question of the morality of Literature, of

*An address given to the English Club at Queen's University.

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the effect it has upon those who read it, can safely be neglected, whether it be by law giver, or, professor, or the often forgotten parent.

I therefore suggest to you that it is good from time to time to study the trend or tone of current literature, to analyse its general tendencies, and so estimate its probable effect on the character and morals of the generation that is reading it.

But when I speak of current literature, I shall have to deal practically with only one branch of it: whether we take the sales of the publishers, or, better, the records of the libraries, we shall find that something like ninety per cent. of what is actually read is fiction, read that is by the general public, or by the undergraduate in vacation time; and note further that we also have "visible fiction" in the movie.

That in a nutshell is the present importance of fiction. What is its present state? and what therefore is it likely to produce in the way of citizens? Of course, with such a vast field as fiction to-day presents, one can only speak generally, but, I think, with much certainty. Fiction to-day is overwhelmingly about sex.

Now the relation of the two sexes is not a new theme in literature; in fact it has always been a theme, a favorite theme, generally found in the form of a man's love for a maid, than which there is no higher or purer theme, when that love transcends itself, is not wholly selfish.

From time to time, it is true, some unlawful form of love appears in the great literature of the world, the love of Paolo and Francesca, for instance, the sin of Hamlet's mother or of Phaedra in Greek literature. But looking at the literature of the past as a whole, there are these points that I would like to emphasize:

(1) Rarely is this unlawful love the very heart of the story, it is not the essence of the plot.

(2) It is not condoned; the artist does not seek to justify it.

(3) The author does not dwell on it; attempt to get his audience to visualize it.

(4) It is shown as a spiritual rather than a physical sin.

Now when I turn to a large proportion of present-day fiction and that the most widely read, I feel that the whole

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atmosphere has changed, the point of view seems to me to be reversed.

The love which forms the kind of book I am now speaking of is sexual, physical, fleshly: often it is not love, but lust that is portrayed. You will say that I am exaggerating. For obvious reasons it is not so easy to give actual quotations, but here is one from a book that I shall discuss more in detail shortly: "The thought that she might go to the arms of another man made him put down his violin with a feeling of actual sickness. That deep fearful whipping of the sexual instinct which makes the ache of jealousy so truly terrible was at its full in such a nature as Fiorsen's."

It is not all as crude as this, I confess, but what I gather, the moral that I draw, the view of life as I see it given in this literature, is that Love is everything, transcends everything, comes first before every other consideration; love if felt dissolves every other tie, every duty, every moral obligation: the very foundation of society, the sanctity of married life, of the marriage bond is threatened. Strong words, you will say. Yes. Too sweeping. Again, yes; but what I am emphasizing is that it is a fast growing tendency in English and American literature, and that it is the novels of this kind that are being more and more widely written and read to-day.

Let me take a whole book as an example. I suppose that if any one were to draw up a list of the greatest and most popular English novelists of the day, John Galsworthy would find a place high up in that list. Well, a couple of years ago I happened to pick up a novel of his, called "Beyond", and it is, I suppose, because I read that work, that I have been led to as it were open my eyes, to think a little and write this paper. I shall briefly analyse it, without any comment, in order that you may see the facts for yourselves.

The bare outline, the skeleton of the plot is as follows:—Major Winton, an Englishman of good family and independent income, meets the wife "of an amiable good fellow of a husband", I am quoting, "fifteen years older than herself, inclined already to be an invalid. In a month, Winton and she were lovers, not only in thought but in deed." A child, Gyp, is born and the mother dies bringing her into the world. When the invalid widower dies, Winton adopts Gyp as his

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own child. At the age of 23 she marries a "fiddler fellow," a Swedish professional violinist, Gustav Fiorsen. This is how she describes him when first she met him, "Tall and thin and white faced, with bumpy cheekbones, and hollows under them, and queer green eyes, and little goldy sidewhiskers." The marriage is a failure, for they have nothing in common, and when Gustav has a child by a chorus-girl, Gyp leaves her husband and goes to live with her father, taking her baby child with her, but she will not divorce her husband.

In the course of time she meets with a man, Summerhayes, with whom she really falls in love, and for two years the two live together in the country under the protection of Winton, although, to quote him, "he knew perfectly well that a woman living with a man to whom she was not married, could not be recognized by people with any pretensions to orthodoxy." Finally Summerhayes is thrown from his horse and dies of a broken neck.

And the moral, or the meaning of the story, or at least the title the author has chosen for the book? I give it you in Galsworthy's own words:

"Love! beyond measure—beyond death—it nearly kills. But one wouldn't have been without it."

I may as well be perfectly frank with you. I have chosen here one of the best and not of the worst of its kind: I might have taken one of the works of Compton MacKenzie or of Stephen McKenna, or infinitely worse ones, but the trouble is that my time is too precious for me to read even one of the many that I have lately heard spoken of. It is then the whole class, as partly exemplified in *Beyond*, that I would like to talk over with you. I am not so much concerned here with the causes, as with the effects, of these works. Some would say that the changed tone is but a picture of the lower moral standard as found in all classes of society, since or perhaps as a result of the war. Others, more cynical, will say that authors have descended to this kind of stuff because they know that they will command a greater sale.

But before I attempt to emphasize some of the effects of such fiction, I must in fairness glance at the more important justifications that have been urged in its favour. What are they?

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It is the right, it is urged, indeed the duty of literature, and of fiction in particular, to give a complete view of human life, of all the facts, of all the motives and emotions and feelings that can be found in men and women and all the deeds, too, but these particular facts against which you are now protesting are to be found and—unfortunately, if you like—are to be found very commonly. I shall return to this point later, but I am reminded of a very simple, but very apposite, remark of Victor Hugo's: "Tout ce qui se pense, ne se dit pas; tout ce qui se dit, ne s'écrit pas; tout ce qui s'écrit, ne s'imprime pas." And may I suggest that there are certain things, such as the pains of childbirth which seems to belong to medical books, rather than to fiction where I have not infrequently found them discussed or described—in *Beyond*, for example.

There is a second line of defence I have heard, the sophistry of which you recognize as soon as you hear it. No one need read such books. And yet our public, our lending and our circulating libraries are full of them. If they are bad, as I hope to convince you, no one should have a chance to read them.

Then there is the opposite point of view, which emphasizes what apparently should be called the utility of these works. Ignorance, it is said, with some measure of truth, is not Virtue; to keep our young people ignorant, is not the way to preserve them from harm, from sin, and these books show them the dangers and pitfalls that real life offers. Again I will not insult your intelligence by attempting to refute such an argument, which suggests that novels should in the moral education of the race, take the place of father and mother, of decent friends, and of religion. Is it true that life is so full of transgressions of the moral law, that one is ever running up against them. If knowledge of vice is the best or chief protection against vice, then the Penitentiary should take the place of the University.

There is one more argument that I must take note of, for I strongly suspect that it is the one that deceives most people, or lulls them into a false security; behind which at least they take refuge.

According to this, it is the treatment, rather than the bare facts, that counts; the total impression of such a book,

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they argue, may be most salutary; for those facts may be so presented by the writer, that we recoil from them; we do learn a lesson from them. But is that a correct argument? "To the pure, all things are pure," and the pure mind will recoil because it is pure and hates to be so defiled, not because of the light under which they are presented. And, if I am not greatly mistaken, it is the facts that linger in the average memory, and not the lesson that they are supposed to suggest. Let me recall a line I quoted from Plato, "A young person cannot judge what is allegorical and what is literal." But I would deny very emphatically that the average modern author of whom I am speaking does so present, or even endeavour to present, his facts as to make his readers recoil. His excuse, when he offers any, is one to which I have already referred. He claims that, in the interests of truth, he is a Realist; he gives life as it is, or as he sees it, without any attempt to interpret it. That, I take it, is what Galsworthy would say. But most of them, as I have said, may be said to actually condone the sin; its justification, in their philosophy of life, lies in its very strength. Their gospel, if we would state it baldly enough, is not "Lead us not into temptation," but say they, "If the temptation is strong enough, it is natural, therefore give way to it."

Very briefly, then, I have suggested the answer to the sophistries put forward in defence of this modern fiction. But, and let me emphasize this point, even if I believed that there was some truth in them, I would still condemn this fiction on what Plato called "political" grounds. Can I justify this instinct of mine?

The French have a proverb, "*On ne peut manier le beurre qu'on ne se graisse les doigts*," and Shakespeare gives this truth the well-known form, "They that touch pitch will be defiled." That is a commonplace, but none the less true, for the physical world. Is it not true, as a rule, in the spiritual world? St. Paul tells us, "Evil communications corrupt good manners," or as it should read, "character" or "morals." And looking at the matter perfectly honestly—and to do that you will possibly find it better to think of somebody else and not of yourself—do you really believe that your friend X. or Y. will be none the worse for reading a number of books like

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Beyond, or far worse than *Beyond* (for such abound), for reading of seductions and illegitimate children and divorces, with a multitude and wealth of detail that before this or any other audience I cannot specify. Meet that question fairly, and perhaps you will not think me too old fashioned, nor Plato too old fashioned when he writes in the *Laws*: "Must they not have the same effect as when a man associates with bad characters, whom he likes and approves rather than dislikes, and only censures playfully, because he has a suspicion of his own badness? In that case he who takes a pleasure in them will surely become like those in whom he takes pleasure, even though he be ashamed to praise them."

And passing to my own personal experience, I have noticed that people of my acquaintance of both sexes are to-day reading novels which ten years ago would justly have horrified them; and what I naturally deduce from that fact is, that their moral tone has distinctly lowered; that familiarity has produced in them not contempt, no, but a weakening of the moral fibre, a deadening of the finer impulses of the spirit. If I were to borrow the language of some modern psychologists, I would say with Freud, I think it is, that contact with details leaves a scar on the soul.

Such in brief are the ideas which I offer you, the reasons why, as I suggest, this form of fiction should be stamped out; why with Plato, I would further suggest, that the authors be given their passports and politely sent on to some neighbouring country.

But if I stop here, as Plato stopped, I shall be charged with being narrow, with looking at the matter from the wrong angle, from the moralistic point of view; told that Literature, as one of the Fine Arts, must be judged from the artistic point of view; that it does not exist for the purpose of improving the morals of the world; that when we judge or estimate the value of a picture, a piece of sculpture or of music, a poem or other form of imaginative literature, all we can fairly do is to ask whether it is good or bad as art, fulfils its function as part of artistic creation, whether—as so many thinkers put it—it does or does not give aesthetic pleasure.

Now of the truth underlying this assertion there can be no doubt; art in all its forms came into being and exists for

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the sake of the particular pleasure it gives both to the artist himself and to the world at large. But before I look at modern fiction from this aesthetic point of view, may I state that however excellent any work, and let us confine ourselves to Literature, however excellent it may be artistically in form, in clearness and skill of presentation, however attractive it may be to a large number of people, if it obviously has a deteriorating effect on those people, then it has no place in organized society, which has gradually come into being not merely for physical advantages of less danger to life, greater comfort and so on, but also for the sake of a moral and spiritual evolution, that forms the true meaning of history. To discuss the statement I am venturing that this particular form, or tendency, of modern fiction is not true Literature, would clearly involve some definition of Beauty, of Art and of Literature, and that cannot be done in a few minutes. So I shall content myself with suggesting certain considerations along aesthetic lines.

We may say that Literature, like all the fine arts, reveals beauty, that is its end or purpose. Of course such a definition only throws the difficulty further back. What is beauty? The answers are many and various. Our modern conception is far broader than the one credited to the Greeks, of ordered simplicity, proportion and harmony. Yet all of us can feel that there is a beauty in some great tragedy; not merely in the rhythm of verse and prose, nor merely in the development of thought and motive, but, strange as it may sound, in the tragic event itself; the Greeks felt this as keenly as we do.

Is there anything of such beauty, anything comparable to it or remotely approaching it in what to the dispassionate mind are really sordid pictures of untrammelled love? Or we may say that the end or object of Literature is to give pleasure. That does not help us much, unless we give a clearer definition to pleasure. Many, perhaps most of us, take a pleasure in eating: there is no crime in that, but one doubts whether that particular form of pleasure has much relation to that given by some great painting, some fair stretch of landscape, a nocturne of Chopin, or a novel like *Henry Esmond*. Probably I am a poor psychologist, but I do suggest that the pleasure, or, if you find the word more illuminating, the satis-

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faction, that comes from any great work of Fine Art or Literature is far removed from the pleasure than can be derived from the spectacle of these poor pleasure-loving sensual folk crying, "Let us make merry, for to-morrow we die." The latter pleasure, if pleasure it is, is gross and is not that aesthetic pleasure which critics are agreed is one of the highest forms of pleasure, pleasure that is detached and not selfish, akin to the pleasure that comes from the discovery of truth. But I suppose that the best definition of Literature is to be found in Great Literature itself; all writers are in their various ways striving to attain to that ideal which is more or less embodied in what we call the world's classics, works that have stood the test of the ages, of different civilizations, different ideals, nay, different languages, and generations of countless readers and critics. So I imagine the easiest way—but it is not easy—to test any particular work or tendency is to set it over against the best Literature; you can thus get the right perspective.

If then we take the giants or merely the great ones of Literature; if we examine their masterpieces, whether in drama or epic, lyric or fiction, do we find this obtrusion of the flesh: do the characters spend much of their time dwelling on the thought of unhallowed love, as Roger Winton has been doing for twenty odd years?

Some there are, Aristophanes and Rabelais and Shakespeare, for instance, who are at times very distinctly coarse, as we would say to-day; some of their language would sound ill in the modern drawing room, I agree. But if I may be pardoned the paradox, it is clean coarseness, even to us of to-day, whose ideas of what is seemly are not those of a few centuries ago.

The point however I wish to emphasize is that not one of them owes anything of his fame, his enduring fame to the element of the indecent, the immoral, the dwelling on the satisfaction of the senses. I therefore suggest that it is an aesthetic truth, explain it as you will, that this pandering of to-day to the pornographic instinct of the race is not necessary to great or real literature, is not found in it, is a bar to success, and that the writer of such things is giving us poor stuff so far as this element is concerned. We may mercifully

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call him third rate and conclude that he has mistaken his vocation, or debased his gifts, as Galsworthy seems to me to have done. And here is the great danger of such works: they are often attractively written, often with clever, sparkling dialogue: eminently readable, if we could eliminate the objectionable element, but it is this objectionable element which forms the basis, the meaning of the story.

And now I suggest that it is aesthetically immoral stuff. I am obviously using the word *immoral* in a different broader sense. From the artistic point I feel strongly that it gives an absolutely false view of life. I suppose that most of us will agree that Literature in the real sense of the word gives an interpretation of life; and clearly we mean a correct, a true interpretation, one that is at least not contradicted by the experience of the race.

How does this fiction stand this simple aesthetic test? It does not. Our experience, the accumulation of countless centuries shows us that we cannot ignore the law of cause and effect: we cannot pretend that vice has no consequences, that sin has no aftermath, that everything can be put right, or at least go on as if nothing had happened. "It is possible," says Courthope, "for human creatures to forgive, and in some rare cases it is even possible for them to forget. But nature never forgives, and no tears can wipe out the social effects of crime."

Yet that is in so many cases what these perverters of the truth pretend to believe; their heroes and heroines, God save the mark, just go on their way as if nothing had happened. So I say that theirs is bad literature, because it is untrue to the facts, immoral because it blinds its readers to the consequences, and may lead them to live for a time in a sinner's paradise.

What then is the conclusion of the whole matter? I have endeavoured to show why I so firmly believe that this marked tendency of so much of modern fiction is a most dangerous element in the society of to-day, sapping its very foundations and tending to lower the moral tone of the reading public.

Is there any remedy to suggest, or shall we with a deep-seated optimism, a faith that in the long run such matters always right themselves, fold our hands and do nothing? I must confess that inaction is always hateful to me and I care

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little for folded hands. Perhaps a number of you may not know that for many years the greatest scandal about the newspapers of the Old Country was that many of them gave full reports of the divorce cases, with all their loathsome details. The newspapers would not give up the practice, because the reading public wanted those reports. Thus you had a vicious circle, and those optimistic persons who believed that the matter would right itself, that the public would cease to demand those reports, were not justified. However, only the other day Parliament stepped in and now there is a law forbidding these full reports. You may also recall the fact that in certain cases before the police courts or the courts of justice, the public are excluded by order of the presiding officer. In both the reason is the same: the desire to keep our citizens, our brothers and our sisters, from contamination, from touching the pitch which defiles.

And yet you have this paradox, this crying inconsistency, that in this country, in Great Britain and in the United States, we allow fiction that contains all those same deeds and details to be sold to every person, young or old, who has the price; or if they have not the price, we keep up free libraries where they can read them for nothing and, often unwittingly, poison their souls.

So once more I turn back to Plato and quote you his words: "Shall we carelessly allow our young men and our young women to hear any tales which may be devised by casual persons, and receive into their minds ideas for the most part the very opposite of those which we would wish them to have? We cannot. Then the first thing will be to establish a censorship of the writers of fiction: and let the censors accept any tale of fiction which is good, and reject the bad." (Republic, 377).

We in Canada have made a move in this direction; from time to time the authorities bar from the mails certain salacious magazines published in the States. We have a Board of censors in various provinces for the films, and I think that the time should come, and come soon, when there will be a censorship for all works of fiction whether published within or outside the Dominion.

But whether that censorship is established or not, I say

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to you members of the English Club, that you have before you a priceless heritage of great Literature which is pure, and which does interpret life as in truth it is; that you have no need to descend from that level, even though you read for the remainder of your lives; and finally, if you would keep your souls pure, avoid all such fiction as you would the plague, for be very sure that if you read it, very few of you will escape unscathed and unscarred.

P. G. C. CAMPBELL.

BOOK REVIEW*

The cover of this book is supposed to be "mauve," and we are told, on the authority of Whistler, that "Mauve is just pink trying to be purple." This volume has had seven "printings" in the course of 1926. We do not know whether this means seventy thousand copies or only seven thousand, probably the latter; but at any rate it has got a good start in an age when it seems to be literally true that of the making of books there is no end. It is not, on account of the multiplicity and variety of its content, an easy book to review; however, it was not sent to us for that purpose, we just came across it in the City Library and noted it as a sign of the times. An index would be useful to the journalist who wishes to refer to the spicy stories and smart sayings relating to American society, politics and literature. But the author would not like to be taken for a professor, an incarnation of dullness and a worshipper of system. One strong professor, at any rate, he knew William Graham Sumner, who held his position at Yale in spite of fierce opposition; "he survived a situation that no professor could survive to-day in universities where individualism is dreaded as nothing else, wherein manufacturers of patent drama, business schools and courses for the propagation of fine embroidery are established on the order of the moneyed, with professors shipped about as little white dogs in wicker cells, the price marking the label." But Columbia at that time also possessed "an individual." "Columbia, itself, was regarded as somewhat libertine by other universities. It had no dominating religious tradition; it was assembled in godless New York; its professors appeared in smart restaurants and published mundane 'Vignettes of Manhattan.' The eccentricity of owning a professor named Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen alone considerable, and to have Professor Peck trace the permutations of 'Ta-Ra-Ra-Boom De Ay' in a popular magazine utterly finished the place in the mind of one Bostonian educator." "There was nothing heavy about Peck. His coat had a flower; some

**The Mauve Decade*, by Thomas Beer: Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926.

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of his waistcoats, even in the faded sheen of photographs, were illustrious of their kind. 'Scholar, and wit, and something of a child.'"

The book is mainly a criticism of American life and literature of a particular period, the ten years beginning 1880. The number of writers passed in review is large, but considerable space is devoted to Mark Hanna's wonderful work in the McKinley campaign, to the Pullman strike, the Chicago World's Fair, the rise of the Populist Party and the dramatic appearance of W. J. Bryan. It is a lively book, full of incidents, stories and purple pages. The literary life of the period is a seething mass of conflicting aspirations and nebulous ideals. This is quite natural in the case of a nation growing so rapidly in numbers and wealth and lacking the continuous literary and social tradition of the older nations.

The first chapter is entitled "The Titaness"; forty-four variegated pages are devoted to showing that the influence of women on literature and art was, with brilliant exceptions, narrow and intolerant. Mr. Beer seems to be fond of what we may call "synchronism," though it sometimes seems doubtful whether there is any relation except that of time. Chapter I starts off: "They laid Jesse James in his grave and Dante Gabriel Rossetti died immediately. Then Charles Darwin was deplored, and then, on April 27, 1882, Louisa May Alcott hurried to write in her journal: 'Mr. Emerson died at 9 p.m. suddenly. Our best and greatest American gone.'" Then follows the story of Miss Alcott's tragic toils and her father's "inexhaustible idealism." The noble little lady, who had survived great hardships, wrote "moral pap" for young people and was imitated by many. Then began the legend of "the noble American womanhood" that was to create a heaven on earth. "Theodore Parker used 'our pure and enlightened womanhood' four times in two years. Daniel Sickles produced 'our world conquering and enlightened womanhood' a few days before he shot his wife's paramour in the streets of Washington." Some of the reforming women went from Chicago to New York to protest against a Spanish dancer and are told to "go back and close the Slide." So the movement went on and a typical question was if respectable American magazines can publish 'Trilby,' why cannot native writers

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have more liberty? Incidentally we have the opinion of several foreigners, including Grant Allen, on American women and their behaviour. Some interesting specimens of national oratory are given, and the suggestion of some Bohemians that "all orators be strangled at birth." That noble lady, who lived in Chicago, Miss Frances Willard, was introduced to an audience thus: "One day an angel will take a pen of diamond and dip its point in the sun's chosen rays. Then she will write, high above the proud titles of Joan of Arc, Florence Nightingale and Lucretia Mott, the name of our loving sister in Christ's work who is with us this evening." (p. 109). Turning back to Chapter I (p. 60) we have the indictment, if such it can be called, neatly summed up: "It is not alleged against the women of the "Mauve Decade" that they invented cheap cruelty and low social pressures, but they erected these basenesses into virtues by some defensive sense of rectitude, and a generation of sons was raised in the shadow of the Titaness, aware of her power, protected by nothing from her shrill admonitions. Is it matter for much wonder among critics that only satire can describe the American of our time who drifts towards middle age without valour, charm, or honour?" *

Worshippers of R. L. Stevenson will not relish the treatment of their hero, which is flippant if not slanderous. Note the synchronism, a habit with our author. "Robert Louis Stevenson went not fully after the Lord as did Thomas his father, but he wore a velvet coat, spent his shillings among venal girls and announced himself an atheist. While he was worrying his proud father in Edinburgh a quite commonplace farmer in middle Ohio asked the law to keep his only son from denying the regional god and spending his nights with a gallant widow of the Fourieristie persuasion. The law replied, 'This court cannot issue a frivolous order limiting a sane man in the free use of his faculties'; but the decision

*It is not our business either to condemn or defend this appalling abstraction, "The Titaness." About thirty years ago I presided at a "temperance" lecture by an American leader of the suffragettes; the title was "God's Women," the lecturer, of course, a woman. One lady of the audience said it should have been "God's Women and The Devil's Men." Since those militant days perhaps the movement has gained more "charm."

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is possibly irrelevant in a case to be tried under the laws of the literary republic. Stevenson, then, rebelled and finally went the length of running away to California after a married woman whose husband courteously stepped from his corner of the forming triangle and walked off into legend. Assuming the literary republican's viewpoint all this is rather fearsome. As an episode under the laws of Ohio, or seen from the high place of Anatole France, there isn't much in it, except the good breeding of Mrs. Stevenson's first husband." Then follow critical estimates of Stevenson's literary art, with the sinister figure of Oscar Wilde in the background, and Professor Peck's opinion that Stevenson's eulogists are overdoing it. Thus Stevenson becomes "merely an emblem of the intellectual battle of the '90's in the United States."

One of the most interesting chapters is that on *The American Magazines*. The last chapter, *Figures of Earth*, is a peculiar production; it begins with Theodore Roosevelt, Governor of New York, late August 1899, preparing for a grand parade and "concerned with a question of trousers." "The whole nineteenth century had been rotten with the disease of greatness and its wretched successor seems unwilling to get rid of this malady." This leads to a rapid moving picture show representing the varied scenes of "greatness" that passed before the eye of Richard Harding Davis. With Charles Maurice and Elbert Hubbard as transitional points we pass to Rudyard Kipling "the nigromancer." Kipling's wonderful genius receives due acknowledgment but, as before, the complaint is that to the Englishman a liberty is accorded that is denied to the native. "For nine years the nigromancer's coloured shadows danced out of his pot, and literary republicans watched the parade in maddened speculation. Some of them saw this: The American public, considered a nervous virgin by its guardians, was avidly buying a fiction in which everything not permitted by the native writers was done and said openly, and gave no offence." Lalun, of the world's most ancient profession, jested with her lovers in the gay room on the city wall and had the approval of Mr. Theodore Childs, who, elsewhere, saw, regretfully, that American writers were attempting to introduce 'depraved women, subjects for pity but not literature,' into the national

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fiction." After some pages of this, we come again to the parade. "A dark horse showed and slowly paced until it turned where now the gilded general stares down the silly city. A blue streamer, infinitely descending from above, curled all around his coat and he shook it from the hat that he kept lifting. Theodore Roosevelt! The figure on its charger passed, and a roar went plunging before him while the bands shocked ears and drunken soldiers straggled out of line, and these dead great, remembered with a grin, went filing by." A strange book criticising the literature of "the Mauve Decade" and showing the spirit of the criticism of to-day.

W. G. J.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Present Position of the Parties in England.

It is always a difficult matter to get at the truth concerning a political party or a Government. It is perhaps more difficult to form an opinion in such matters when one is resident in the country itself; for if one seeks the opinion of supporters of the Government or the views of its press one need only look for obtaining the cheerful side of things. Even were the party on the eve of disruption and disaster, to the last moment the information obtainable from such sources would be triumphant as regards legislation accomplished and hopeful as to the future. On the other hand, when one seeks information from the Opposition or its organs the impression which one gets is that there never was such a hopeless and hapless state of affairs; things are much worse even than they appear upon the surface and were the Government to go to the polls the result would be a shattering defeat. In attempting to form a true opinion one may occasionally find it in the expressions of some candid and perhaps disgusted follower, or one may cynically disregard all published views and attempt to diagnose the situation by adding the opposing opinions and dividing by two. Mr. Baldwin and his Conservative Government came into power three years ago with a huge majority. A majority, we must admit, much larger than the number of votes polled in his support warranted. The combined votes of Liberal and Labour party exceeded that of the Conservatives by a million and yet the Opposition was and is in a hopeless minority. The reason for this action on the part of the electorate was, roughly speaking, as follows: The man (or woman)-in-the-street was profoundly distrustful of the Socialist Government just resigned. He felt that the fate of the country had not been secure in their hands and he determined to play safe. Experience had shown that votes given to Liberal candidates were largely thrown away. Hence many of those who under ordinary circumstances voted Liberal as well as all the great class of those who have no pronounced party affinities voted Conservative and so we had a triumph such as

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has seldom been seen before. But what is the position of parties at the present moment? Things have of course been happening, although they seldom happen rapidly when a Conservative Government is in power. Indeed, in this particular instance the electorate probably did not wish much to happen. They wanted time and opportunity to settle down after a very trying and testing period during and after the war. Still things have been happening in these last three years, some of them on the initiative of the Government and some of them not.

Perhaps the first thing that anyone interested in such matters asks about if he is anxious to feel the pulse of a Government is bye-elections. Now bye-elections are sometimes, but by no means always, an indication of how things are faring with the party in power. In this particular case it may be stated that there is no marked evidence of dissatisfaction on the part of the electorate. Quite a number of elections have been lost, notably to the Liberals; but the original Conservative majority was so large that these few losses make little difference. No crises have come to stimulate the party machine to exert itself to the utmost. Were a general election to come along for some unforeseen reason we might very well see a reversal of some of the recent decisions and the net result would probably be much as before.

But, as already stated, things have been happening. What are these things? And how have they affected the prestige of the Government? The first incident of importance, one which will take a prominent place in history, was the General Strike. The strike itself is now ancient history and we may dismiss it by stating that the Baldwin Government came out of it with no great damage to its prestige. The country was saved not by the Government so much as by the people themselves. There has however been an inevitable sequel to the strike, namely the bill which had to be paid, or in other words the Budget of 1927. Although there was an unprecedented deficit in this Budget, this deficit was entirely explainable by the damage to industry, the result of the strike. Moreover, the magnitude of the deficit was masked to a large extent by the dexterity of the Chancellor. The Government itself was none the worse for its Budget.

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Of other incidents which have happened there are the main legislative enactments or attempts of the Government, notably the Trade Union and Trade Disputes Bill and the proposed Reform of the House of Lords. Much has been made of the Trade Disputes Bill by the two opposition parties, but probably the worst that can be said about the measure is that it was somewhat inopportune, stimulating class and party strife when there was a truce and a possibility of rapprochement between capital and labour. Opposition to the measure cut across the ordinary party divisions, the Government being supported by some notable recruits from the Opposition and some Conservatives opposing the measure. The defections were however not large and did not really threaten the fate of the Government.

The measure for the reform of the House of Lords is on a different footing. In this case the Conservative party is threatened with a serious revolt and the danger will not be over for some time to come. It is perhaps well to ask the question why the Government attempted legislation of this type and so risked internecine strife. After all, a Conservative Government need fear no interference from the Upper Chamber. Liberal and Labour peers together will never amount to anything worth mentioning in the House as at present constituted. Why then not leave well alone? Apart altogether from the fact that legislation has been promised in the lifetime of the present Parliament, the Conservative party is acutely aware that the continued existence of a House of Lords requires a good deal of justification and if reform is not carried out from within some more ruthless hands may take it up. Tories are moreover aware that when the Liberal or Labour party is in power the Parliament Act enables them eventually to override the opposition of the peers. Little wonder then that with a strong majority at their back they propose to carry out reform, placing the chamber on an elective basis while retaining its hereditary character and at the same time surreptitiously drawing the teeth of the Parliament Act. The vital characteristics of the proposed reform scheme are as follows: First there is to be a limitation in the number of Upper Chamber legislators to 350. These are to be partly peers elected by their own order and partly persons appointed

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by the Crown on the advice of the Government of the day, both classes to sit for twelve years. This limitation of numbers removes the power which Governments at present possess of overriding opposition to a Bill by creating new peers, a power never exercised but which on two occasions within the last hundred years has forced the House of Lords to bend to the will of the people. Secondly, there is a transfer of the power of the Speaker of the House of Commons to certify a Money Bill to a Standing Committee of the two Houses. This provision carries with it a threat to the age-long undivided control of the House of Commons over Money Bills. Thirdly, there is the exclusion from the operation of the Parliament Act of any measure affecting the constitution or powers of the House of Lords itself. This last proposal, which is probably the most reactionary, means that any further changes in the functions and powers of the Upper Chamber must receive the assent of that Chamber before becoming law. It means that a future Liberal or Labour Government cannot alter the proposed Act however powerfully they may be backed by opinion in the country. The aim of the proposed legislation, to put it bluntly, is to ensure that there should always be at hand a body which can be trusted to block Liberal or Labour legislation of a revolutionary type. Of course, a Conservative would not put the matter quite so crudely as that. He would point out that an upper chamber is intended to put a drag upon hasty and ill-considered legislation. It is no fault of Conservatism that it functions in this way.

Of course such thinly veiled reactionary proposals have heartened the Opposition by giving them a slogan wherewith to rouse the constituencies to the danger which threatens their prerogative. The Tory press complains that the Lord Chancellor's original announcement of the proposed legislation came unexpectedly and was injudiciously worded. It offers in excuse that the scheme is merely tentative and is capable of amendment. But the proposal has already given rise to much adverse criticism within the party, has in reality created something approaching a crisis. No doubt the suggestions will be somewhat modified when they come up again for consideration but any measure of reform at all will be strenuously opposed by the Diehard section of the Conservative party.

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Thus with the exception of the question of reform of the House of Lords the Government may be said to retain its solidarity and to carry with it the support of the more sober electorate. Unless some sudden and unexpected crisis arises it is likely to outlast its full term and so far as one can see ahead, when they again put their fortunes to the test of a general election they will be returned with, it may be, a diminished majority. This is always provided that no understanding is come to between the two other parties.

Turning to the Liberal party, things may be said to be in a much more hopeful condition than they were say a year ago, or at any time since the last general election. Sir Herbert Samuel, a former member of Lord Oxford's cabinet, who has since made a great reputation as an administrator in Palestine, has on returning to England been elected Chairman of the party, and has already infused a remarkable degree of confidence and courage into the dejected rank and file. The retirement of Lord Oxford from the leadership of the party cleared the way for a closer fusion of the two wings which have been at daggers drawn for so long. Lord Oxford's friends who remain, still preserve a degree of hostility towards Mr. Lloyd George and his followers, but Sir Herbert Samuel professes to take no side in the recent controversies which have rent the part in twain and he is turning his great organizing ability towards a rebuilding of the party machine from the bottom up.

Whether directly related to this reorganization or not, but almost certainly due to the fresh courage inspired by co-operation between the two wings, the party have recently won three important elections. Of course, as Mr. Ramsay Muir observes in the *Nation*, even three swallows don't make a summer and three elections won certainly don't necessarily mean that the Liberal party has resumed its position as the second most important group in the House of Commons. But such victories will certainly greatly encourage the workers in the constituencies and may possibly mean a pronounced change of attitude on the part of the electors. The three victories were first, Leith rendered vacant by the secession of Capt. Benn to the Labour party, Southwark captured from Labour, and the Bosworth Division of Leicestershire wrested from the

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Tory party. The claim is made by Liberals that at the general election of 1924 many good Liberals voted Tory in order to keep out Socialists and that the true meaning of these successes is that these electors are now returning to their former allegiance. This is probably true, but he would be a bold man who would claim that it means that Liberalism at the next general election will return to its former position amongst the parties. Liberalism has undoubtedly lost supporters to the Labour party and it is more than doubtful if these will ever return. This is notably the case amongst the fishing and crofter population of Scotland. Before the war the predominant political creed of the fishermen and crofters was Liberalism. Now there is good reason to believe (MacDougall, *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1927) that they have largely gone over to the Socialist party. Their change of creed is due to two factors: first, the industrial revolution that has taken place in the fishing industry during the past quarter of a century, and, second, the severe depression arising from the loss of Continental markets such as Russia due to the continuance of war policies into times of peace. The same is probably true of the agricultural labourer both in England and Scotland.

It is interesting that this apparent revival of Liberalism is being regarded not merely complacently but hopefully by many Conservatives (see "Liberalism and its Future" by a Conservative Member of Parliament, *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1927). The statement is made that "nothing could be worse for the Conservative party than that it should be faced in the House of Commons by an opposition so feeble in personnel, so lacking in parliamentary sense and political experience, so hopelessly divided in opinion as the Parliamentary Socialist party is to-day." A healthy Conservative party requires a vigorous and efficient Opposition. Probably behind this affected desire for the recovery of Liberalism is the knowledge that if the Liberal party were to disappear altogether Labour would be far nearer its desired goal of an independent majority in the country.

In this connection a suggestion has come, not by any means for the first time from both Liberal and Labour members, that for purposes of defeating Tory candidates at the

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next election, the Liberal party should come to an understanding with Labour. The proposed arrangement is of course that in some seats Liberals should stand aside in favour of Labour candidates in return for similar concessions from the Labour party in other seats. If this were to take place on any large scale it would mean that the Liberal and Labour parties combined would almost certainly outnumber the Tories. Under such circumstances a coalition Government of Liberals and Labour would be inevitable. Although supported by individuals and by some powerful newspapers, notably by the *Manchester Guardian*, the suggestion has not been received with any great degree of cordiality. The attitude of Liberalism is well voiced by Mr. Vivian Phillips, who claims that his party is as sharply marked off from Labour as it is from Conservatism and that anything in the nature of a pact would simply spell disaster. He claims that there is one clear course for the Liberal party and that is to refuse all compromises and to place in the field at the next election a full complement of Liberal candidates and make a bid for power on the basis of their own policy. To finance this scheme of placing a large number of candidates in the field there is the recently instituted million pound campaign fund, not yet fully subscribed. There is also to be a contribution from Mr. Lloyd George's chest which is reputed to contain two millions of money. How much of the latter will be available when the time comes is still in doubt.

Official Labour has made no definite pronouncement on the suggestion, but it may be taken in advance that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald will not be favourable. His policy as regards the other parties has always been one of ruthless aggression. He and Mr. Lloyd George are totally and entirely antipathetic and it is inconceivable that they should act in concert. Such a policy may however be eventually forced upon the Labour party by circumstances. There are two clouds upon their horizon. One is the rift between the Socialist and Communist wings of the party. Mr. Wheatley, one of the ablest debaters and politicians on the Opposition side, has withdrawn himself from the front bench and taken up his position with the wild men in the back benches. The other fact which renders the future of the Labour party insecure is the health of the leader.

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Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had a serious illness when visiting the States recently and his health is still giving his friends some concern. He himself referred to the matter in a recent speech as follows: "I shall try to do in the future as in the past. I am not going to take care of my health any more than I did before. The work has got to be done, and nobody wants to be put on the shelf. I am going on whatever the consequences, and will trust for the rest to Providence." These are brave but rather ominous words. It may be safely said that if for any reason Mr. MacDonald were to be compelled to lay aside the leadership of the party, nothing could save it from disruption. There would then be a new alignment and it is more than probable that a portion of the Labour party would unite with the Liberals, but so long as Mr. MacDonald remains at the helm such a consummation is remote in the extreme.

J. M.

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THOMAS A KEMPIS

A Soldier-Knight, returned from wars abroad,
Dismounted at the gate, and humbly begged
He might see face to face the holy man
Who lived secluded from the vulgar gaze.
The sacristan returned and bade the Knight
To enter. Thomas met his early friend,
And thus to eager questioning replied:

Friend of my youth, with joy I tell the tale
Of my conversion to the blessed life.

In Kempen dwelt a maiden fair. Her name
I name not. Years ago she fled the world
To wear the veil of Sister Josephine.
We both were young and full of lusty life,
And she was twined about my beating heart
With tender cords of love. Her gentle speech
Oft thrilled my soul with rapture, and I longed
To clasp her in my arms and bear away
The precious burden for the priest to bless.
The months flew past, nor did I dream
That from my lips would fall the cup of bliss.
Alas! one fateful eve a pang intense
Shot through my heart, for in her sombre looks
And downcast eye I read—I knew not what!
Too soon I learnt that Father Joachim,
Her pastor, taught her earthly love was naught
In presence of the love of God. Her will to change
I vainly strove, and sorrowful at last
We parted. How I spent the night in tears,
Striving to crush my climbing sorrow down,
I need not tell. When daylight came I rose

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With tear-stained face, and with my staff in hand
I fled distracted. Days and nights dragged on,
And wandering lone and sad at last I sought
To hide my wounded spirit in a cell.

The years have noiseless fled, and I have learnt
To wean my soul from earthly joys and woes;
And now my mind serene in rapture dwells
On lofty themes, distracting visions gone,
Save when the old deep wound a moment bleeds.
Unspeakable the bliss of life in God,
The noisy world subdued to music faint,
That mingles with the blessèd strains of heaven.
O Lord, O Light Eternal, Thou transcend'st
All lights created, as the Sun the stars!
O Maker of the earth and those bright orbs
That shine resplendent in the o'erarching vault,
How lost in glory inconceivable art Thou!
No earthly tongue can hymn Thy Majesty!
Yet gracious, Lord, art Thou to sinful men
Who strive with faltering steps to do Thy will,
And hardly dare lift up their eyes to Thee.
For infinite in condescension Thou,
And full of love for all created things,
But most of all for Man, who longs in vain
For rest until at last he rests in Thee.
For "God so loved this sinful world of His
That to the bitter cross He nailed His Son."
Alas! how blind, how evil, is our race!
The nations in their pride delight in war:
Men nurse their wrath and brothers hate or kill,
The Lord of mercy and of love forgot.
Their hearts they set on perishable things,
Unwitting that the truest life consists
In austere self-denial and self-scorn.
On fine-drawn subtleties they meditate,
And desecrate the mysteries of faith.
What God demands are deeds, not empty words.
The letter of the Holy Book is conned by rote,
A Father's maxims cited unctuously,

POETRY

And yet they live a life of grossest sin.
They prize the empty plaudits of the world,
Forgetful that their pilgrimage on earth
Is but the prelude to a life eterne.
Descend, Lord God, in pity on our race!
May faith and hope and charity abound,
That, trusting ever in Thy boundless grace,
We cease to love this transitory world,
And patiently endure till Thou dost call us home!

Thus Thomas spake. His sympathetic friend
Craved leave to read a Hymn himself had made—
Germane, he hoped, to words the saint had spoke;
And Thomas gladly gave assent.

THE KNIGHT'S HYMN

The Saviour came, announced of old
By herald-prophets of the Lord;
The Baptist too with joy foretold
The triumph of the Eternal Word:
"Lo! God's own blessed Realm is near,
For Christ the Son of God is here."

So spake he, and the hosts above
Acclaimed the mercy of the Lord;
For He who stooped to earth in love
In glory reigned the Eternal Word.
O Lord, Thy life was given for me:
May I for aye be one with Thee!

Alas! my love is faint and cold;
The sordid joys of earth enthrall.
O Jesus, my weak will uphold:
Make me responsive to Thy call;
From low desires O set me free,
That I may die to live in Thee!

JOHN WATSON.

Queen's University.

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BEATRICE

Out of a tarnished rondure of dull gold
A face surveys the thoughtless Roman crowd,
A young girl's vivid face, warm-hued and proud,
Darkened by something sinister and cold.
It shakes your soul to see a thing so fair
Marred by that shadow of the devil's wing;
You wonder what infernal memories cling
About those tender lips, that radiant hair,
And when you catch her glance, a sudden chill
Shocks you as when on winter nights a gust
Of wind blows in the door and hurls a dust
Of snow upon you, and your heart stands still;
For in the fathomless depths of each dark eye
Unutterable woe and terror lie.

CECIL FRANCIS LLOYD.

THE PIONEER

Old Silas was the last of that strong race
Born in the cabins of the pioneers
And bred to their stern strife of axe and flail—
Strife that had warped him short an inch or so,
Though his great frame was generous to spare
The dues of time and yet stand six feet tall.
With vigorous grip upon his stout oak staff
And shoulders squared to bear up ninety years
He liked to tramp about the fields alone
Or with the children.

Flitting to and fro
They brought him all the treasures that they found;
A fungus with its rich and mottled tints,
Or some rare blossom that they could not name,
With now and then a curious lump of stone
Holding the wonder of a prisoned fish.
He named the flower and warned them of the fungus,
But how had fish been hid away in stones?
This was a marvel that he could not fathom;

POETRY

And so he said, "I guess God put them there.
"This place was under water in the Flood,
"And odd things happened in them ancient times.
"Ye heerd on Sunday how Lot's wife turned salt,
"So I suppose a fish could turn to stone."

In all his walks his mind was on the farm.
'To-day he would have cultivated corn
'Instead of mowing hay. The late potatoes
'Were ruined for the lack of Paris green.
'The fences at the corner of the swale
'Would need repair to stop a breachy horse,
'And yellow-weed showed thick among the barley.'

But Silas seldom proffered his advice
Until the boys had asked it, for he said,
"I brought them up to farm, but they're of age;
"So let them use their wits. An' if I told them
"I'd get small thanks for meddlin' all the time.
"They like me better when I hold my tongue
"An' mind the little chores I still can do:
"Buddin' potaties, splittin' wood, an' hoein'.
The woodpile was indeed his chief delight,
And it seemed sometimes when he swung the axe
That half his years fell from him with the task.
His ringing blows went home with sturdy strokes,
Each placed exactly as he had designed,
Till toughest knots were cloven through and shattered,
Lying in fragments ready for the fire.
"Aye," he would say, both hands upon the haft
Of his good axe and breathing somewhat hard,
"There's one was mighty nigh to havin' me beat.
"Contrary stuff and mortal hard to split—
"I've seen the day when we had better wood,
"But there's worse firin' than that scrubby elm.
"It must be wearin' nigh to quittin' time.
"The lave of it can lie there till the morrow;
"We'll go and sit awhile an' have a smoke."
"You'll take your tea with us. Why sure ye will,
"Here's Ned to see an' put away your horse.
"There's no such thing as leav'n' without your tea.

R. W. CUMBERLAND.

THE RELIGIOUS INTERPRETATION OF LIFE

Let me begin this the last of The Chancellor's Lectures in 1927 at the beginning, and return to the religious interpretation of life and to its atmosphere.

Most of you have been annoyed by the proverbial philosophy of countless proverbial philosophers, and Martin Tupper who tell you that it does not matter what a man's creed is if his life be good: you have retorted: "Of course it does not matter but why plague yourself with democratic catch-words and superficialities: *"if his life be good"* indeed! why, you might as well say, "it does not matter what poisonous air he is breathing, what germs and microbes he is swallowing, if his health be good": is his health likely to be good and still more to remain good, if he continues to breathe poison? How many persons' health will stand it? Not many: in spite of the power of Nature to acclimatize herself to a good deal of mischief and to produce her own antidotes and antitoxins."

You have been annoyed with this cheap clap trap about creeds not mattering, if the life be true: you have recognized that it is one of the nuisances of popular education that it produces proverbial philosophies and popular trash of this sort: you do not want to be always tilting at these windmills: to become a credulous Don Quixote and take them seriously.

The point you feel, is this, that atmosphere is everything: that truth, the only truth, that matters, the truth that is true to men's most essential need, the need of a broad humanity and a broad religion, is a true atmosphere and subjective truth: this subjective truth and true atmosphere will in nine cases out of ten dominate objective facts and difficulties: but in nine cases out of ten the subjective truth of a true atmosphere must be painfully created by instinct and example and home life, if it is to face the difficulties of objective fact: only in the one rare case out of ten are these difficulties so negligible and unimportant as to have no chance to seduce the natural man: and that one case is, if

THE RELIGIOUS INTERPRETATION OF LIFE

he be that rare creature, *anima naturaliter Christiana*: and a man so happily constituted, that even without the slow and patient lessons of instinct and example and home influence, and without patient willing, and the slow and painful and unconscious absorption of a good atmosphere, his life and actions, his thoughts and feelings are bound to be right, whatever be his surroundings and the objective facts of his life, because he was born a Christian, with an inherent subjective Christianity already formed in him: just as a few happily constituted bodies can not be poisoned by germs and microbes, however poisonous the environment. If this be true, atmosphere is everything: in the case of our one man out of ten, *naturaliter Christianus*, it is a subjective atmosphere which some men breathe and its effect on them.

of the other nine, it is a subjective atmosphere not proof against externals unless and until very carefully built up and fostered and nourished: but made largely by externals, so largely that it cannot continue true and right, if the externals are false and corrupting. Let me consider the atmosphere which some men breathe and its effect on them.

Psycho-analysis and the doctrines of the late Dr. Coué have been responsible for a good deal of nonsense and worse: the Coué cult has made a number of silly women talk and think too much about their health, and has provoked the unbeliever to scoffing. The Psychoanalysts again are continually building on a narrow Darwinism, explaining human instincts as monkey instincts, misinterpreting and misrepresenting the greatest of Greek tragedies as turning on unnatural love, whereas it turns on the desperate efforts of the hero, poor Œdipus, to avoid unnatural love;¹ and generally depressing the moral thermometer or barometer in the name of Darwin: the Psycho-Analysts have decided also that Hamlet is in love with his mother: they might as well have decided with the other dreamers that Bacon wrote Hamlet; but Psycho-analysts and the Coué school have at least hit on the truth of atmosphere: have recognized that truth is subjective: that there is nothing true but thinking makes it so: as Shakespeare (or Bacon) said.

¹They deserve never to be forgiven for that shameful phrase, the Œdipus complex.

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The difficulty and the problem is to determine limits: "with the last step in disillusionment," said Dr. Maudsley, "comes the first step in degeneracy": all happiness, peace and goodness rest on illusions: we are all living, like the young man and his father in Ibsen's "Wild Duck," on illusions: destroy the illusions, as the half-baked idealist in that story sought to do, and you destroy life: encourage the illusions, as the more sagacious and cynical Dr. Redding sought to do, and life retains its value and virtues.

The poor simple scholar, for example, who is building mares-nests out of his scholarship (like Casaubon in 'Middlemarch'), will continue to be laborious and happy, though no one reads his books and takes them seriously, except the few Dr. Reddings; and they do *not* take *them* seriously, but encourage him to write for the sake of his peace of mind.

And so with the rest of us, though our illusions may not be as gross as that wild duck in the attic.

The greatest illusion to the Dr. Maudsleys of this age is Christianity: it has produced all the happiness, virtue, and value of life: the science of this age is finding it out to be a mirage; and happiness and virtue and value are receding rapidly, as the north shore of the St. Lawrence recedes, when you come to examine it critically from Metis: we are in process of disillusionment and degeneracy: ancient realism—called Paganism—made a hell out of old age for example; old age, especially in the far north, became intolerable: not to the old themselves so much perhaps—they often like the typical Sadducee Maecenas² felt that life at its worst was better than death—but to the relatives: when cold weather comes the Pagans seat the old man outside "on the veranda."

Christianity ameliorated his lot with the lot of women and other weak creatures: he was cared for, comforted and respected for his negative and feminine virtues: as Christianity recedes his life becomes harder. Even in this age of pity, and mercy, he is more apt to become again a nuisance pure and simple: as he was in Pagan Greece.

Now is it really conceivable—to put the question a second time—that this world is so constructed that all its possibili-

²Seneca, *Epistles*, 101. 11.

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ties of good rest on a dream and an illusion? the dream of a young Jewish peasant-philosopher who has been till now the Redeemer, and the only real Redeemer of the world? Is it really conceivable, that the source of the best happiness and peace issues—as Plato seems to suggest—out of noble lies? Some one suggests instead³ that it was out of the irony of an ironical God, who used an accident, the laziness of a Roman soldier (instructed to break the legs of fainting criminals and hasten their end, but too lazy or too decent to do so), to palm off upon mankind the fable of a resurrection: whence two thousand years of betterment, until the fable was found out: (this sort of Divine irony, by the way, is more akin to Divine love than irony and to an argument for Theism than for Divine irony). But anyhow, is it not much more likely that the noble lies or benevolent irony, whichever it be, which have had such potency for good, are not after all “noble lies”—as Plato ironically called them—or Divine irony, but, as Plato probably meant, when he used the ironical phrase, “noble lies,” the ultimate and essential truth? a myth, in Plato’s terminology, but a myth which is only mythical in the sense that it is not true literally and in all its scaffolding? but yet is true in spirit: has the root of the whole matter in it, and is not mythical at bottom? that is what Plato meant by mythology: the truth which cannot be analysed, defined, and expressed, precisely and exactly in words, but only in figures and metaphors, through a glass darkly, and with reflections in which the different rays of truth have been broken up and separated and some of them intercepted and withheld: it is unfortunate that the world has forgotten what Plato meant by “myth” and has taken since his time to using the word in the sense of a mere fancy or fiction.

But if so, what are the limits of noble lying? where do the lies cease to be noble and cease to be at bottom true? where do they pass into merely mischievous sentimentality and foolish sensibility? when does the man of feeling, of whom Mackenzie wrote, become a nuisance and a corrupter of happiness, peace, virtue, value? when does Miss Austen’s Marian,

³Mr. George Moore, for example.

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e.g. in "Sense and Sensibility," become a nuisance and a danger to herself and her friends? When is sensibility or "enthusiasm" not only not necessary to man's happiness but a mere evil? for the connotation of these words "sensibility" and "enthusiasm" shifts and shifts from age to age and is never constant. In any case it is obvious that the illusion, so to call it, of Christianity dies slowly and there is so much ultimate truth in it that it lingers long and deep in the hearts of those even, who imagine that they have outlived it: the Matthew Arnolds and the Huxleys of the last century thought they had outlived it: but rather they still lived it: it was part of their unconscious instincts; they could not forget it: they could not ignore it in their lives and deeds, or even in their thoughts and feelings: they continued to live and act and to think and feel as Christians.

You remember Huxley's indignation with St. Paul: Huxley took that difficult and much controverted passage in I Corinthians, xv: "if Christ be not risen then are we of all men most miserable: let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die; be not deceived: evil communications corrupt good manners": and he interpreted it literally, as it is generally interpreted, and not as irony: not as a rebuke administered to deceitful and evil suggestions: and having taken it literally he proceeded to denounce St. Paul for making the deepest of human instincts, the Socratic instinct to do the right at all costs and in the scorn of consequence, depend upon the merely historical question of Christ's resurrection. St. Paul, he said, separated Christianity from man's deepest instincts, as later apostles of Christ have refused to do, as Frederick William Robertson, for example, always refused to do: Huxley agreed with Robertson, and was amazed at St. Paul's faithlessness to man's best instincts: he was a better Christian than St. Paul, he said, as he interpreted St. Paul.

But to see how necessary the atmosphere of Christianity is for honest living and acting and thinking and feeling according to the best instincts, we must jump a generation or two, and study the descendants of these eminent Victorians who thought they had discarded Christianity: their literal and their spiritual descendants: the falling off—if there be a falling off, and there seems to be—will appear in them:

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they will not be able to live in the same high vein and strike the same high notes, without the same ennobling but illusory atmosphere in which their fathers lived: they are going to live at a lower range: to live more and more in 'Ercles vein, as Shakespeare calls it: in the vein of that brave swash-buckler and polygamous animal: or it may be even in King Cambyses' vein: in the vein of a tyrant and a madman much more degenerate than poor 'Ercles.

Some one will say, "all this talk about atmosphere is all right but too obvious": nine men out of ten govern their life on the principle that it is atmosphere, spirit that counts, not creed or letter: they are pragmatists one and all: they take their children to church, they send them to Sunday Schools: not because they take the creed of the churches *au pied de la lettre*, not because they take it literally: they take it with many many grains of salt rather: but they want that atmosphere for their children: and they are content that their children when they grow up shall do the same with *their* children; shall no longer for themselves take the creed and catechisms and confessions literally but shall take them for their atmosphere: and for *their children*: and *their* children, when they grow up, will do the same for *their* children: and so on *ad infinitum*: religion is an atmosphere, not a creed: at best an atmosphere and a temporary atmosphere for children: milk for babes; at worst an honest, cheerful, patient, determined whistling, to keep one's courage up, in a dark and quite impenetrable world.

Well, I think the drawback to this familiar policy of parents and to this familiar admission of a double standard for measuring religious truth, one for grown men and women and another for children, is that those who practise it do not know their Plato well: Plato has warned fathers that there is continually and almost continuously an awkward reaction, when young men and young women awake to find that their creeds and catechisms are not taken literally by their parents: they ask their parents quite early, often at eight years of age even, if not, at ten or twelve, at any rate long before the real years of discretion, long before they have reached manhood and womanhood,, and are thirty years old, "but do *you* father, do *you* mother, take Christianity seriously?" and

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if they see, whatever the verbal answer may be, that their parents do *not* take their creeds literally, why then, says Plato, they become spiritual orphans; they suffer orphanhood of the soul: they have parents after the flesh and parents after the spirit: and these two are one as long as they suppose their parents after the flesh, to accept their parents after the spirit literally: but when they begin to doubt their creeds and catechisms they have lost their spiritual parents, and they are orphans in spirit though both parents after the flesh may survive: and then what happens? continues Plato: they have lost their spiritual bearings, and moorings: in the deepest, that is in the spiritual sense, they are orphans: alone in the world without a creed and without a God: and then they are tempted to turn away from their spiritual parents, who are dead, and from the parents after the flesh, whom they find to be deceivers and not serious, to "the flatterers": they are in fact in the position of children, says Plato, who have found out that their supposed parents are not real parents: that they themselves are only supposititious children, adopted children: and they cannot any longer feel the same unfailing love and trust in these so-called parents, who have imposed upon them and have turned out not to be their real parents: and they are tempted to turn from them to the flatterers. And who are the flatterers? The flatterers in Plato's moving parable are the pleasures of the body: cakes and ale remain: ginger is hot in the mouth still: if no creeds and catechism are still standing, pleasure still stands: for a few short years at least pleasure still stands: "our parents after the flesh," they say, "have humbugged us and our spiritual parents have died of a decline: then let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die" (as St. Paul is made to argue), "a short life and a merry one."

And what is the remedy for this orphanhood? Plato can suggest none that is not impracticable: he can only suggest that this precocious thought and this precocious education which have gone to the parents with importunate questions (about creeds) which the parents cannot or will not answer seriously, should be artificially delayed for a long time; that the mental development and education of children should be arrested, till they are mature and have gained

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maturity's conservatism: till they have gained a conservatism of their own, such as their parents have gained before them: let them not be educated to think seriously, or to try philosophy, and have a philosophy, till they are thirty years of age: let no university and let no Socrates open their minds until they are thirty: then they will not become youthful anarchists and "Bolshies": then they will escape the influence of the flatterers, until they have reached the age when they are old enough to doubt the flatterers as they have previously doubted their parents: when life and experience in short shall have taught them that this is a world in which you must doubt everything you hear and most things that you see: by this time they will be armed against "the flatterers" and will be ready even to say, "Get thee behind me, Satan: I know too much: I have seen too much to take you more seriously, even *as* seriously, as I take my parents: they have been insincere with me but they were sincere in a fashion: they were clinging to an atmosphere, which I can now see, is truer than your atmosphere of cakes and ale and cheap pleasures: the atmosphere of my parents "washes", to put it in a homely way: it stands the test of life and time: it lasts and wears and even looks better as time goes on: I want to keep it: it is an atmosphere, not a creed: but it has a spiritual truth behind it, and that is the only truth one can expect, I see now, in this world; henceforth I am content with it: I am a pragmatist: I am not afraid to accept 'noble lies' and I measure all dogmas by their values." This then is Plato's impossible remedy for spiritual orphanhood, to defer Universities and serious education and philosophy to the age of thirty: but though his solution is impossible, his statement of the difficulty is unanswerable: there is an intellectual crisis under present circumstances for all intellectual children: and intellectual youth, somewhat similar to the intellectual crisis for the childlike and backward races of India when they receive a Western education from Englishmen and are nevertheless debarred from the immediate autonomy and self-determination which a Western education encourages: they appeal to the memory of Macaulay who introduced them to Western education; and their masters and suzerains now begin to regret

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that Macaulay ever lived, and legislated for Hindostan: they wish a mill-stone had been hung round his neck and that he had been drowned in the depths of the Indian ocean: present creeds and catechisms cannot face the intellectual unrest of the age, even for the European men and European children brought up under them and inoculated with their atmosphere, still less then for the Indian men and children, who have been educated out of their own atmosphere and systems but have never been acclimatized to Christianity: the creeds and catechisms break down and vanish, more or less, and the flatterers often win: the anarchists and Bolsheviks win, for a time at least, for a few hectic years: and even though the young Western man escape often with his life and gradually return, he is never the same again; he has lost the zest and glow of the years of faith: he is blasé, disillusioned, enfeebled in mind, if not in body: weakened in faith and hope and charity. In other words, Western parents are pragmatists, even if they never heard the word: it is a novel and intellectual and Greek word: they are measuring creeds and catechisms by their atmosphere, their moral values, not by their letter and their scientific accuracy: they are trying to impose them on their children (and on their Eastern subjects) without explaining that the truth of the creeds and catechisms is spiritual rather than literal: that the creeds are true only in some mystical sense; that is, that they are the highest truths a man can reach at present, and true to his heart's needs and the needs of his conscience: rather than true to the facts of human history or to the grosser facts of human nature and of the human body.

It would be a better solution perhaps of these gigantic difficulties than Plato's impossible solution, to tell the children (Eastern and Western) more than they tell; to let them understand better in what sense the creeds and catechisms are true, and how their truth cannot be proved true except painfully by life and experience: but can be proved so. If the children, Eastern and Western, old and young children, expected less of their creeds, the reaction and revulsion, when they found that neither they nor their parents could take them as literally as in their happy childhood, would be less dangerous, and the "flatterers" would not win as many con-

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verts, and ruin or at least darken and dampen, for years, so many young lives: people would take more seriously the profound and passionate prayer, and pray it more prayerfully, "Lord I believe, help Thou my unbelief." For the converts to the flatterers, even when they come back after a few years sadder and wiser men, are apt to come back only as materialists and secularists, are apt to put aside religion as impossible and turn their minds to making the best of the fragments that remain: the fragments of the loaves and fishes: or to vary the metaphor, the flesh-pots of Egypt: they decide to cut their losses and start afresh and make a success of life as a money-making business, or as a business of winning fame and place and power.

The religion and dreams of a better world have passed, and though pleasure and cakes and ale have turned out to be a rather silly and superficial and cheap company of flattering impostors, success in the usual sense, success in life as a rich man or as a leader of men, remains worth while: and to this a sensible man will lend himself: he will prefer not to make a "mess of life" (against which the worldly-minded Jowett always warned his brilliant students) though he no longer dream of Heaven or of being a literal Christian, and a servant, however unprofitable, of Christ and of the dreaming poets and hymnologists of Christianity, and of the mirage of a better world and of a second life, and of a passport into one of the many mansions, however humble, after this life, of which Christ had offered him a hope: he is not thinking now any longer of "climbing the steep ascent of Heaven," and finding rest from time to time on the way up, in one of those many mountain shelters in which Christ had encouraged him to believe: mountain shelters or *dâk* bungalows, which would make it possible even for the ordinary climber to climb gradually higher and higher from one life to another after resting for a time in each: until at the last he might see the mountain top, the Everest peak, and reach for himself at the last, after many lives it may be, the delectable goal. This reads like a very Platonic form of Christianity but Plato was a *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν*, a schoolmaster to Christianity, and is more happy and helpful and suggestive, along these lines, I

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think, than along the lines of an impersonal soul, and an impersonal immortality. The Platonic speculations of an impersonal soul, and an impersonal immortality, are more Buddhist and Eastern than Christian and Western: they suggest only the Buddhist craving to escape from the wheel of existence, to attain Nirvana: "the dewdrop slips into the shining sea": the aspiration no doubt can be given a curious slant towards a less impersonal immortality, as Tennyson contrived to slant it in his crossing the bar "when that which drew from out the boundless deep turns again home": but the younger and more characteristic Tennyson was not attracted by Buddhism and the boundless deep.

"That each which seems a living whole
Should move its rounds and fusing all
The skirts of self again should fall
Remerging in the general soul,
Is Faith as vague as all-unsweet,"

or again from the same poem and poet—

"Eternal form will still divide
Eternal soul from all beside,
And I shall know him when we meet."

Christians and Westerners stick to personality, just as they build their faith upon a person, not upon an impersonal abstraction; upon life and character, not upon an escape from life and character. In fact, modern speculation sometimes, noting that evolution is towards deeper personality and richer individuality, boldly argues that the "not ourselves making for righteousness" must by parity of reasoning be a personal and a conscious God and not a mere stream of tendency: as indeed Mr. Cooper said this morning. The typical Christian hymnologists, men like Moultrie and Montgomery and Mathe-son, Bright and Baynes and Bonar, Wesley, Whittier and Newman and Keble, betray necessarily the defects of their qualities and go through life indifferent, most of them, to most of the activities of life, to science and art, to physics and chemistry and biology and engineering: to history and even to archaeology and anthropology and psycho-analysis; but they express better than the Buddhist, the Western clinging to character and personality and will and self: yes, even

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when they shock us by their gross neglect of common sense and human nature and the laws of health and cleanliness. Shocking indeed their ignorance of these things sometimes is: I remember a devout couple, a church dignitary and his wife, who took charge of some Indian children in the absence of the parents in India: the children's morals no doubt were well looked after and their catechism learned and graces before and after meat duly said (as the judge arranged, you remember, for the little children of Shelley and Harriet Westwood), but their mother, when she returned, found more than the usual combing, and the usual comb necessary for those little orthodox heads. The dignitary himself was hardly less inconsiderate: he had a large parish and was asked from time to time to parish dinners: "I will bury you," he answered, "I will christen you, I will marry you, I will pray with you and preach to you: but I will *not* eat with you." I remember another devout missionary, who seemed too good for this world: "Well," said a clerical enquirer who wanted a mission conducted, "but what are the flies in the ointment, what are the skeletons in the cupboard: you don't tell me that the man is a plaster saint or an apostle"? "He has no deficiencies," answered his Bishop, "but what are themselves apostolical: soap and water": but even these unworldly persons did not so far ignore this world as to become Buddhists, mendicants and pillar saints.

As Aristotle soberly observes, when he is scandalized by Plato's leanings to a communistic and almost impersonal society; without fatherhood or motherhood, or husband or wifeness or sonship, "it is reasonable," said Aristotle, "to find fault with selfishness: but it is not selfishness to love self, but to love self at the expense of others." Even Aristotle's intellectualism shied at Buddhism and Nirvana, and inclined to something more human and anthropomorphic.

I was speaking incidentally of the hymnologists and their limited atmosphere: religious, but very apathetic towards the world's activities: after all it is not as harmful to the world, as the atmosphere of the unscrupulous man of action, as the Napoleons and the Bismarcks: though Bismarck was not consciously irreligious and counted himself in his curious way an orthodox believer, his is not a testimony in

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favour of orthodox belief: rather a testimony how mere orthodoxy without the Christian spirit may be much worse for the world than Christianity without the worldly spirit. His religion did not save Bismarck from unscrupulous doctoring of telegrams and ruthless ambition: he made, as the neat epigram goes, "Germany great and Germans small," and it ended in the debacle of nineteen eighteen.

Cavour was a wiser man of action than Bismarck, but even he repels: he is responsible with Mussolini for the "Sacro egoismo" and vaulting ambition of present-day Italy: some of you will remember that Cavour had a friend and agent Massimo d'Azeglio, governor of Genoa: d'Azeglio was a gentleman, a Christian gentleman, not a mere Aristotelian gentleman or *μεγαλόψυχος*: and when he received instructions from Cavour to secretly supply arms to Garibaldi after Cavour had pledged himself to Austria to neutrality, d'Azeglio resigned, and retired from politics. Gentlemen are less interested in politics and politicians in consequence, and have been resigning ever since; and Cavour's frank admissions explain why: "had I done for myself," said Cavour, "what I did for Italy, I should be a scoundrel." Therein breathes and blows the plague-stricken atmosphere of politics; it rushes in where gentlemen and Christians fear to tread. Politics and Parliaments where men sit round and score off each, like women at a sewing circle, first fascinate the mind, then debauch it, and end by destroying both intellect and character and Christianity. The political passion for power and place and for defeating the opposition, mar, impair and almost destroy the charm of even a religious and high-minded statesman like Mr. Gladstone: I prefer the frank cynicism of a Disraeli: it is not only much more intellectually honest, but even more morally honest, than the capacity for 'self-deceit which lets a man feel that he has two aces up his sleeve which Providence has placed there: which lets a man practise all the ruses and cunning of an old Parliamentary hand.

Again, is the more intellectual atmosphere of science and thought better for its possessor and for the world than the Christian atmosphere of the narrow hymnologists? Clough in his "Amours de Voyage" thought that science alone sticks by a man to the end.

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“Not as the Scripture saith I think is the fact: ere our death day
Faith and Love *do* vanish away but knowledge abideth.”

Well, does it? I have known Professors of Sciences and Languages who lost their knowledge even of the rudiments of their languages and sciences: who could not repeat the chemical symbol for water or the letters of the Greek alphabet, who could not distinguish their sons, even their best loved Benjamins from their loved and long lost fathers: who could not identify the colleagues of fifty years' partnership: who could not identify their own wives; but though memory was gone like the visions of the night, their character remained the same: if they were kindly and considerate, considerate and kindly they remained, and shared their last meals with the unknown attendants who were their last companions in those asylums which were the last stage of their eventful or eventless history: their charity never gave out, though knowledge had vanished away and the power of the tongue had ceased and all power of preaching had failed. I am very incredulous after this when I read Plato and Aristotle on the persistence of the life of the intellect, and the brevity of the life of the moral qualities.

What of Swift? He was more an ambitious man of the world than a Christian, and when hope and faith and intelligence failed him he thought himself a misanthrope, and cursed the day of his birth, and theoretically cursed and hated his fellow men: but only in the abstract: he was always indulgent and kind to the mere Dick, Tom and Harry, to the inferior men, the Michaels and Dennises and Barneys, whom he met in the streets and slums, of that city of slums, Dublin.

Cicero was an ambitious man of the world as well as a very decent Christian, for a Pagan: a loveable Pagan: but his decent atmosphere did not prevent him from driving his beloved Tullia, his only daughter, into a horrid marriage with a scoundrelly young politician who borrowed money from him and did not pay: it did not prevent him from making a second and purely mercenary marriage for himself in his old age with an heiress: their marriage was not happier than Sir Francis Bacon's similar venture. You can find a few parallels to this of a sort, perhaps, in the lives of some or one of the hymnologists: especially of the broader-minded and more

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worldly type, the more statesmanlike type: but the men of the more narrowly religious atmosphere did not, I think, make these blunders: their religious atmosphere was deep as well as narrow: they did not ignore the peace of their homes and their home-lives, they knew how large a part of life is atmosphere and how large a part of atmosphere is wife, if they ignored the world outside their homes, and were indifferent to *its* thoughts and *its* activities. The devout atmosphere only falls short negatively, in its defects and its limitations: it does no disservice to the world: it only falls short of service: the world sometimes talks of religion as a mirage: well a mirage, after all, is not a mere illusion: it is a real and true goal which by the illusions of the senses, seems nearer and more easily attainable than it is in fact: the hymnologists foreshortened their Heaven: almost all devout Christians foreshorten their Heaven, I mean see it much closer than it really is.

It is about time to sum up these long and rambling discourses and digressions (προσθήκας μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίζητο) as that inspiring Greek, Herodotus, used to say. Religion is unintelligible but it is the only solution of life: it is quite incredible but it must be substantially true.

Men have lived and died cheerfully and without faith, not infrequently, but generally from special causes peculiar to themselves.

First: by dint of hard continuous work: which leaves no time for thought, still less for boredom and ennui. This is the commonest case and was once the case of millions and of the average man: who worked all day as a slave for some master and slept soundly all and every night from fatigue: this is also the case with most of the sons of Martha: the untiring professional men of action, engineers, doctors and the like, "to them from birth is belief forbidden: from them till death is relief afar."

Second: by dint of excellent health: which is like youth and like wine, only much better than wine because harmless: a beneficent intoxicant: and a beneficent continuous intoxication.

Matthew Arnold had no creed left nor any commandment of promise before his eyes: but he was happy partly

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from intellectual curiosity and from the amusement which life gave him; partly from his being a residual legatee of his father's Christianity, but largely from the excellent health and physical vigour which intoxicated him: he vaulted, or nearly vaulted, a five-barred gate which most men of his years could not even climb over, within a few hours of his death: whence indeed the death which followed.

Third: by dint of intellectual curiosity: Rénan had no source of happiness in his creed: but he found life amusing and the debacle of the modern world very entertaining; and so Taine and countless other intellectuals: sometimes also and in this age it is golf, which reconciles to life: "I never enjoy anything now," said a Professor of Science, "except the links: but don't tell my wife so." Intellect disheartens and disillusiones but it has its compensations, and brings an interest in life lacking to the unintellectual: nature always contrives somehow to square things in the long run, as we have seen in the abounding optimism about the near future, of the pessimist, Mr. Bertrand Russell. Apart from these special causes and special cases it is religion and especially Christianity which palliates and redeems life to the countless masses who have neither slavery nor health nor intellectual curiosity to enable them to kill time: to the millions of common people more or less illiterates, and to the literates of one book—the *homines unius libri*—the hymnologists and the devout: it soothes even blindness: they "yield their flickering torch" to the Light of the World that "in its sunshine blaze, their day may fuller, brighter be." The Communists and Bolsheviks have discovered this obstacle to their creed: they denounce it as dope or dose or dole or drug: it keeps the masses from revolution, they perceive, as vodka kept the masses of Russia before the Russian revolution.

But they seem to shut their eyes to the patent fact that no revolution they can offer will make life its own reward, still less its own sufficient reward for the majority of mankind: man will still be under sentence of death: and many under sentence of a lingering and painful death from ill health, from cancer and angina pectoris and arterial sclerosis: no revolution will cure the ills of ill health no, nor solve the

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problems of the population question, of infanticide, abortion, prostitution, practical slavery, and wage-slavery.

Birth control may mitigate the problem but at a great cost to character and happiness (except of course the lawful form of birth control, self-control and continence: and that in turn depends on religion, on the instinct that this life is not the end).

Without that instinct and that religion life will still be unmeaning and hopeless to the majority of men and women over fifty years of age: even after birth control and contraception have done their most imperfect work. The ancient world was wholly pessimist: Socrates thought that if one chose a night wherein one had slept profoundly without consciousness of any kind and compared it with the other days and nights of one's life, few men including the Sultan of Persia (and Socrates, speaking popularly as a Greek, took him as the pattern of happiness instead of an awful example of unhappiness) would find many days or nights to compare favourably with it. Sophocles thought that "not to be born were best, next being born to die," and every one can see the truth of the most profound and passionate of Greek proverbs, 'whom the Gods love die young.'

The only escape from their pessimism is the "noble lie" of Christianity, that is a creed which is at once noble and inspiring—not only a creed for slaves, as Nietzsche called it, though it is a blessed creed for slaves—and yet so difficult of belief as to seem unbelievable, unintelligible, incredible, and in short a lie: a creed at once necessary to the salvation of the state, as Plato suggested, and necessary to the salvation of individuals (as Athanasius added), and yet like the Athanasian creed, a tissue of "incomprehensibles" (in the ordinary sense of that word). And yet it has to be incomprehensible and to remain so, in order to be a true religion at all; in order to become a venture and a gamble of man's best instincts and of his conscience: against cakes and ale and vulgar success.

If a man wish to be safe (*quicunque vult salvus esse*), secure against ennui, boredom and despair, it is necessary above all things that he hold the Christian faith: which faith is this, that he was put here for a purpose and that neither

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he nor this life is accident, or the misfit or the dud of a prentice Creator: (2) that if he earn more life by his use of this life, more life he will have and admission to one or other of the many mansions and mountain-shelters: that if he do not earn more life by his use of this, he will either go out like a burnt match or a fused wire, or sink in life's scale and begin at a lower range, as the monkeys perhaps are doing, being perhaps degenerate men: in any case he will be called to an account of his life and of the use he has made of it, with perhaps a period of Purgatory (Plato only added Hell for Ardiaeus, to have an awful example at hand for the impenitent: not for retribution's sake but for the impenitent's sake).

But to continue with the creed "which faith, unless a man hold, no doubt he shall perish everlastingly or at the least sink in the scale of existence: and if he reappear on earth it will be in the body of a monkey, or a wolf, or a snake, or a rat, or some other noxious creature created by the Prince of this world, and the Power of Darkness and the Principle of Evil.

I have parodied, you notice, the Athanasian creed, not I hope too flippantly; I have only tried to sift out of it those truths which remain even in this age of open questions and lifted anchors, for sober free thinkers: free thinkers of course I mean in the proper sense of that misapplied and much abused word: every one who thinks is a free thinker: if he is not, he is not a thinker at all, only a victim of rooted prejudice or ineradicable superstition: or a timid follower of convention.

There is much compensation for the disappearance of merely conventional Christianity, and for the separation of Christianity from the creed of the state and legislature, of public opinion and legal law: Christianity once more becomes what it was originally, a serious and unworldly creed: and Christians, if any remain, may be once more what they were originally, the salt of the earth; by their fruits and their atmosphere and only so, presumably, we shall know them: and Christian Baptism—even apart from the Catholic and the Anglo-Catholic creed of Baptismal regeneration—becomes once more a significant symbol, a declaration that the parents

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desire that the new-born child, the child of prayer, it may be, and not the unwelcome issue of animal appetite, may grow up to serve, and in some faint and human measure follow after the only Redeemer this afflicted world has seen, and take up the cross of the only Saviour and Messiah who has authoritatively and effectually invited the weary and the heavy laden to bring their souls to Him for rest.

MAURICE HUTTON.

LE CARDINAL MERCIER ET LA RENAISSANCE THOMISTE

LE cardinal Mercier a été l'une des plus pures gloires de l'humanité entière qui s'en réclame autant que la nation belge et l'Eglise catholique romaine. Mais tant d'aspects de cette grande figure mériteraient d'être étudiés à fond : le prêtre, l'ascète, le professeur, l'écrivain, le philosophe, le patriote, l'homme d'œuvres, qu'il faut bien limiter son choix, et l'on trouvera naturel que nous adoptions de préférence le philosophe. Il a dit un jour : "Mon désir constant, mon aspiration profonde fut toujours de monter, et de faire monter ceux sur qui je pouvais avoir de l'influence." La philosophie, parce qu'elle est la science des sommets, devait attirer cet esprit avide de recherches et passionné pour la vérité, tandis qu'une forte impulsion venue de l'extérieur le portait vers cette branche du savoir. A la chaire de philosophie thomiste, établie à Louvain en 1882 par l'épiscopat belge, sur la demande de Léon XIII, et déjà confiée à l'abbé Mercier, devait succéder en 1894 un Institut Supérieur de Philosophie dont il devint le Président jusqu'à son élévation au siège archiépiscopal de Malines. Cet Institut, quoique régi par ses propres lois, fait partie intégrante de l'Université et sa charte pontificale lui donne le droit de conférer tous les grades. Il a pour but l'étude et l'enseignement de la philosophie thomiste en elle-même et dans ses rapports avec les sciences et avec la philosophie moderne. L'adjonction au programme de certaines sciences choisies parmi les plus utiles au philosophe : v. g. physique, biologie, psychologie expérimentale, anatomie, physiologie, méthodologie, mathématiques, calcul intégral, etc., fait sans doute la distinction formelle d'un Institut d'avec une simple Faculté.

Le discours d'ouverture du jeune professeur traça un programme dont l'ampleur ne fut pas dépassée et dont l'actualité subsiste. C'était la lettre sans doute mais surtout l'esprit, l'essence profonde du thomisme qu'il fallait retrouver, s'assimiler par un effort de réflexion personnelle, puis faire revivre sous une forme neuve, adaptée aux besoins

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d'aujourd'hui. Telle était du reste la direction de Léon XIII. Le grand Pape des temps modernes voulait faire de la doctrine de S. Thomas d'Aquin le pont qui reliait l'Eglise et le siècle, et non pas un objet d'étonnement, une pierre de scandale.

Le seul obstacle apparent eut été l'adhésion au dogme, la foi personnelle du prêtre professeur (ceci reste une énigme pour un petit nombre de savants). Mais l'objection ne comptait pour rien à ses yeux. "La profession de la foi chrétienne, écrit-il, ne doit pas faire obstacle aux initiatives du savant, aux hardiesses même du génie. La première condition de la recherche scientifique, c'est la liberté de la science. Mais plus la foi du chrétien est sincère, plus elle le met à l'abri des préoccupations qui troublent l'esprit ou paralysent la volonté. Il n'aborde pas les problèmes de la science avec le dessein préconçu d'y trouver une confirmation de sa foi religieuse. Mais il demeure assuré que jamais la découverte d'un fait nouveau ne contredira l'objet de sa croyance." (*Rapport sur les études supérieures de philosophie*, 1891, et *Discours à l'Université de Louvain*, 1907). Léon XIII ayant recommandé l'études des sciences, sinon comme base, du moins comme préparation à la philosophie rationnelle, l'abbé Mercier mit à réaliser ses instructions une fidélité rare en même temps qu'une largeur de vue toute personnelle. Voici ses propres déclarations à se sujet: "Si nous voulons que la philosophie reprenne son empire sur la direction des esprits, il faut que nous aimions et que nous cultivions les sciences. Aussi longtemps que nous n'aurons à opposer à l'homme de science que des adages de métaphysique générale ou d'anciennes formules dont le sens lui échappe, nous n'aurons rien fait pour la conquête des intelligences (*Conférence au jeune barreau d'Anvers*, 1908).

Il n'était pas moins prodigue d'attentions ni de larges concessions à l'égard de la philosophie moderne. Certains problèmes comme celui de la critique de la connaissance, ne se posaient pas du temps de S. Thomas. Il fallait donc s'éloigner temporairement du maître à cette occasion, quitte à utiliser ses principes pour la solution des questions nouvelles. Aussi le cardinal Mercier, dans ses ouvrages qui couvrent presque tout le champ de la philosophie, fait la part

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très large à ce problème de la connaissance. Il a même versé dans une nuance de subjectivisme que ses meilleurs disciples lui ont plus tard reprochée. Mais d'un autre côté il a réussi à persuader les thomistes de ne pas se désintéresser des problèmes de critériologie. Son néo-thomisme se présentait donc aux penseurs du XIX^e siècle en collaborateur et non en adversaire, faisant appel aux philosophies les plus diverses pour découvrir les points de contact ou en extraire ce qu'elles contenaient de vrai et d'utile. "Nous nous réclamons, à l'occasion, de Platon, de Descartes, de Leibnitz, de Kant, de Fichte, de Hegel, de Wundt, aussi pleinement peut-être, à coup sûr aussi sincèrement que ceux qui nous rangent dans le parti opposé." (*Les origines de la psychologie contemporaine*, 1897). Thomiste de conviction il ne voulait cependant pas confondre la pensée philosophique avec les systèmes, puisqu'elle est en mouvement continu, le fruit croissant des efforts des générations pensantes qui se succèdent.

Rien de surprenant à ce qu'un prompt succès soit venu couronner de telles dispositions. Immédiatement l'abbé Mercier rencontra autour de sa chaire une attention sympathique. Alors devenu plus hardi, il prit la plume pour aborder le public des professionnels. Il obtint chez eux la même attention, le même respect. Les revues techniques de France, d'Angleterre, et d'Allemagne s'occupèrent de ses livres et de ses méthodes dont elles reconnaissaient l'esprit moderne et progressif. Déjà vers 1900 les critiques les plus en vue saluaient en lui un maître et dans le thomisme une doctrine vivante, actuelle, avec laquelle il fallait compter.

Le 7 février 1906 un coup de théâtre changea brusquement son existence. De par la volonté de Pie X il fut promu sans transition à l'épiscopat, et au siège de Malines, c'est à dire, placé à la tête de deux millions et demi de fidèles et de plus de deux mille prêtres. Mais pendant ce règne épiscopal, où il devait se signaler par tant d'œuvres éclatantes et pendant cette affreuse guerre où il joua un rôle absolument inégalé, on ne vit rien d'autre qu'une efflorescence de son ancien labeur intellectuel : les circonstances lui fournirent simplement une occasion magnifique de transporter ses idées dans le concret : sa fameuse lettre pastorale de 1914 et son sermon de Saint-Gudule ne furent une révélation que pour ceux qui ne le con-

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naïssaient pas, ou ne le connaissaient qu'à demi. Si le Cardinal Mercier apparut à un moment de sa vie comme l'incarnation de l'honneur national ou simplement de l'honneur, s'il a su malgré son âge tenir tête à l'envahisseur, dénoncer les atrocités de la guerre et les cruautés du régime d'occupation, fixer le caractère d'un tel régime en même temps que les limites de l'obéissance, rétablir les saines notions du droit international et du droit des gens, c'est parce qu'il était imprégné jusqu'aux moëllles des hautes doctrines qu'il avait professées. Il n'eut alors qu'à se montrer ce qu'il était, ce qu'il avait toujours été, un amant passionné de la vérité et de la justice.

Le cardinal Mercier fut donc après Léon XIII le principal ouvrier de la renaissance thomiste. D'autres enseignaient la même doctrine à Rome sous les yeux du Pape. Des communautés religieuses, les Dominicains en tête s'efforçaient graduellement de suivre les instructions pontificales en réagissant contre le cartésianisme alors en vogue dans la plus grande partie de l'Europe. L'Institut Catholique de Paris sous l'impulsion de Mgr. Hulst devait emboîter le pas à son tour. Mais il reste que l'exemple vint de Louvain et que le grand Cardinal fera figure d'initiateur aux regards de la postérité.

Je voudrais maintenant dans une brève esquisse signaler les répercussions de son geste dans le monde laïque. Il ne faut pas oublier que suivant le bref adressé au cardinal Deschamps en 1880, la fondation d'une chaire de philosophie avait pour objet premier "la formation de ceux qui arriveront un jour au gouvernement du pays et auxquels une forte culture philosophique permettra de mieux servir l'intérêt commun." De près comme de loin l'influence de Mgr. Mercier suscita de nombreux disciples parmi la laïcité et ceux-ci sont devenus maîtres à leur tour.

C'est en France que nous trouvons des indices plus marqués de "l'irrésistible attrait qui ramène l'intelligence à son mouvement naturel et la métaphysique des modernes à la métaphysique grecque." (Henri Bergson).

Déjà en 1913 M. Victor Delbos avait donné à la Sorbonne un cours de *philosophie française* qui, sans atteindre à la pureté de l'enseignement de son prédécesseur M. J. Gardair,

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marquait un pas considérable vers les réformes entrevues. Plus tard M. Pierre Duhem faisait connaître de près au même auditoire les vieux maîtres de l'Université de Paris. De nos jours c'est M. Etienne Gilson—bien connu des universitaires, de Cambridge, de Montréal et de Toronto—le sagace auteur des *Etudes de philosophie médiévale* et d'autres importants ouvrages, qui commente à ses élèves la *Somme contre les Gentils* désormais inscrite au programme de l'agrégation. Ajoutons que toutes les thèses thomistes sont admises en Sorbonne comme matière d'examen pour les grades officiels.

Voici une nouvelle victoire du Thomisme en France que l'on ne peut s'empêcher de noter avec surprise et satisfaction. Il a droit de cité, il est même traité avec beaucoup d'égards à la "Revue Universelle," émule de la Revue des Deux Mondes," non seulement par le titre, mais encore par les résultats obtenus depuis sa fondation en 1920. Tout en ouvrant ses pages à des écrivains d'opinions très diverses, cette nouvelle Revue prétend se maintenir en liaison étroite avec la philosophie chrétienne. Le moyen le plus sûr, sinon le plus aisé était de trouver une plume compétente. L'homme tout désigné d'avance était M. Jacques Maritain et il fut choisi. Esprit de forte envergure, écrivain soigné, polémiste redoutable autant par sa modération que par son trait et sa vigueur, muni d'un système, mais au courant de tous les systèmes, Maritain est vraiment le philosophe laïque du jour. Rien ne lui manque: ni les titres officiels: il est agrégé de l'Université, professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris et membre de l'Académie Romaine de Saint-Thomas; ni les titres officieux: il est l'auteur renommé de la Philosophie bergsonienne, d'Art et Scholastique, d'Anti-Moderne, des *Éléments de philosophie*, de *Trois Réformateurs*, et de *La primauté du spirituel*. La contribution jusqu'à date du jeune maître à la *Revue Universelle*, ses pages superbes sur l'idée du Progrès, la notion du temps d'après Einstein et sur le Songe de Descartes font convenir à plus d'un qui n'est pas disciple de Rome que rien n'est plus actuel, mieux ordonné, plus conforme aux postulats de l'esprit critique que ces riches segments de doctrine éclairés par l'ensemble, tels des panneaux détachés

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d'une fresque géante et qu'anime encore le pensée-mère de l'artiste.

Il fallait s'attendre à plus de lenteur dans le revirement philosophique, même partiel, de l'Allemagne et des Pays Bas. C'est la patrie d'Albert le Grand, sans doute, mais aussi de Kant, de Fichte et de Hegel. Comment débarrasser l'âme germanique du vieux fonds de criticisme idéaliste hérité des grands penseurs transcendants, comme on disait à l'époque de Mme de Staël et de Cousin. N'allons pas croire cependant que l'Allemagne soit dépourvue de tout élément et n'offre aucun indice de réaction. Beaucoup d'esprits sérieux y travaillent au rétablissement de la métaphysique d'Aristote et du criticisme réaliste. Ils ont cette audace de croire et de soutenir qu'il existe un monde indépendant des phénomènes de conscience et de sub-conscience. Parmi eux l'on compte Hermann Schwarz, William Stern, August Messer et Oswald Külpe, ce dernier mort en 1915 après s'être taillé un juste renom dans le monde des psychologues. Il existe même un mouvement néo-scholastique ayant pour principaux représentants Geyser, Cathrein, Pesch, Gutberlet et les professeurs de l'Institut Albert le Grand, fondé à Cologne en 1922. On peut dire que toutes les parties de la philosophie médiévale sont exposées de façon rigoureuse dans la revue *Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie* et dans une collection placée sous la direction d'éminents professeurs de Munich, de Tubingue et de Munster. Pour ce qui regarde La Hollande, le mouvement inauguré vers 1880 par Father de Groot, O.P., continue à produire d'heureux fruits. L'enseignement Thomiste est livré simultanément à Amsterdam, à Leyde, à Groningue et à Utrecht.

On peut aussi recueillir dans les pays saxons des faits non moins surprenants si l'on songe à l'ostracisme de règle exercé contre cette philosophie traditionnelle par les Universités d'Angleterre et des Etats Unis, qui affectaient même de l'ignorer, quand elles se donnaient tant de mal pour étudier le bouddhisme et les religions de la préhistoire.

Depuis 1920 on a établi, sans compter les cours de vacances, des conférences régulières sur la Somme de Saint-

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Thomas qui sont livrées à Newcastle par Father Hugh Pope, à Londres par Father Vincent MacNab, à Washington par Father Ignatius Smith et quelques autres. Le fait le plus renversant est sans doute la nomination de M. Maurice de Wulf et de M. Etienne Gilson comme professeurs de Philosophie thomiste à Harvard. On a même demandé au premier qui alterne ses cours annuels entre Louvain et Harvard de vouloir bien composer un Manuel à l'usage des étudiants. Il convient de féliciter l'institution qui la première se donne l'air de vouloir sortir de la confusion éclectique où se débat le monde intellectuel américain.

Un mois après la parution de l'encyclique *Aeterni Patris*, l'Université Laval de Québec adoptait le programme de restauration philosophique de Léon XIII. Les deux années de philosophie élémentaire faisant suite aux humanités dans nos collèges classiques suffisent à doter nos jeunes gens de solides principes et les disposent à envisager les questions politiques et sociales sous leur aspect le plus élevé. Mais l'Université de Montreal, séparée de Laval et devenue autonome en 1919, voulut faire davantage sous ce rapport, en créant en 1921 une Faculté de philosophie où les élèves, recrutés parmi les étudiants des deux sexes, reçoivent un enseignement plus perfectionné. Laval à son tour instituait l'an dernier une Ecole Supérieure de Philosophie placée sous la direction du célèbre théologien Mgr L. A. Paquet. A Montréal, cependant il y a deux professeurs laïques: Mr. Guy Vanier et Mr. Damien Jasmin, tous deux avocats. Cet enseignement, si modeste qu'il soit encore, répond efficacement à son but essentiel. Moins brillants que solides, les résultats sont là palpables devant nous. La paix sociale et religieuse règne dans toute la Province de Québec. Une philosophie à laquelle ses adversaires croient faire injure en la nommant philosophie du sens commun a en effet préservé chez nous le bon sens naturel, véritable apanage de la race française. Personne que je sache parmi nos intellectuels n'en est encore arrivé à douter de sa pensée, de son âme, de sa liberté, de la réalité du monde externe. Il n'y a jamais eu de suicides dans nos collèges, parceque l'éthique fondamentale apprend aux élèves le prix de la vie.

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Et quand on songe qu'en ces divers pays le renouveau philosophique est dû en pratique et dans une très large mesure au cardinal archevêque de Malines, on ne peut s'empêcher de lui appliquer un mot célèbre en disant que c'était un homme qui faisait l'honneur à l'homme.

M. A. LAMARCHE, O.P.,
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AN ALLEGORY ON THE BANKS OF THE NILE

THE genial Mr. W. L. Phelps tells somewhere of searching the grim Sunday School Library of his childhood for some not wholly edifying volume, and of finding *General Putnam and the Wolf*, which he bore home with hopes of an unusual Sabbath afternoon. The work opened thus: "As General Putnam descended into the cave to fight the wolf, so should we go forth to fight the demon Rum. . ." and from there on it was a tract. This anecdote of human depravity (the author's, not Mr. Phelps's) may serve as an honest disclaimer in case my own title appear to promise suggestions of Sheridan.

Most of us in our salad days have used the word 'medieval' as, during the last generation, so many people have used 'Victorian', to indicate some puerile habit of mind peculiar to a simple age and impossible in more enlightened times. One such way of thinking often dismissed as hopelessly medieval is the practice of reading allegory into imaginative literature. Of course this practice, which reveals so many quirks in the human brain, did flourish most widely in the Middle Ages, but it may be of interest to summon a sufficient cloud of witnesses to emphasize the fact that allegorizing neither began nor ended in the medieval period. The subject has often been treated in particular phases, yet there is some mild amusement in a brief continuous survey of some twenty-four centuries, even though we must move, as Terence Mulvaney once did, "in standin' leps."

In the Greek world, as everyone knows, Homer was almost a Bible, except that divine authority was not claimed for him, and he was regarded as a storehouse of counsel for the guidance of life. There came a day when the devout reader was troubled in reconciling the highest maxims of morality with the battles, crimes, and amorous diversions of the gay dwellers on Olympus. Homer had to be saved, and allegory came to the rescue. Homer was a philosopher using symbols to express moral truth. This method of reading Homer (some traces of which may be recognized in modern

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"reinterpretation") soon showed its capacity for proving anything. It did not satisfy everyone, however. Plato, in whom the puritan sometimes got the better of the poet, refuses to admit story-tellers into his ideal state, "whether with allegories or without them."

Of the various early allegorizers in historic times the most important was Euhemerus, whose method has given a word to our dictionaries. For him ancient myths represented actual events, and the gods were distinguished heroes whom the popular mind had exalted into deities. This rationalizing of myths constantly reappeared—in Roger Bacon, the most critical mind of the thirteenth century, and in much later ages.

Re-interpretation having shown its usefulness in turning literature into books of riddles, it began in the early Christian era to be used for divers purposes. Neo-Platonism encouraged the love of mysteries. Philo Judaeus and other Jews tried to show that the Pentateuch contained Greek philosophy, and Christian writers that the Old Testament contained Christianity. The one universally familiar example of the process is the transmutation of passionate Hebrew love-songs into an allegory of Christ and the Church. Origen protests against taking Biblical narratives literally:

"What man of sense will suppose that the first, and the second and the third day, and the evening and the morning, existed without a sun and moon and stars? . . . And if God is said to have walked in a garden in the evening, and Adam to have hidden under a tree, I do not suppose that anyone doubts that these things figuratively indicate certain mysteries, the history being apparently but not literally true. . . Nay, the Gospels themselves are filled with the same kind of narratives. Take, for example, the story of the devil leading Jesus up into a high mountain, to show him from thence the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; what thoughtful reader would not condemn those who teach that it was with the eye of the body—which needs a lofty height that even the near neighborhood may be seen—that Jesus beheld the kingdoms of the Persians, and Scythians, and Indians, and Parthians, and the manner in which their rulers were glorified among men?"

The last part of this extract indicates that the method already applied to the obviously troublesome elements of the

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Old Testament was also being applied to the New. Christ's life among fishermen and sinners was too plebeian for some of the Fathers—and five barley-loaves and two fishes mean that Christ "gave mankind the preparatory training of the Law, for barley, like the Law, ripens sooner than wheat, and of philosophy, which had grown, like the two fishes, in the waves of the Gentile world."

What power this kind of interpretation had over men may be suggested by a couple of quotations from one of the greatest of books, the *Confessions* of Augustine. He is telling of hearing Ambrose, one of the chief exponents of allegorizing in the West:

For first, these things also had now begun to appear to me capable of defence; and the Catholic faith, for which I had thought nothing could be said against the Manichees' objections, I now thought might be maintained without shamelessness; especially after I had heard one or two places of the Old Testament resolved, and oftentimes "in a figure," which when I understood literally I was slain spiritually. Very many places of those books having been explained, I now blamed my despair, in believing that no answer could be given to such as hated and scoffed at the Law and the Prophets. . . . And with joy I heard Ambrose in his sermons to the people, oftentimes most diligently recommend this text for a rule, 'The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life'; whilst he drew aside the mystic veil, laying open spiritually what, according to the letter, seemed to teach something unsound. . . .

And of course Augustine himself practised the method which had illuminated his soul.

A noted expositor of allegory was Pope Gregory, that great prelate who was too full of the spirit to bother about grammar, and who rebuked one of his bishops for teaching that evil science. A single and somewhat unchivalrous bit of Gregory's commentary on *Job* may be quoted:

Thus *there were born to him seven sons*; namely, the Apostles manfully issuing forth to preach; who in putting in practice the precepts of perfection, as it were, maintained in their manner of life the courage of the superior sex. . . .

And three daughters. What do we understand by the daughters but the weaker multitudes of the faithful, who, though they never adhere with a virtuous resolution to per-

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fection of life, yet cleave with constancy to the belief of the Trinity which has been taught them?

Thus, as Kirsopp Lake once remarked, in life as in chess bishops move obliquely.

Many of the Fathers had attacked classic literature, though they recognized that it was necessary in education. Imaginative literature of any sort did not lead the soul heavenward, and much pagan writing, Ovid and the rest, led decidedly downward; literature, being fiction, was untrue; it also aroused emotions, and emotions should be stilled. These and other grounds for hostility to literature were not peculiarly medieval, but have been held by such various persons as Plato, Thomas Aquinas, and Anthony Comstock. And many men, like Jerome, clung to the classics until conscience made itself heard. Here, too, then was a field for the allegorizer, the salvation of the classics.

The first notable landmark is the work of Fulgentius (sixth century), which expounded the *Aeneid* in detail as a kind of pilgrim's progress, an allegory of the life of man. Vergil of course occupied a special pedestal in the Middle Ages, because of the "Messianic Eclogue" and many other reasons, and touches of allegorizing had appeared in the critics Donatus and Servius. Fulgentius did a thorough job, and his exposition was to have a long life. So was his handbook of allegorized mythology, in which, for instance, the judgment of Paris became a sermon on the contemplative, active, and sensual life.

Ovid's popularity in the Middle Ages was second only to Vergil's, and, while no one is surprised that Vergil, the purest embodiment of pagan wisdom, should have been chosen as Dante's guide, one may be surprised—as the charming gentleman himself would have been—to find the author of *The Art of Love* yielding moral lessons to countless generations. The *Metamorphoses* was allegorized in a substantial Old French poem of some seventy thousand lines, the *Ovide moralisé*. Since some, like Mr. Wegg with Gibbon, may not have been "right slap through" it very lately, I may summarize a tale. In Ovid Calisto, seduced by Jupiter in disguise, is driven, after exposure, from Diana's company, gives birth to a son, Archas, is changed into a bear, is pur-

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sued by her son, and saved by Jupiter, who takes her to the sky. The moral is drawn in various ways. Some women can conceal sin, Calisto could not. A life of vice means the loss of beauty. Calisto's translation to the sky shows that after repentance may come reconciliation with God. Or, the virgin Calisto is Judea, who gives birth to Christ. Calisto for personal reasons had declined to bathe with Diana; that is, she despised baptism and the love of God. She—Judea—gives herself to an evil life and is finally pardoned by God. And so the work goes on, mile after mile.

A similarly moralized Ovid, in Latin prose, went under the name of Thomas Walleys, though the author was Pierre Bersuire. Let us see what this book makes of the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe. Pyramus is the son of God, Thisbe the human soul. They loved, but the wall (sin) came between them. The lovers were to meet at the mulberry tree by the spring; that is, through the incarnation they are to become Christians under the cross at the baptismal font. But the soul (Thisbe) could not approach the font on account of the devil (the lion). Pyramus, thinking her dead, kills himself; the son of God endured death for the human soul. Thisbe kills herself; the soul should kill itself and suffer the same anguish mentally. Or, an alternative explanation: Thisbe is the virgin to whom the son came in the flesh. He died under the cross, and she in compassion transfixed herself with a sword. All this would have made Ovid stare and gasp, but it fitted the taste of the time like a glove.

The principles somewhat loosely applied in these works are the traditional ones laid down by Origen and Gregory and others. We find Dante expounding the four senses, literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogic, in which literature is to be understood. And if Dante stands for medievalism, Petrarch is hailed in the text-books as the first modern man. Petrarch, like John of Salisbury in the twelfth century, sees the *Aeneid* as an allegory, in which Aeneas is the perfect man, Aeolus our reason, Venus pleasure, and so on. At times Petrarch had qualms about this, but in his view allegory is the very warp and woof of all poetry. Boccaccio held the same theory, though it had no appreciable effect upon the *Decameron*.

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Literature could still be justified only as the handmaid of religion and theology.

There is no space to speak of the vast ramifications of the allegorical idea, in the quaint bestiaries, which extract lessons from extraordinary bits of natural history; in the pious "applications" appended to tales, often rather indecorous tales, in such books as the *Gesta Romanorum*; in medieval hymns, where any one of the four living creatures of Ezekiel, man, lion, ox, eagle, may be Christ, or all four may be the four evangelists; even in architecture and geography. Men thought in terms of allegory.

We leap some distance, and come to one of the keenest of human intellects, Erasmus. Thinking of the clear-eyed, ironic humanist, whose satires did more for human enlightenment than the noise of the reformers, one may wonder at finding that he interprets manna as the shadowing forth of the law, the miracle at Cana as the turning of the cold and insipid letter into the wine of the spirit, and so on. But, despite his keen intellect, Erasmus could hardly do otherwise. Comparative religion and folklore were sciences still unborn. Of course it is not easy to be sure when *bona fide* allegorizing merges with the modern preacher's habit of drawing moral lessons. Scholarship is still engaged in correcting the old notion that the Renaissance was a sudden emancipation and rediscovery of antiquity after the long sleep of the Middle Ages; in showing that the emancipation was not sudden or complete, and that, on the other hand, the Middle Ages made great strides in some directions. This one thread we are following amply bears out the modern view. "Medievalism" not only persists through the Renaissance but long afterwards, though of course it loses ground steadily. One might mention Tasso, who, sick and harassed by critics, declared, to save his poem, that every bit of it was allegorical, that nothing in it was "left to vanity"; or Ariosto, whose gay pageant of knights and ladies and griffins and love, romantic, ironic, or sensual, was, after his death, soberly allegorized with the usual edifying results. Sir John Harington, Elizabeth's godson and favorite, who paraphrased Ariosto with considerable emphasis on the naughtier parts, reaffirms in his preface the traditional "senses" in which poetry is to be

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understood. And other Elizabethan critics, Lodge, Webbe, and the rest, defending poetry against puritans and ballad-mongers, have no better argument than the old one, that the essence of poetry lies in the moral truth concealed beneath the fable. Sidney, nourished on the Italian Aristotelians, is thoroughly didactic in his view of poetry—like all men of the age—but apparently has little interest in the allegorical defence. Spenser, in the letter to Raleigh on the plan of the *Faery Queen*, of course sees ancient epic heroes as embodiments of virtue.

In that period of supposed enlightenment which an undergraduate described as “the specious days of great Elizabeth”, Ovid was still being treated as he was in the 14th century. A poem on Narcissus of 1560 has eight pages of narrative, over thirty of moralization; the latter quotes, among others, Thomas Walley’s and Boccaccio. Golding’s translation of the *Metamorphoses*, which Shakespeare quoted, is prefaced with expositions, in the medieval manner, of most of the tales; the story of Phaeton shows “the natures of ambition blynd, and youthful wilfulnesse.” And Golding claims that Ovid contains a mirror of all human life, with profit for both sexes and all classes of society; even though Ovid and his heroes were pagan they can be reduced “to ryght of Christian law.” In this Golding is only representative of many who may be passed over.

The 17th century saw the birth of the modern critical and scientific spirit, and we might expect to find the herald of that spirit denouncing this as he denounced other medieval ways of thought. But Bacon wrote a treatise, *De Sapientia Veterum*, in which, with his practical point of view, he expounded the truth latent in about thirty ancient myths. In that century Platonism was rampant, and wherever you find a Platonist you find an allegorizer. Thus Henry Reynolds, to whom Drayton addressed his famous *Epistle*, explains the four-fold meanings of the tale of Narcissus, with the aid of bewildering ideas from the Neo-Platonists and the Cabbala. Reynolds’s contemporary, George Sandys, translated the *Metamorphoses* again, with much more copious moralizations than Golding had attempted; it was this trans-

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lation, as everyone knows, that Keats used to such good purpose.

But the tide of rationalism was rising, and gradually drowning the allegorizers. In 1674 the downright Rymer, whose neo-classic doctrines made mincemeat of *Othello*, denounced them. So, in the following year, did Hobbes. Yet we come on to the traditional incarnation of Augustan good sense and we have Pope, in the preface to his *Iliad*, discussing the moral truth which Homer embodied in his fables. Parnell, whose scholarship was more respectable than Pope's, was inclined, in the essay on Homer which he contributed to the translation, to snort at such vanities. But even he was not untouched: "Yet there are several rays of truth streaming through all this darkness, in those sentiments he entertains concerning the Providence of the Gods, delivered in several allegories lightly veiled over, from whence the learned afterwards pretended to draw new knowledge, each according to his power of penetration and fancy."

The power of penetration and fancy possessed by Taylor the Platonist, at the end of the 18th century, was so great that we must pass him by, lest darkness overwhelms us. In later times allegorizing has been practised chiefly by the illiterate, or that still more difficult class, the learned irrational. During the war people were constantly writing to Mr. Editor to show that the Kaiser was the beast of *Revelation*. And one remembers how Matthew Arnold, dwelling mournfully on the crack-brained freakishness of the English mind, cited the work of a Mr. Charles Forster, who had demonstrated that the Pope and Mahomet are shadowed forth in the great horn and little horn of the he-goat in *Daniel*. But the most remarkable work of all was reserved for our own enlightened days. In 1924 a Mr. John Forbis published *The Shakespearean Enigma and an Elizabethan Mania*. It is decidedly a tract for the times, for we learn that the sonnets of Petrarch, Sidney, Daniel, Lodge, Willobie, Drayton, and Spenser record their authors' struggles against Alcohol. Laura, Stella, Delia, Phyllis, and the rest, prove to be only aliases of John Barleycorn. As in Tasso's poem, nothing is left to vanity. Take these familiar lines:

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My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun;
Coral is far more red than her lips' red;
If snow be white, why then her breasts are dun;
If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head.

"Dun" suggests the color of Shakespeare's favorite beverage. "Black wires" probably indicate the way in which the cork was fastened to the bottle. . . The Enigma is unlocked, the Mania is dipsomania.

So this catalogue of the ships may suggest that progress, if slow, is sure. The profane may smile (or yawn) but the catalogue is not barren of instruction—if one's hand may be so far subdued to what it works in as to draw a moral lesson. Let us, especially if we be learned, be cautious, and make certain whether our part in the human comedy is that of spectator or actor. When one thinks of Mr. Forbis, who surely, like Ovid, will not wholly die, or of the Baconians, who have shown that Bacon wrote not only Shakespeare but also most of Gascoigne, Spenser, Sidney, Raleigh, and the Bible, or of Miss Winstanley, once an acute critic, who has proved that Shakespeare's major tragedies are political allegories, one wonders with increasing apprehension why Elizabethan literature more than any other department seems, soon or late, to disorder the brains of its devotees.

DOUGLAS BUSH.

THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE ST. LAWRENCE PROJECT

A Canadian View

IN the abundant literary crop which has recently emerged from the fertile garden of the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway project, relatively little has appeared which would give an interested student of the subject an adequate understanding of its economic consequences. The data supplied by the Joint Commission and other investigating bodies, while remarkably comprehensive in its technical engineering phases, is nevertheless singularly incomplete in the analysis of other cognate factors, especially as regards Canada. The emphasis upon the transportation aspects as of paramount interest, which is a leading factor of previous reports on the subject, hardly seems to give sufficient consideration to several important changes which have recently occurred, or are about to occur in the movement of basic Canadian commodities. While it is clearly shown that the United States could, without difficulty, absorb within a brief period, practically all the power available on the St. Lawrence River, yet the question of Canada's potential rate of absorption of such power still remains unsatisfactorily answered. Certainly no great effort has been made to quell the growing fear of a large section of the Canadian electorate that if the project is once approved at Ottawa, we shall shortly witness another "Canal Zone" through an indispensable strip of Canadian territory, with as serious curtailment of the Dominion's jurisdiction as has taken place in the Republic of Panama and the Kingdom of Egypt. The most carefully worded agreement involving joint international control of a system of canals in Canadian territory would be regarded in Canada with suspicion and distrust—not altogether unsupported by precedent.

Whatever may be the economic possibilities of any formula advanced for the solution of the St. Lawrence question, it is reasonably certain (if one may presume to estimate the pulse of Canadian public opinion) that no government at Ottawa would dare to proceed with the present proposals

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without making certain very definite stipulations at the outset, and foremost among which would be insistence upon full control over all canal and power works which are to be located in Canadian territory. The possible complication involved in the question of boundary water levels is already provided for by treaty, and would not affect the main contention.

The additional difficulty of arriving at a mutually satisfactory settlement in the division of canalization costs could be adjusted by Canada conceding to the United States a proportion of costs, somewhat less than the ratio on the basis of "benefits to be received." This would be a small price to pay for an unimpaired sense of national security. Furthermore, the apparent eagerness of the United States to proceed with the construction of the waterway indicates her probable willingness to accept such terms. The principle of cost division on the benefit basis has already been recognized since the canal will not collect tolls, and is therefore as much a boon to American traffic as to Canadian. The "something less," however, is necessary as representing a monetary settlement with the United States in return for her full renunciation of any claim or jurisdiction with regard to such navigation or other works as are situated in Canadian territory. This fact of "value given for value received" would greatly improve Canada's legal position in any future controversy which might arise in connection with the waterway.

The second reservation would cover the distribution of the potential 5,000,000 installed horse power which would ultimately result from the navigation works on the St. Lawrence River. Of this enormous total the United States can lay claim to only 950,000 h.p. as her maximum share of the power available on the international section of the river. The residue of 4,050,000 h.p. should not be alienated in whole or in part. No arrangement short of this would satisfy Canadian opinion, for there is an increasing realization that hydro-electric power exported even on short term leases is definitely and irrevocably lost to this country.

Electricity has become such a basic commodity in the modern industrial and social system that a sudden cessation of supply in centres dependent upon it could hardly be re-

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garded as less than a "casus belli." Even during the Great War, as Dr. Julian Smith has pointed out, we found it impracticable to recover our exported power for use in Canada, though in dire need of it. He states further that "neither the character of the contract nor pertinent international commitments will govern the return of power for vast vested interests must inevitably be built up, based upon the utilization of power, which cannot be ignored, and these interests will always be in a strong position to prevent the stoppage of supply." While broad general statements have often been made of the "inestimable value of Canada's resources in 'white coal'," yet it is seldom that an attempt has been made to represent the known factors in such an estimate. During the past six years Canada's development of her water powers has doubled itself.

If this ratio were maintained during the next generation, allowing for other contemplated developments in the Central Provinces, Canada could herself effectively absorb her full share of St. Lawrence power within the brief space of nine years. Of course it is only reasonable to assume that the future progress of hydro-electric installation can hardly maintain its recent ratio, but on the other hand it is not over-optimistic to expect at least a maintenance of arithmetical progression. Even this would indicate a complete absorption of such power by 1945. "The people of Canada," stated Dr. Julian Smith, two years ago, "would indeed be in a sorry plight if twenty-five years hence their continued industrial development and domestic comfort were not only dependent upon the availability of American coal, but also upon the return of their own exported hydro-power."

One seems forced to conclude from the foregoing estimates that not only is it imperative that our hydro-electric resources be kept for Canadian use, but that it is only a matter of a very few years before the development of the St. Lawrence will become an urgent necessity even from a strictly Canadian economic viewpoint, if not for its potential navigation facilities, then at least for its power. This view is further substantiated by an examination of known tendencies in the utilization of electricity in the central Provinces. It is a well-known fact that both of the Canadian railway com-

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panies have completed plans for the electrification of their Montreal terminals, and that only an unforeseen hitch in negotiations prevented one of them from electrifying its line to Quebec City two years ago. Traffic on practically all of the trunk lines in the Central Provinces has reached the requisite density for electrification, providing that sufficient power at reasonable rates is available for the purpose. It is also becoming increasingly apparent that the Lower St. Lawrence Valley is strategically located for the development on a large scale of electro-chemical and metallurgical industries which would refine and manufacture the rapidly growing supply of mattes from the mining areas of Northern Ontario and Quebec. These along with Pulp and Paper are among the most important power-using industries. The Shawinigan Water and Power Company has already shown what can be accomplished along this line.

There are still several eminent Canadian economists, of the Manchester School, who refuse to admit there is any economic advantage in retaining our water powers for Canada's use only. Some would go even so far as to state that by supplying the electrical needs of New England, which is sorely deficient in that commodity, we would be creating an increased purchasing power in a neighboring region and therefore augmenting its demands for Canadian products. They point out that the United States area within a three hundred mile radius of St. Lawrence power contains over twenty-two million people, supplies 20% of all our imports, and receives 12% of our total exports. The dearth of cheap electric power in New England has undoubtedly contributed to the migration of many industries, notably cotton, into the South Atlantic States. While, *coeteris paribus*, this theory is academically sound, it does not fit the actual circumstances of Canada's relations to her great southern neighbour, nor the peculiar characteristics of the commodity concerned. Notwithstanding all theory to the contrary, the modern state is becoming to a greater and greater extent an economic as well as a political unit. The more intensified demands of fiscal policy, especially in the post-war period, make this inevitable. There is a growing desire to stabilize currents of trade rather than to seek merely their maximum of quantitative

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return, which is subject to continual variation. This is evidenced in many quarters by higher tariffs and commercial treaties. The relatively greater fixation and immobility of invested capital in railways, ocean terminals and industrial plant which is a contributory cause of this tendency, is nowhere better illustrated than in Canada and the United States. The losses from dislocation of the internal economy of either nation would outweigh the theoretical advantages of a free exchange of commodities. This is especially true of electric power, which has provided Canada with her chief industrial weapon in the competitive battle for markets, and has done much to effect the relative disadvantage of a much smaller population and a limited home market. If André Siegfried is right in his claim that the economic supremacy of the United States is due chiefly to the "thirty-five invisible electric slaves" which multiply the work of each American labourer, then it is surely to Canada's interest to retain her potential "slaves" for her own workers.

Among the recommendations of the Joint Commission is one which it is difficult to reconcile with the best economic interests of the Dominion. The prior development of the International Section is urged on the grounds that it will take a longer time to complete than that of the purely Canadian sections between Lake St. Francis and Lake St. Louis, and at Lachine. This conclusion presupposes the predominance of navigation interests, which seems far from demonstrated by an examination of known facts. Admitting the tendency towards congestion in the present canal system, one must nevertheless take into consideration the competing traffic of Canadian railways, especially in view of the recent important readjustments of grain and other rates by the Board of Railway Commissioners. The maintenance and progressive increase of this railway traffic is of vital importance to the continued prosperity of the Dominion. Then there are the two new outlets, one actually in operation, the other well under way, for Canadian export grain, namely the British Columbia, and Hudson Bay routes. The former is now handling about one-sixth of the western exportable surplus of wheat, while estimates of the future Hudson Bay traffic vary from one-quarter to one-tenth of this surplus. Although

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seasonal variation in lake rates, and climatic factors affecting the early or late ripening of grain, present difficulties in the delimitation of definite areas of shipment, yet it is fairly safe to state that the eastward limit of grain traffic via British Columbia is approximately the 109th west meridian, and that the southward limit of prospective Hudson Bay traffic will be the 42nd parallel of latitude. There is relatively little room for agricultural expansion in the region which will thus be tributary to the Great Lakes, in comparison with the other two indicated above. As for United States grain following the St. Lawrence route, it has already shown symptoms of decline, owing to expanding home consumption and increasing milling activities in certain mid-western cities, of which Milwaukee is the chief centre. Of the other bulk commodities entering into Great Lakes traffic—iron ore, stone and coal—none may be considered a wholesale exportable commodity, according to Mr. Arthur V. White, consulting Engineer to the Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission.

While opinion is somewhat divided, yet the majority of experts seem to agree that the Deep Waterway will not tend to extend ocean traffic into the heart of the continent to any marked extent, owing to the differences in lake and ocean vessel design, and the costly lockage delays to the heavier-staffed deep-sea ships. While these considerations all seem to detract from the "paramount importance of navigation" in the St. Lawrence question, yet there is ample ground for concluding that as a by-product of the power development the deepened waterway would be a useful and not too expensive additional asset. There seems no reason to doubt the estimates of lower rates being thus established for grain moving from points of shipment at the head of the Great Lakes to Montreal. The greater carrying capacity of vessels which would convey this grain the whole distance—the elimination of "broken bulk" (transshipment) at Buffalo or Port Colborne, as at present necessitated by the inability of the larger upper lake vessels to navigate the lower canals—these and other factors would contribute to the diversion of much Canadian grain, now following the United States routes, to Montreal and Quebec City. It has been estimated that such diversion would amount to eighty million bushels, of which

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approximately thirty million bushels would represent an increment to Lower Canadian flour mills as a result of the readjustment necessary in the milling industry at Buffalo. It is still doubtful, however, whether these advantages would not be counterbalanced by dislocation in other spheres, notably railway traffic, if the project were proceeded with at the present time. That the deep waterway will, within a decade, be desirable from the viewpoint of Canada, is, however, hardly open to question.

The above study of the prospective economic consequences of the proposed St. Lawrence development, while admittedly incomplete, in certain respects, nevertheless encourages the view that the best interests of Canada would be served not by considering the navigation aspects of the scheme, but its power potentialities as of paramount importance. It is the latter which is most urgently required, in the immediate future, for the progressive expansion of Canadian industry. If navigation, then, be considered a secondary issue there is no need to make haste in the development of the international section at the Long Sault Rapids. It would, on the other hand, strengthen the case of the Ottawa authorities in negotiating more acceptable terms for the development of this section, and the ultimate completion of the Deep Waterway, if all-Canadian power-sites of the river were first considered not as a part of the joint project, but as a purely Canadian enterprise. The present competition of capital to develop these valuable water-powers, especially that between Lake St. Francis and Lake St. Louis, would enable the Federal and Provincial authorities to negotiate with the private interests, applying for charter, very favourable terms with regard to the subdivision of costs for joint power and navigation works. They could lay down such restrictions as may be deemed necessary in view of the ultimate purpose of the completion of the whole twenty-five foot waterway between Lake Ontario and Montreal.

Installation of successive stages, to keep pace with the expanding power requirements of the Central Provinces, would seem to be the ideal procedure in developing the section between Lake St. Francis and Lake St. Louis. A full head of eighty feet could be secured by the concentration of

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the total fall of the Coteau, Cedars and Cascades rapids at one point on the shore of Lake St. Louis. This would afford an ultimate potential installation of nearly two million horsepower, or more than would be available at Long Sault. From the experience of similar developments, such as those at Shawinigan and Queenston, it is reasonably certain that such a policy would be followed by accelerated industrial expansion and population growth in the region tributary to the site. In the wider radius of three hundred miles which represents the practicable transmission limit of this power, under present conditions, reside five million people, or more than one-half of the population of the whole Dominion. In its immediate vicinity and within a hundred mile radius are located the commercial metropolis and the capital of Canada respectively. In this narrower circle are found nearly two million people, a greater population than is contained in any other area of similar size in the Dominion. The point of development would be almost within sight of the chief "bottle-neck" in Canadian railway transport (i.e. the lines from Montreal to Vaudreuil).

From the viewpoint of a Canadian, it seems inexplicable that this alternative to the project as recommended by the Joint Commission should not have received more intensive investigation and consideration.

WILLIAM WALLACE GOFORTH.

SOME PROBLEMS OF PUNISHMENT

DAY after day, in every civilized country, the courts of the land grind out their decisions. The Civil courts are concerned with rights, and remedies for infractions of them. The Criminal courts, on the other hand, deal rather with wrongs, and look at them from the point of view of the State as the party wronged. In every case where it is found that a wrong has been committed, the courts must decide what is to be done about it—what punishment is to be meted out to the offender. There is so much loose and sentimental thinking and writing being done at this time, that it is perhaps desirable to examine the question of punishment, and see what principles, if any, govern its application.

The earliest form of law was introduced as a substitute for private vengeance, and the earliest punishments were therefore regarded as replacing the satisfaction which the injured party, or his family, had previously taken for himself. There are still some who consider judicial punishment in this light, and this gives us what is known as the Vindictive Theory. The best known example of this is probably found in the Mosaic law—"an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." A man has transgressed, therefore he must himself be made to suffer in a manner proportionate to the suffering he has inflicted. Life has been taken, therefore another must be taken in return, so that the balance may be redressed.

This view of punishment is now generally recognized as unsound, though it is still met with in unexpected quarters. The Chief Constables' Association of Canada is carrying on a protracted warfare with the parole boards, particularly in the Province of Ontario. One argument frequently advanced is that the Parole Board, in considering an application, does not see the family which has been wrecked by the actions of the criminal, or take into account the suffering he has caused. This is an emphasis upon the vindictive theory. But society has, we hope, progressed beyond the stage when the punish-

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ment could be made "to fit the crime." We have surely advanced beyond the point at which we think that two wrongs still automatically make a right, and that the balance of public welfare can be restored by such a simple expedient as this.

The next theory to be considered is what is known as the Punitive Theory. According to this view, criminals are to be treated as children, and punished when they do wrong. No particular reason is advanced, beyond an adaptation and extension of the old doctrine, "spare the rod and spoil the child." Considering the matter from this aspect has at least the merit of simplicity, as it makes the severity of the sentence merely a matter of arithmetic. If a man steals five dollars, say, let us imprison him for five months, whereas if his theft is one of five thousand dollars, the sentence will automatically become one of, say, five years. But it is obvious that such a theory will not work. The man who steals five thousand dollars may conceivably be no more wicked, no more a menace to society, than the man who takes the five dollars. Punishment which is not purely retributive cannot be made a question of calculation.

Closely allied to the upholders of this theory are those who regard punishment as a merely preventive measure. By confining a man for a period, we keep him from preying upon society during that time. Executing him is even more salutary, and those who regard the subject from this standpoint should logically be advocates of a return to the good old days when the death penalty was imposed for many offences now regarded as comparatively unimportant. Pecuniary penalties, such as fines, have obviously no place in this scheme of things, and it is open to other serious objections. How long should a thief be restrained? On what conceivable basis can the amount of purely preventive punishment be computed?

It should, however, be noticed that this theory, alone of those so far considered, does furnish some tenable argument in favour of legal punishment. Punishment, being itself an evil, can be justified only if it can be made to produce good, either to the individual, or to society. Regarded from the vindictive, or even from the punitive, aspect it merely pan-

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ders to the baser sides of human nature, and is therefore indefensible. But considered as a preventive, it has at least the justification that it protects society at large for a time. But surely punishment must be inflicted with a view to make its repetition (or that of the offence which causes it) less likely for all time, rather than for a prescribed period. This consideration leads to the two great aspects of the subject, and the two principal theories on which most of modern criminology is based. These are known respectively as the Reformative and the Deterrent.

Of these the last named is generally regarded as the more important. A criminal must be punished, primarily, to show offenders, actual or potential, the consequences of such an act, and to make its repetition, either by the same individual or by others, less probable. Salmond, in his *Jurisprudence*, thus describes this aspect of the question:

“Offences are committed by reason of a conflict between the interests, real or apparent, of the wrongdoer and those of society at large. Punishment prevents offences by destroying this conflict of interests to which they owe their origin—by making all deeds which are injurious to others injurious also to the doers of them—by making every offence, in the words of Locke, ‘an ill bargain to the offender.’ Men do injustice because they have no sufficient motive to seek justice, which is the good of others rather than that of the doer of it. The purpose of the criminal law is to supply by art the motives which are thus wanting in the nature of things.”

According to the Reformative theory, the primary object of punishment should be the reformation of the criminal himself—his transformation into a useful member of society rather than one of its enemies. It operates, to quote Salmond again, rather upon the character than upon the motives. This theory, like that referred to as the preventive, applies only to one kind of punishment, namely imprisonment. It is obvious that a fine will not have any appreciable effect upon the character of an offender, whereas confinement in an institution may be made to have that effect.

Either one of these theories, if pushed to its logical conclusions, will lead to strange results. To consider the deterrent first—the stronger the temptation to commit a crime,

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the greater is the deterrent needed. Therefore, the greater the aggravation under which the offender has been labouring, the more severe should be his punishment. To take two common instances: A man out of work, with a family to support, and probably illness, sees a small sum of money, which someone has carelessly left lying about. The temptation is almost irresistible, and he takes the money. Another man, with no justification, plans an elaborate bank robbery, and steals some thousands of dollars. Evidently, the deterrent force necessary to prevent the first theft must be considerably greater than that required for the second. Logically, therefore, the first man should be punished more severely than the second. Similarly, in the case of youthful criminals, the distinction between right and wrong is often not as clear as in older persons. They would consequently require a more severe penalty. The most serious treatment of all should be accorded to insane persons, who are incapable of distinguishing between right and wrong, and therefore need the strongest possible deterrent.

The reformatory theory, on the other hand, leads to equally ridiculous results, if carried too far. It would of course do away entirely with the death penalty, as it is evident that killing a man cannot contribute to any appreciable extent towards making him a useful member of society. According to the upholders of this view, all crime is the result of abnormality, and requires treatment rather than punishment. They would therefore substitute for the present institutions, places where unfortunates can be transformed into happy, normal and therefore law-abiding citizens. So far from the fear of imprisonment acting as a deterrent, gaol would soon become so desirable a place that it would serve rather as an inducement. Cases are not unknown, even under the present system, where crimes are committed primarily so that the offenders may be provided for a time with the means of living. A visitor to one of our penal institutions will readily appreciate the fact that conditions there are greatly superior to those to which a large part of our population have been accustomed. Reformatory punishment, if carried too far, is dangerously apt to become an incentive to crime rather than a deterrent.

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The preventive aspect of punishment (using the term "prevention" in a wide sense) has recently received a great impetus from certain work, notably in the United States. In Chicago there is attached to the Municipal Court a Psychopathic Laboratory, where tests are made of all offenders. In 1924 there appeared in the *World's Work* a series of articles describing the work in this laboratory. Baldly stated, the conclusion reached is that all crime is committed, not by criminals, but by persons who are mentally defective. The brain, according to these experts, is divided into two parts, the upper brain, or intellect, and the lower brain, the seat of the emotions. The attention of experimental psychology, they say, has heretofore been devoted exclusively to the intellect. They, on the other hand, study rather the emotions, and come to the conclusion that the great cause of crime is defective emotional equipment. The first of the articles referred to opens as follows:

"Crime is caused by a physical defect of the brain. This defect renders its victim so far below normal in emotion that he has little or no conscience, or so far above normal in emotion as to make him hysterically irresponsible. The latter, by reason of his wild or eccentric behaviour, is readily identified as crazy. But the emotionally subnormal man is very much more dangerous, both because he is so quiet that he is seldom suspected until after he has committed a crime, and because his type comprises nearly 100% of all criminals."

This explanation of crime is a most startling one. When the theory has added to it the statement that these defects of the emotions are hereditary, the conclusion becomes evident. We must do away with all penal institutions. If these persons are not responsible for their actions, it is obviously unfair to punish them, just as it is unfair to punish a child for some physical defect which it is powerless to remedy. But, they say, society must be protected. How is this to be done? Their answer is two-fold. First, we must segregate these people, and secondly, they must be prevented from propagating. Instead of the expense of gaols and penitentiaries, they say, let us have segregation and sterilization and all will be well.

There are many arguments against this view. In the first place, it is generally recognized by persons outside the

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United States, and by many there, that it is absurd to say that 100% of crime is committed by persons who are defective, unless about 90% of humanity can be considered defective. The great majority of criminals are perfectly normal human beings, judged by any feasible standard, and quite aware of the nature of their acts. The Common law has long recognized that if a person is so constituted mentally as to be incapable of distinguishing between right and wrong, he is insane, and not properly punishable in the ordinary way. But it is difficult enough to prove this degree of insanity, and the law has wisely stopped there, and said that no less degree of mental derangement can be accepted as a defence. Anyone who has read the reports of a number of cases in which the defence of insanity is raised, particularly in the United States, will see how hard it is to come to any conclusion on this question. There is an old saying that the worst of all liars is the expert witness: while this is a gross exaggeration, it remains a fact that in almost every case where eminent medical men are called on one side of a case, the other side is able to produce an equal number, of equal eminence, who are prepared to support precisely the opposite set of conclusions.

It is very generally recognized that mentally defective persons should not be allowed to propagate. The children of defectives are almost invariably defective. But here again the practical difficulties are almost insuperable. Who is to judge what persons are, and what are not, fit to bring others into the world? How is the standard to be set, and by whom? An English report on the subject recently published stated that only a very small percentage of the dangerously defective cases investigated came from parents who could themselves have been certified as defective. The sentimental objections to compulsory sterilization, though considered ridiculous (and probably rightly so) by scientists, are still very strong, and it may be seriously questioned whether any such measure could be carried at present in any British country. And yet many serious and able philanthropists are agreed that it is highly desirable. We must wait until they have succeeded in persuading the public at large, and in the meantime wish them success.

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But assuming that we have succeeded in establishing a system of state inspection and sterilization, what is to become of these colonies of defectives? How are they to be looked after? The advocates of this system say that the defectives are perfectly capable of looking after themselves in the ordinary affairs of life, and that if left to themselves, and not subjected to competition with men whose mental equipment is superior to theirs, they will get along quite happily. But is there any reason to think that they are less apt to steal from or murder one another than they are to do the same thing to normal members of society? How is order to be maintained in such a community? There is also no guarantee that these persons could be kept in such segregated areas. It will obviously be impossible to establish vast prison camps for them, in which they are to be confined for the rest of their lives, and, unless this is done, they will surely leave for some place where they will have the society of normal men. It is a well-known fact that very few insane or defective persons realize their own infirmities. One is rather reminded of the old story of the Quaker who said to his wife, "All the world's queer but thee and me, and sometimes I have my doubts about thee."

What then is the true basis of punishment? We have seen that any one of the recognized theories, if carried to its logical conclusion, becomes indefensible. The truth must then lie in some sort of compromise. Punishment partakes to a certain extent of each of these elements, and in different cases the emphasis must shift from one aspect to the other. The first stress in normal cases must always be laid on the deterrent aspect. The strongest proof of this is in connection with the death penalty. Much has been heard of late against the death penalty, and in many of the United States it has been abolished. It is well recognized that a penalty of such severity should be inflicted only in the most extreme cases. But it is also known that in England, where the death penalty is invariably imposed for murder, and generally carried out, the proportion of murders is lower than in countries where it is non-existent. Salmond, in this connection, says:

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"If the state could succeed in making it impossible to commit murder in a sound mind without being indubitably hanged for it afterwards, murder would soon become, with scarcely an exception, limited to the insane." Elsewhere, he says: "Given an efficient penal system, crime is too poor a bargain to commend itself, save in exceptional circumstances, to any except those who lack the self-control, the prudence, or the moral sentiments of the normal man. But apart from primitive law in its sterner aspects, and apart from that positive morality which is largely the product of it, crime is a profitable industry, which will flourish exceedingly, and be by no means left as a monopoly to the feebler and less efficient members of society."

One further argument should be noticed in favour of the deterrent, as opposed to the reformatory theory. Deterrent punishment, if successful, tends to prevent the commission of crime, by any who may feel so disposed. Reform, on the other hand, even when most successful, merely ensures that there will be no repetition by the individual offender. The one acts, or should act, before the commission of an offence while the other can in its nature act only afterwards. The old adage, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," is very much in point.

But though punishment is primarily a deterrent, it should also partake, to a considerable extent, of the reformatory element. Particularly is this true in the case of young persons. Whatever may be said of others, very few people under, say, twenty-one years of age, are definitely criminally-minded. With them crime is generally the result of some defective surroundings, or other contributing cause, through which they have been forced into it. We must remember that our system of society is highly artificial. The institution of private property, the respect for personal freedom, and for life itself, are developments of an advanced system of civilization. Babies invariably try to seize anything they see which appeals to them, and often snatch it from others. Yet would anyone think of saying that a child who behaves in this way has criminal instincts? Respect for such things as these must be taught, and if a boy has not been properly taught the distinction between right and wrong, he cannot be greatly blamed if he makes mistakes. He should

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therefore be taught the essentials of good citizenship, rather than treated as a criminal.

With persons of this nature, the deterrent force of punishment has no great effect. To tell a boy of fourteen, who has never been confined, that if he does so and so, he will spend two years in gaol, has no appreciable effect, and therefore the emphasis must be shifted to the reformative aspect of the subject. This applies also, of course, in the case of persons who, through defective mentality, are unable to appreciate the force of example. They, too, should not be punished. If possible, they should be taught, but it is unfortunately the case that many of these people are so defective that teaching is impossible. If this is the case, there is nothing left but confinement in some form of institution. This paper should not be understood as arguing that the whole theory of mental defect, with segregation and sterilization as joint remedies, is bad. The protest is directed only against its universal application to crimes.

During the last thirty years a complete revolution has been effected in the English prison system. The old attitude of prison officials is well shown in a report made by an ex-Deputy Governor of Dartmoor, who had been asked to investigate the prison system of New Zealand. He says in part: "The evils that have come under my notice are that the prisons as they at present exist are neither deterrent nor reformatory. . . . The existing system of prisoners having their meals and spending their spare time in association is most detrimental to prison discipline." A regulation of the same period for the conduct of prison officers reads as follows: "Every officer shall constantly bear in mind that discipline is the purpose of the prison and of his employment therein; he must understand, that by failing to enforce submission to the authority with which he is entrusted, he will prove himself to be incompetent in the performance of his duties."

It does not require any great amount of imagination to picture the effect of regulations of this kind on men of the old type of prison officials. To be told that the sole purpose of their presence there is to enforce discipline must almost inevitably mean that their prisoners will be treated with a

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harshness and even ferocity which will go far towards brutalizing them. Discipline is doubtless an indispensable part of prison administration. But it must surely be recognized that it is a means rather than an end.

The above quotations are taken from an address delivered in 1923 by the Under-Secretary of Justice for New Zealand. He quotes them for the purpose here followed, to point the contrast between the old ideas and the new. The modern view, he goes on to point out, is that the punishment is the actual deprivation of liberty for a prescribed period. It is no longer considered necessary that the person confined should be further degraded and made miserable during the whole time of his incarceration.

This one idea is responsible for an enormous alteration in the administration of prisons in England. The Home Office now realizes that in all ordinary cases the period of confinement gives an opportunity for reclamation which should not be missed. Institutions such as libraries, visits, and above all the honour system, whereby a prisoner, whose conduct has been good, is trusted to a considerable extent to look after himself without supervision, have done much to accomplish this object. In addition, evening classes have been introduced for the prisoners, in various handicrafts and other subjects, and the type of officer completely altered. The writer went into the drawing room of the Governor's residence at one of the largest London prisons, and there found Ludwig's "Napoleon" lying on the table. It is admitted that this official may have been exceptional, but the fact that there was one such is surely a great advance on the old system.

In nothing is this change more marked than in the treatment of young offenders in England. Juvenile courts have of course long been in existence, to deal with delinquents under the age of sixteen. But until recently there has been no official recognition of the fact that a youth of seventeen is not yet a man. Since 1902, experiments have been made in the treatment of these "juvenile adults," as they are somewhat inappropriately called. The first legislative recognition of the difference in their position was in 1908, when the Pre-

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vention of Crimes Act introduced an entirely new system for dealing with them, which is known as the Borstal system.

Under this system, persons of between 16 and 21 who are convicted of serious offences may be sent to special institutions, known as Borstal institutions. It should be borne in mind that Borstal treatment is not, normally, for first offenders. The law goes further, and recognizes the fact that, save in exceptional cases, a first lapse committed between these ages should not be punished in the ordinary way, and provides an elaborate and excellent system of probation for first offenders. There are of course cases where from all the circumstances, it appears to the court that something more drastic than probation is needed. If so, a boy may be sent direct to Borstal for his first offence. On the other hand, probation in England is not confined to first offenders. Lads are often put on probation time after time, and only when it is fairly certain that this treatment is not successful, is recourse had to the more severe.

The treatment at Borstal institutions themselves is rather a training than a punishment. Every lad spends eight hours a day at work of some kind. The institutions are splendidly equipped with workshops of various kinds, and every effort is made to find out the particular work for which a boy is most suited, so that he can be put at that, and given a thorough grounding in the rudiments of a trade. The result of this training is that when lads are discharged from Borstal Institutions they are nearly always able to obtain work as "beginners" in trades, where they earn fair wages, and where the period of apprenticeship, if any, will be short.

In the evening, classes are held. There is a certain amount of book work, but as the lads for whom these institutions are designed are principally of the class who will live chiefly by manual labour, the training is rather in handicrafts. A certain number are sent to polytechnic institutes, for special training. A small number, whose mental equipment warrants it, are given a more thorough education, and allowed to go to school in the mornings instead of working in shops. This applies of course only to those who will probably adopt some form of mental work in later life.

The old prison terminology has, so far as possible, been

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abandoned. The Institutions still have Governors, but there are no "warders" in uniform. Their place is taken by "officers" who wear plain clothes, who are more humane than the old type of official, and who take a genuine interest in the boys and their welfare. Prison clothes are not worn. The lads, it is true, wear the same clothes, but this is obviously necessary, and there is nothing degrading about the costume they wear. They are never sent outside the Institution in these clothes. If it is necessary to send them outside the walls, and this is quite often done, they are given a suit of 'civvies,' so that they will not be marked men. If the officers are armed there is no evidence of the fact.

Each institution is divided into Houses, in the same way that the English Public School is divided. There is keen competition between the houses, and every effort is made to instil into a boy a sense of loyalty to his house. Games are played, in spare time, between the various houses, and the boys wear their house colours at all times. Each house is in the charge of a house master, who generally has an assistant. It is worthy of note that many of these housemasters are graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, and that this seems to be increasingly common. The Housemaster plays much the same part as that of his namesake in a Public School, and the importance of his work can hardly be exaggerated. He makes a friend of every boy in his house, and encourages intimate discussion on any subject. The housemasters have also duties in connection with education, libraries, organization of work-parties, and many other Institution matters.

The law provides that a boy may be committed to a Borstal Institution for either two or three years. He may be discharged at any time after six months, but this is done only in exceptional cases. Each Institution has its visiting committee, which considers and decides on applications for discharge. Remission is, however, earned in all normal cases, and every well-behaved boy may go through all the grades in a period of two years, thus earning, if the sentence is a three years' one, a full year's remission. As the normal period for completion of the grades is two years, and as very little can be accomplished in less than two years, there is no remission possible for a two year boy. For this reason, and

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others, the authorities connected with this work are trying to persuade judges and magistrates to abandon all but the three years sentence.

Discipline is maintained very largely by the lads themselves. The public school system of prefects or monitors is here used, and the honour is one eagerly sought. More than this, however, is done to encourage the lads to make an effort. They are carefully arranged into four grades, which are successively reached through promotion for good conduct. The highest of all is the "Special Grade," in which a boy wears blue clothes instead of the ordinary brown (for which reason the boys in this grade are generally referred to as "blues"), and has many additional privileges. The greatest of these is that he is allowed to work and move about the institution without the supervision of an officer. If a party of boys is sent outside the institution of an evening to classes in the nearest town, "browns" must go under the care of an officer, but "blues" are sent by themselves. Every boy whose conduct is good becomes a blue in about 18 months, so that it will be realized that a large proportion of the inmates of an institution at any given time enjoy these special privileges. The average daily population of these institutions is about 350. The average annual number of attempts to escape is about nine per institution, and when such an attempt is made the 'blues' are among the leaders in the effort to frustrate it.

An essential feature of the Borstal system is the after-care which is undertaken by the Borstal Association. This is a body of voluntary associates throughout England, who try to see that the training given in an institution is not lost through improper handling of a lad on discharge. There is a central office in London, and the expenses of the Association are met partly by voluntary subscription, and partly by government grant. A lad on discharge is put on license to the Association for the unexpired portion of his sentence plus one year. During this time he is under the direction of one of the Associates, who helps him to find employment, even assisting him financially in the meantime, if necessary. Throughout the period of license, and often long afterwards, close personal touch is kept with the lad, and every effort is

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made to encourage him to make good. If a boy on license fails to do his part, his license may be cancelled, and in such case he is committed, not to a Borstal Institution, but to the boy's wing of the regular prison at Wormwood Scrubs. He may be kept there for such period, not exceeding one year, as a special committee considers desirable.

And what of the results of this system? Before going into the figures, it must again be emphasized that the great majority of Borstal boys are not first offenders, but lads who have been previously convicted, and who, but for the treatment, would almost certainly have drifted into lives of crime. A Departmental Committee, presided over by Sir Thomas Molony, late Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, has recently made a thorough study of the whole question of the treatment of young offenders. When they consider the Borstal system, they criticize details, and recommend changes in them. But for the whole system, their verdict is summed up as follows:

"Out of 6,140 lads discharged from the Borstal Institutions since their establishment in 1910, 2,149, or 35%, were known to have come in conflict with the law again, while 3,991, or 65%, had been satisfactory while under supervision by the Borstal Association, and had not since been reconvicted. During the same period 836 girls had been discharged, 287 of whom, or 34%, were known to have been reconvicted, but 549, or 66%, had been satisfactory while under supervision, and had not since, so far as was known, been reconvicted. We are informed, too, by the Borstal Association that their experience has shown that even of those who fail a substantial number are reconvicted once only, usually a short time after their discharge, and remain steady after this one lapse. The first plunge into freedom has been too much, but one further lesson suffices. If these are added to the 65% who are not reconvicted at all, it is, in the Association's opinion, correct to say that the training is really successful not with 65% but with about 75% of all the lads handled. When we remember that most of them would in former times have become persistent law-breakers and gaol-birds, we think the system has fully justified itself by its success."

It will be remembered that these are the words, not of advocates of the system, but of an impartial body, composed of eminent men and women, set to study the question, and report on it to His Majesty's Government.

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What are the principles of which this new method of treatment is based, and which account for its success? In the first place, it recognizes the fact that young persons whose character is not yet formed, should not be sent to ordinary penal institutions, where they associate with confirmed and hardened criminals, if such a course can possibly be avoided. In the second place, it is based on the necessity of some means of livelihood as a preventive of crime. And thirdly, and probably most important of all, the personal contact with men whom the boys can respect and emulate, whose ideals are fine, and who can encourage the boys without being sentimental, is of untold value in such cases.

If an excuse is needed for this somewhat lengthy discussion of one particular system of treatment, it is that this represents, to the writer's mind, the greatest step towards a sane realization of the fundamental problem of legal punishment—how to combine a punishment which is definitely a deterrent force with some measures tending towards a rehabilitation of the offender, and prevention of future offences by him.

It remains to consider briefly what the position is in Canada, with respect to matters of this kind, and in particular in the treatment of offenders at the critical age between 16 and 21. Up to 16 these persons are dealt with by the juvenile courts, as not responsible for their actions in the same way as adults. This is not the place to enter into a criticism of the workings of the juvenile courts. It will not be seriously disputed that the root idea is an admirable one, and that children of less than 16 should not be submitted to the ordinary criminal procedure. In two of the provinces the age limit has been raised to 18, and the juvenile courts deal with all offenders up to that age. This, it is submitted, is bad. A boy of 18 is not in the same category as one of 14 or less, and 16 seems to be the maximum age at which the normal boy should be dealt with by a juvenile court. It is further difficult to see how institutions can be successfully conducted where the ages of the inmates vary to such an extent.

In spite of these criticisms, these two provinces are far ahead of the others. In the whole of this country, from the

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end of the so-called juvenile age, a boy (or girl) is in exactly the same position, so far as the law is concerned, as a mature person. It is true that most judges and magistrates of experience are disposed to deal leniently with first offenders under 21 years of age. But, on a strict reading of the Criminal Code, a judge before whom a person of this age is convicted for a second offence has no option but to send him to gaol or penitentiary. An experiment has been made in Ontario, with the Ontario Reformatories, but while these are superior to the ordinary gaols in many respects, they remain institutions which are filled primarily with old offenders, or at least mature men and women. Indeed, in some respects, such as working in association, and without supervision, they are definitely worse, as the opportunities for contact with older criminals are multiplied.

What is desperately needed in this country is that sufficient vision be shown to recognize that the old ideas of punishment have been found wanting, and that new ones have taken their place: that more emphasis is now laid on rehabilitation than on punishment as such: and that, particularly in the case of young persons, a great deal may be done, possibly for the whole future life of the offender, by training and sympathy at periods of crisis.

A. B. HARVEY.

A STRANGE RACE OF MOUNTAINEERS

THERE is a close association between Mountains and Liberty, as Wordsworth and others have indicated. Highland regions are usually homes of liberty—and occasionally of eccentricity! Lodged in their hill-pockets, mountaineers bravely and stubbornly assert their independence against Lowland plainsmen, whilst at the same time they develop characteristics which are peculiar, often in both senses of the term. There is a race of mountaineers in the Near East whose passionate love of freedom is only exceeded by the queerness of their beliefs and customs. These strange people, the Druses, have been brought into world-prominence during the last two years, on account of their desperate revolt against the French in Syria. For centuries past they held out against their nominal overlords, the Turks, and in the end they extorted virtual independence. On the downfall of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the Great War, the Druses fell within the area dominated by France. They soon found that many French officials were disinclined to grant them effective autonomy. The harsh measures adopted by the French High Commissioner, the tactless General Sarrail, stung the Druses into revolt. Their leader was Sultan Pasha Atrash. Many strange stories are told of his personality, his ferocity in battle and his gentleness in times of peace; the warrior who tiger-like charged down upon his enemies with an insane frenzied hate returned from the slaughter to weep tears and offer up prayers for the souls of those whom he had hacked to pieces with his scimitar. Generous to a fault, he had to be prevented by his old mother from giving all his goods to the poor. Fanatical fighter, his aims were essentially pacific, for, as he told an American traveller, Mr. W. C. Seabrook, just before the formidable rising in 1925, "I am praying for the peace that the Druses have never known, that we have never had for a thousand years, and that some day must be sent. But I fear it will not be now." Inspired by Sultan Atrash, the Druses annihilated a strong detachment of French troops at Mezraa and besieged

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the French garrison in Soueida, the Druse capital. Eventually this citadel was relieved but the whole of the countryside was soon aflame with revolt. So serious did the situation become that the panic-stricken French defenders of Damascus reduced a considerable portion of this immemorially ancient city to smoking ruins. This formidable rising of the Druses has now been suppressed, but the independent spirit of this nation remains unquenchable and unconquerable.

The chief homes of the Druses are in the wild volcanic region of the Jebel Druse and in Mount Lebanon. But isolated from the main stock are two or three communities in Palestine notably on Mount Carmel in the villages of Esfia and Dalyet-el-Kurmul; these settlements are remains of the conquests of a famous Druse leader named Fakr-eddin, who in the early part of the seventeenth century exercised his sway as far south as Galilee and Carmel. It was these Palestinian Druses with whom the present writer became acquainted. Hardy mountaineers, the Druses are normally of superb physique, and the women are strikingly beautiful. Those on Mount Carmel did not cover their faces, departing from the prevalent custom in that part of the Orient, including that of their own sisters in the Jebel Druse, who shroud shoulders and head in a white veil; their skirts are full and long and on ceremonial occasions they wear elaborate bodices embroidered with silk in gold and other brilliant hues.

The Druses are a race apart; differentiated from other peoples by their peculiar religion, traditions and customs, they keep their stock pure by forbidding intermarriage with non-Druses. There are only four or five known cases of the marriage of a Druse girl outside her own people, and in every instance the girl was put to death by her male relatives; occasionally, however, a Druse man will take a Moslem woman as wife. It is said that only one Druse has changed his religion, a sheikh who became Moslem in 1865 to win favour from the Turkish authorities; thereby he lost his chance of longevity! Yet the Druses will allow their members who live in the midst of non-Druses to conform to the religious practices of the latter, whilst adhering at the same time to their own secret tenets. Robert Browning has

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commented on this trait of theirs in his dramatic poem, "The Return of the Druses":

"According to old laws,
Which bid us, lest the sacred grow profane,
Assimilate ourselves in outward rites
With strangers fortune makes our lords, and live
As Christian with the Christian, Jew with Jew,
Druse only with the Druses."

A singular folk, these Druses are sharply divided into two great groups, the initiates and the non-initiates. The initiates called the 'Akils', the wise, have a knowledge of Druse secret doctrines; the rest forming the mass of the population are known as the 'Jahils,' the foolish or simple, the uninitiated. This distinction is reflected in many ways. In appearance the initiates present a venerable aspect with their long white flowing beards, set off by their high snowy-white turbans and dark striped cloaks with voluminous sleeves. The uninitiated, the young "bloods", are resplendent in gaily dyed tunics and gorgeous robes; instead of the turban they wear the Bedouin "kafiyeh"; they are either clean shaven or wear a small beard; many braid their long hair and darken their eyes with "kohl"—these are the much sung "warriors with painted eyes" whom French poilus could not afford to despise. Desperate fighters, they abhor anything resembling timidity. If a Druse falters in battle he is not immediately punished. But when the warriors next sit round in a circle and coffee is served, the host in offering the cup to the coward deliberately spills it on the offender's robe. This signifies death. In the next battle the man must fight courageously but rush to meet death at the foeman's hands; if he returns he is promptly slain and in addition his family is disgraced. The work of fighting is done by the Jahils, but in dire national emergency the initiates may be called upon to take up arms. There are other distinctions between the elders and the initiates. An Akil will eat slowly, sparingly and seriously, whereas the Jahil simply wolfs his food with elders and the initiates. An Akil will eat slowly, sparingly have more than one wife; he must never lose his temper, never get excited, never run nor raise his voice, never boast, and never admit to hunger or thirst.

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The Jahil who aspires to become an Akil is faced by a strange initiation. First the candidate fasts for three days and two nights, and on the beginning of the third night, still fasting, he attends an elaborate feast of the Akils, where the daintiest and most delicious meats of savoury odour are spread before him. He must take up these meats and toy with them while the others eat, but he must taste nothing. At the end of the feast, all the others file out, leaving him alone, with some of the best dishes untouched. He stays there for the remainder of the night, still fasting. There is none to spy upon him. But if he succumbs to desire and eats, he must confess of his own free will on the morrow, saying simply, "I am not suited to become an Akil." He can do this without shame or loss of honor and the Akils reply: "It is no mean thing to be a lion among the warriors." If he has withstood the test then, after he has broken fast and regained his strength, the second phase of his initiation occurs. He goes voluntarily for three days without water, riding hard beneath the desert sun, and on the third night with his throat parched, his lips cracked and his tongue so swollen that he can scarcely speak, he sits with the Akils while they refresh themselves with cool sherbets and water perfumed with attar of roses, on which rose-petals float. He takes a goblet in hand, but does not touch it to his lips. He remains alone all night with the cooling water within his reach. If he withstands this temptation also, he is subjected a week later to a third, the temptation of carnal lust, the third temptation of St. Anthony. If he withstands this as well as the temptation of hunger and the temptation of thirst, he is presently made an Akil by the Akils; and only then are the "inner mysteries" revealed to him.

As for the origin of the Druse cult and its peculiar tenets. It is well known that Mohammedanism like Christianity is "by schisms rent asunder and by heresies distrest." The Shiah broke away from the orthodox Sunnis; the Ismailiyeh sect next split off from the Shiahs, and then in its turn gave birth to two queer misshapen children, the Assassins and the Druses. The Order of the Assassins made the rulers of Christendom tremble during the era of the Crusades. From his stronghold beyond the Lebanon, the

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Grand Prior of the Order (termed by the Crusaders the "Old Man of the Mountain") despatched his white-robed agents secretly to thrust a dagger into the breast of any foe of his. There are still members of this Order in Syria who pay tribute to its living head. This individual, known as the Agha Khan, a cultured gentleman and a prominent figure in society in Bombay, is the lineal descendant of the Lord of the Assassins and an outstanding leader of the Shiah Moslems in India.

The other offspring of the Ismaliyah is the sect of the Druses. There is much obscurity about the early history of the cult and the real nature of its doctrines. Although a certain Darazi is regarded as a founder of the faith from whom is derived the name Druses, they abominate his memory as warmly as they venerate that of Hamsa the Persian mystic, who gave voice to the chief tenets. A knowledge of these tenets, mainly contained in the Druse "Book of Wisdom," is only imparted to the initiates. But one or two western scholars, e.g. Sylvestre de Lacy and Dr. Wortabet, have had access to the Druse scriptures. One copy is said to have been stolen from an Akil by a Syrian Christian doctor who presented it to King Louis XIV: it is still in the old Bibliothèque Royale; another copy in French is in the Vatican. The Druses, however, do not try to conceal several of their tenets, especially the belief in the divinity of one of the Fatimite Caliphs of Cairo, Al Hakim, who reigned from 996 to 1020.

Non-Druse history has dealt roughly with Hakim's character. Gibbon in the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" has expatiated at length on this "frantic youth, who was delivered by his impiety and despotism from the fear either of God or man; and whose reign was a wild mixture of vice and folly." Assuredly the truth in the story of this monster reads stranger than fiction. Loving darkness, he held his council meetings in the dead of night, and wanting to ride through Cairo in pitch darkness, he forbade traders from keeping their shops open after dusk; at a later date he issued an ordinance that no one was to be seen in the streets after sunset. Because a cur had barked at his horse he decreed the slaughter of every dog in Cairo. Women were shut up in their houses and were even forbidden to appear

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at the doors or windows; to enforce this he forbade cobblers from making women outdoor boots. On one occasion, learning that some women had gone out to public baths, he had all the windows and doors walled up to starve the offenders to death. The sale of certain favourite comestibles was prohibited, such as raisins, dates and honey. Against these restrictions both sexes protested, so in a mad fit Hakim set afire half of Old Cairo. In his early days when he was posing as a devout Moslem, he rigorously persecuted the Jews and Christians, razing to the ground the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Finally his madness culminated in a claim to be the very incarnation of God himself. Some like Darazi and Hamsa hastened to acknowledge his pretensions and brought the Druse sect into being. The majority in Cairo refused to render him divine honours, and soon Hakim was assassinated during one of his nocturnal rides to worship the planet Saturn and "hold converse with the devil"; a few days later his coat of seven colours was found, slashed by dagger holes; his body never came to light. But his Druse votaries believe that he voluntarily ascended into heaven to test the faith of his disciples and that one day he will come again with glorious majesty to judge both the quick and the dead. In this notion we seem to catch echoes not only of the Moslem idea of the Mahdi but also of the Christian doctrine of Christ's Second Coming. But what a contrast between the avatar Hakim of Cairo, the prophet Mohammed of Mecca, and Jesus of Nazareth! As the Druses declare that Hakim's second advent will occur some 900 years after his ascension, the appearance of this estimable Deity is about due.

As for the other views of the Druses on the emanations from the Deity. In the beginning there came from God a spirit of pure light called the Universal Intelligence. Dwelling on his own perfection, this spirit fell into sin and involuntarily gave rise to a second spirit, that of pure darkness described as the Antagonist. Next proceeded a third spirit called the Universal Soul compact of the second, mingling light and darkness. Four other spirits developed. Of the whole seven, five were ministers of truth and two of error. These spirits have often been incarnated. When the Universal Intelligence incarnated in Lazarus, the Antagonist or

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minister of darkness, was Jesus. Mohammed was another incarnation of the Antagonist. Hamsa, the chief founder of the sect, was the incarnation of the Universal Intelligence. He alone has access to God himself and he alone at the time of Hakim's second coming will direct the apportioning of rewards to the faithful and punishments to the faithless. It was this Universal Mind which created all human souls at once, and, as the number remains always the same, the death of one person coincides with the birth of another, into whose body the soul passes. There is some uncertainty as to whether any such principle as a Buddhist Law of Karma regulates this reincarnation. Dr. Bliss interprets the Druse doctrine as follows: "If the behaviour in the previous incarnation has been good, the soul will enter a superior human form; if not, it will pass into an inferior body." [The Druses do not believe in the transmigration of human souls into animal forms.] Mr. Leabrook's informant, the Amir Arslan, suggests that the Druses have a "unique theory of divine justice. They look forward to a trial of souls when this world is brought to an end. Each soul is to be judged by the same rules. But every soul has previously passed through many human incarnations. It is born sometimes into a bandit's family, sometimes into a scholar's family, sometimes into a hero's family, sometimes in a holy man's family. [Notice the sharp and invidious distinctions!] In the end all souls will have had an equal chance and may justly be tried on the day of judgment by their general 'batting average.' Then they stay in a heaven or go to a hell and cannot complain that God has given them an unfair deal."

Another curious fact with regard to this reincarnation. If a war is raging and Druses are killed quicker than Druse babies are born, the left-over souls fly over to a mountain district in Western China. There these Chinese-Druse babies form part of a race which, although no one has ever seen any member, will one day rise to help the Druses to conquer the world. The Druses are by no means reticent about the doctrine of reincarnation and they love to tell stories rendered piquant by the remembrance of previous lives, such as that of the little boy who visited his wife of his previous incarnation, only to find his former children now much older

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than himself, adopting a paternal patronizing attitude to their tiny father. Another story relates to a Druse foully slain. When he was reincarnated and grew to manhood, he recalled the murder and asserted his intention of getting revenge. He pursued the guilty one as far as America and there slew him, saying, "I am killing the man who murdered me!"—I wonder if all Druse murderers are being reincarnated in Chicago!

It has been said of the Druses that they do not believe in prayer. This is not correct. It is true that like most Moslems, Orientals (and some Occidentals) they do not approve of petitions for specific wants because they consider it an "impertinent interference with the Creator"; all things are decided by "Kismet" or Fate, regulated by God. Therefore it is useless to beg for the life of a sick child or for an abundant harvest. Orthodox Druse prayer consists of praise of God and declarations of acquiescence in His will. Nevertheless, in times of crisis Druses will sometimes utter definite wishes as Sultan Atrash, for example, prayed for peace, but even then they ask by circumlocution, not by direct beseeching. A beautiful prayer of a Druse has been made known to westerners: "To Thee, O God, I come, determining to do what is meet in Thy sight. Let my eye, O God, sleep in Thy obedience. Let my strength be always on the side of Thy Grace. Take unto Thyself my waking and my sleeping hours and place under Thy control my day and my night. Guard me, O God, by Thy eye, which sleepeth not."

The more credulous Druses believe in demoniac possession. Their method of expulsion of the evil spirit is to chain down, by means of a heavy iron collar, the man or woman thus tormented; this treatment is based on the expectation that the demon will soon weary of a body thus shackled and will seek a more comfortable vehicle. The Druses have been credited with the worship of the head of a golden calf or bull. In all probability, however, this report rests on the assumption that the Druses, like so many Orientals, accepted the bull and the calf as symbols of the deity and that at one period some of them idolatrously adored these animals; nowadays the orthodox Druses will cherish them simply as images and symbols of divinity.

There is a remarkable unanimity in the Near East with

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regard to the Prophet Elijah. Not only Jews and Christians, but Moslems and Druses can be seen paying their devotions to his memory. The Druses make pilgrimages to his cave on Carmel; they go in procession, the men caracoling on their curvetting steeds, the women dancing along in bright-coloured garments, all of them chanting their strangely haunting melodies. On arrival they sacrifice a goat, although maybe it is not much of a sacrifice as they make a meal of the goat afterwards—and leave Elijah merely the bones!

There are then queer paradoxical features of this cult and people. The Druses are really anti-Druse, as they execrate Darazi's memory. They worship as a perfect God-man one of the worst miscreants whom this earth has ever known; their incarnation of the Deity was in point of fact a foul fiend incarnate. Living on mountains bathed in radiant light, they venerate an ogre who gloated over darkness in narrow city thoroughfares. Allowing women to share in most of their religious, political and social observances, they apotheosize a monster who regarded women as the enemies of the human race. Narrowly and stubbornly exclusive in race and creed they permit and even foster outward conformity to the creeds of others. Vaunting the secrecy of their tenets, they proclaim openly some of the cardinal doctrines. Lovers of freedom, they can revere one of the bitterest foes to liberty known in history. Truly a strange faith! As revealed amongst Druses, religion can be both a shining sword and a devastating pestilence.

A. E. PRINCE.

ANOTHER VIEW OF INDIA¹

In spite of the long connection that has existed between India and the West, in spite of the more intimate relation that has united India and England for the last century and a half, the ideas which people have about India remain curiously indefinite. The English soldier who has served his time shows no illusions: for him the native of India is a species of "nigger." To a member of the Civil Service (as it was twenty years ago) the teeming millions of India presented an insoluble problem: some he could recognize as friends, some he could understand, but the majority remained a mystery and their unintelligible ways produced apathy at last. On the other hand, the Indians who penetrated the West and entered its society came with a strange halo of romance: nearly all were supposed to have some unique gift for philosophical thought or for that indefinable attitude which is unfortunately labelled holiness. Now and then a humorist relieved the situation by a parody of the sentimentality which seemed destined to cloud the western mind for centuries. But no one really impressed the reading public with any sense of the tragedy of Indian life.

This preamble introduces us to the book called *Mother India*. The reception which it has had testified to the failure of earlier writers to produce an adequate effect on the public mind. Katherine Mayo, the writer of this book, has obviously approached the subject in a new way. Occasional references to hard-headed Americans serve to enlighten the reader as to the nature of this approach. Very few travellers to India have avoided the glamour of the Orient or succeeded in viewing its life solely by the cold light of hygienic rules. But this writer seems to have achieved this new viewpoint; and yet, to avoid a possible misunderstanding, it might be more correct to say that the viewpoint was that of a passionate humanitarian willing to sacrifice everything else if only human and animal suffering could be brought to an end. The whole

¹*Mother India*, by Katherine Mayo: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927.

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book seems pervaded with a practical common-sense that is wholly western in its nature. Where others have felt the weight of centuries and in the unchanging East have been paralysed by the traditions that sanction the deeds they might condemn, this writer seems to feel only the failure of the East to learn, adopt and live up to the standards of western efficiency. It is essentially a modern note that is struck. The record is not put down that we may read and marvel at some abstract story of an ethnologist; nor is it written for the purpose of enlightening the student of human habits and customs. Many of the facts and all the theories are in no sense new: missionaries have made the same complaints and official documents can be quoted that state the facts clearly. But none of these have carried with them quite the same tone of conviction that for the sins of these people there is no possible excuse.

Another aspect of this book deserves mention. The British Government is accustomed to enduring all manner of recriminations from India and the friends of India. The easiest way out of all troubles is to blame the government. This book will make clear to all readers the one indisputable fact that nothing of permanent value will ever be achieved until reforms begin from the lowest strata of the population and work their way up to the top. In other words, social reforms must come before political reforms, and the very heart of social reform is domestic reform. Justice is done in this book to the continued efforts of the Government to improve conditions, by prohibiting *suttee*, by raising the age of marriage or trying to raise it, by irrigation and by education. But in India, even more than America, the acts of government do not go below the surface: the bedrock of custom is not reached and beneath the surface, in the dark recesses of the impenetrable household, the main current of life goes its way unchecked. The significance of Katherine Mayo's work lies mainly in the fact that she ignores the veil of secrecy usually drawn over domestic life in India, accepts the fundamental importance of the most intimate details of daily life in the home, and then insists that this is the very sanctuary that must be invaded. The Gordian knot cannot be untied: but it must be cut.

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The terrible indictment of Indian customs which makes up the chief part of this book is directed upon marriage and what the modern psychologist calls the sex life of the individual. There can be no doubt that in the main the indictment is supported by facts. If we begin from the most obvious point, the continual struggle that goes on to carry some legislative measure that will control child-marriage, it is clear that the trouble and its importance are really acknowledged by those Indians who are able to consider social problems at all. The evidence for evils of the worst nature, including maltreatment, venereal disease, and almost incredible treatment of maternity cases, is too well authenticated to be passed over with scepticism. From the Legislative Assembly debates of 1922 is quoted the report that "each generation sees the death of 3,200,000 mothers" in childbirth. This statement is a little ambiguous and it must be remembered that this record comes from a country of 319 million people. But the figures are amply reinforced by the case records which show that the age of the mother is sometimes as low as nine or ten years, and that the treatment at the time is more likely to kill than to save the mother, whatever her age may be.

It is possible to argue that the West is not free either from sexual vices or other forms of immorality. The Indian who finds himself in New York or Chicago is often impressed chiefly by a feeling that the West has entered upon a period of crass materialism, and that nothing is valued much less than human life or social welfare. But this comparison is vain. However bad the West may be, its vices will not improve the East. And over all these comparisons hangs the one fatal argument: the West sins against its laws and fights against its religion, but at least the law and the religion sustain the fight. The things most needing reform in India are bolstered up by religious traditions. It may be that the sacred texts do not contain the supposed commands; but the error does not alter the fact that the abuses are defended as sacred customs. Marriage and birth: the habits of the holy man or faqir: the so-called preservation of animals, which is merely neglect and refusal to give them a peaceful end: these and many other things are "sacred," and let us say on behalf of the Indian people that the word "sacred"

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means to them a reality that is wider and deeper than life itself.

As one reads this book *Mother India*, one of the most harrowing books that could be found to-day, there come back to the mind innumerable scenes from that land of strange contrasts. As the last page of this book is turned one has a feeling that India must be a place in which no one is happy, no one lives for long, and no one has strength or energy. It is accordingly a relief to sit back and think of all the reasonably healthy and happy people that used to be met up and down the country. In the colleges at Lahore some two thousand students lived and worked and rioted: at other places there are many more. From these colleges every year young men went to Cambridge or Oxford or London, and came back with high honors. In the ancient days India led the world in science: in the present day India can produce men who become fellows of the Royal Society, brilliant mathematicians, distinguished physicists, and writers not only in their own language but in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. The mind wanders off to the polo-teams and the lithe muscular bodies of the players: or to the scorching heat of a football field in May where the native players made good showing at the sport: or to the long roads through the hills where the coolies carried heavy baggage from one dâk-bungalow to another, sometimes covering thirty miles in a day. Then there are pictures of another kind. The anxious father brings his son to the English teacher and consigns him to the care of the sahîb: he is a gentle but dignified man of middle age and the youth is about eighteen, but more bashful than he ought to be. This is the third son to go through the college and they have all done well. Then there is the teacher who comes to teach the sahib how to speak Urdu. He is a tall soldierly man, very exact in his ways. I ask him how he was educated and he tells me that he was taught by his mother chiefly but afterwards had an English teacher. He sees that I am surprised to hear him say his mother taught him: he tells me that it is not uncommon, and on another day brings me a magazine which some women are editing and publishing. Lastly there comes to mind a scene beside the old canal built in the sixteenth century and now dry: a family has camped

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beside it for a picnic, a man, two women and three children: their merry laughter travels across the sun-dried plains to where we are sitting and we turn to watch the children play and to see the happiness of the little family.

Unfortunately it must be admitted that the tragedy of India is the vast numbers of the depressed population: a few instances to the contrary prove very little. So far as any one can see to-day the only hope lies in the steady penetration of democratic ideas, at least so far as they give each individual the right to live and learn and develop his powers. There are signs that this movement is making more progress than could be expected. A curious result of the agitation to remove the British has been the question as to who should rule in their place. The Hindus would certainly assume that they had first right: but the Mohammedans do not look on it as an indisputable truth, and in face of possible opposition it would be prudent for the Hindus to unite. But the "Untouchables" owe no gratitude to their caste superiors: a very little enlightenment would show them that they could acquire independent status by becoming Moslems or Christians: and in fear of this even the Brahmin may be driven to reconsider his antiquated notions. In spite of all obstacles the British Government makes headway and education, though not always a blessing, is slowly leavening the whole mass.

Many aspects of Indian life are surveyed in this book, too many to be discussed here. After all the ancient commandment remains: these things ought ye to have done and not to have left the others undone. At the end of the eighteenth century India emerged from nearly eight centuries of invasion and bloodshed. The British rule developed through a state of political chaos into an age of unparalleled freedom from violence. In India this is really no more than the dawn. Great things may be hoped for in the future, but there can be no permanent gain until the problem of the home is solved. If this book strengthens the hands of the reformers, Indian or foreign, so that futile quarrels about details of administration can be set aside and some real effort be made to build up a healthy nation, it will have achieved a great purpose and earned the gratitude of all friends of India. This can be said with full consciousness of

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the objections that have been and will be raised against the book. For though it may give a wrong impression of that country as a whole and may have obscured many good qualities that ought to be remembered, yet to anyone who has lived in India it must appear justified because the things most emphasized are those which most obstruct the progress of India toward her rightful place among the nations of the world to-day.

G. S. BRETT.

WINSTON CHURCHILL AND THE WORLD CRISIS

ONE has to travel quite a way back in one's memory now in recalling Winston Churchill's first appearance in print. Characteristically enough the occasion aroused a little storm of controversy and provided Winston with considerable publicity. As a war correspondent in the opening stages of the Boer war he was captured in one of the minor reverses of the campaign, and was one of a party of officers who were planning escape. Winston, impatient of delay, went off by himself, and the vigilance of the guards being thus increased the rest of the party did not get away. Thus early we have him in disagreement with the regular officer.

By the end of the war he was in political life. A Conservative at first he disassociated himself from the Protectionist policy of Chamberlain, and in conjunction with Lord Hugh Cecil toured the country on an independent Unionist Free Trade crusade. Cecil remained with his party, but Winston crossed the border and was Under Secretary for the Colonies in the Campbell-Bannerman Administration. It is rather hard to imagine any office in which the aggressive Churchill would not be the principal figure and it fell to him as spokesman in the House of Commons of the Colonial Office to expound and defend the policy of full self-government which C.-B. resolved to set up in South Africa as the surest remedy for the sores occasioned by the war. The recent biography of C.-B. by J. F. Spender reveals that this was the policy of the Prime Minister himself, but in the debates Winston got much of the credit for himself. In those early years it was often hinted that he had not long to live, that the brilliant meteoric flight of his father Randolph Churchill would be repeated by the son, but Winston has lived to be hale and stout, still playing polo, to have a son at Eton, and *en passant* to become an accomplished painter. His early rise, and his obvious talents, as shown in his biography of his father, frequently caused reference to be made to the hereditary capacity which seemed to crop out in the Churchill family. There is, however, one characteristic of the great Marlborough, which

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neither Randolph nor Winston Churchill possess—diplomacy. Half of "Malbrook's" talent consisted in reconciling Dutch and German princelings in maintaining alliances by courtesy, tact, and bribes. But then he had had a long training in keeping on good terms with his beloved but irascible consort.

Winston somehow seemed to bank on this hereditary reputation during the war. It was an evident part of his make-up that he had unbounded self-confidence and initiative and that he could get up a case in a thorough fashion. One of his big speeches in Parliament always gave the effect of a mastery of his subject and of massive intellectual power. The same is true of the Memoranda which invited or uninvited he submitted to Prime Ministers, Cabinets and Generals during the war.¹ From the Colonial Office he passed to the Home Office where he distinguished himself by sending The Guards to arrest a dangerous anarchist, 'Peter the Packer.' The illustrated papers of the day showed soldiers taking cover in entries and behind trucks as they closed in on the trapped desperado, and close behind them Winston Churchill peeping out from a doorway to take in the scene. The action, or gesture as we say nowadays, is very characteristic of the irrepressible Winston. All through his career you find him peeping from a coign of vantage at some dramatic crisis in world events. Only distance prevented him from bobbing up in Gallipoli as he bobbed up at Antwerp.

From the Home Office he moved to the Admiralty where he signalized his presence by the offer to Germany of a "naval holiday" in construction. He was responsible for the unauthorized mobilization of the navy, which made certain that the Fleet was already at its station before the declaration of war, and also for the appropriation of the two battleships in building for Turkey which were incorporated in the British fleet.

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At the Admiralty Winston was soon to be yoked with an unequal mate in the person of old Fisher, and history has not yet fully revealed all the oddities and idiosyncrasies of that

¹e.g. To the Imperial Cabinet W. Crisis, Vol. II, p.

To Gen. Harrington, Deputy Chief of Staff, Ed. Vol. II, p. ..

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curious partnership. Each had a rival scheme for employing the navy. Winston's was the far-famed Gallipoli adventure. Fisher contended that if such a risk was to be taken—at any rate with the pre-Dreadnought fleet, then it should be for a still bolder stake, the forcing of the Baltic in defiance of the technical breach of neutrality involved. The primary obstacle to either scheme was the lack of troops. Churchill lays the blame on the navy for the failure of the first half of the Gallipoli adventure. After the loss of three battleships in an afternoon the admiral on the spot refused to continue the operation and the withdrawal (possibly on the eve of success) gave the Turks time to fortify the Peninsula before the joint naval and military expedition was organized. The reason for the subsequent failure of the Gallipoli adventure was made the subject of a Royal Commission, which found that one of the main causes was lack of men.

The Gallipoli policy was no doubt due to the forceful urging of Winston Churchill. One thing, however, can be said in this connexion. Winston Churchill's activity seemed exuberant and overrunning. Not only had he persuaded and committed the Cabinet to the Gallipoli adventure, but he had in the first month of the war taken a definite hand in land operations by his resolution to pour marines into Antwerp, and as far as possible made the fighting at the western end of the line an amphibious operation. With his restless personality aflame, he was at Antwerp himself, just as he was in the doorway at Sydney Street, just as he was with General Tudor on the eve of the great attack in March, 1918, with the French at Noyon on July 8, and with Rawlinson on August 12. The British public somehow sensed that this man wanted to do too much, that not content with inspiring the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, he wanted to tell Kitchener, Fisher and Jellicoe how to do their jobs. Rightly or wrongly Kitchener was one of the nation's gods. Rightly or wrongly Winston was an Alcibiades, capable of inflaming the resentment of half the nation. And so when Asquith fell from power, a *mot d'ordre* in the new government was "Keep Winston out at any price." Churchill himself attributed this feeling mainly to Lord Northcliffe, but there are evident signs that it was more widespread and Northcliffe surely lived on sensing

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public opinion. A quotation at this stage is interesting for the insight it gives of Winston's mind.

"In time of peace political office is often a doubtful blessing, and a man is not seldom happier out than in. But in this world war a great official place, especially one connected with the fighting services, was perhaps equal in scope to the command of an army or even a group of armies, and loaded with my special knowledge and share in the whole series of events with which this story is concerned, I found a sentence of continued and indefinite inactivity almost unendurable."¹

After the Dardanelles failure, when the first coalition Government was formed, Winston Churchill had been replaced at the admiralty by the more sedate spirit of Mr. Balfour. Reading between the lines one can see that Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty did not quite see eye to eye with Jellicoe, whereas he probably did with Beatty. Jellicoe in October, 1914, had ensured that he should not be the creature of any of Winston's impulses, by submitting to the Board of Admiralty a minute of his policy in naval operations. With the Board all naval men, except Churchill, the policy was fully endorsed. It is the policy enacted in the first two years and the policy which animated the so-called Battle of Jutland—caution and again caution, and always caution. It is rather surprising in the face of that policy that Winston was ever able to secure the support of the "Queen Elizabeth" to the naval bombardment of Gallipoli. He evidently is at cross purposes with Jellicoe a little later in connexion with the North Sea Raid for he emphasized in a letter to the latter that the British superiority in Dreadnoughts is now 6-4, not 5-4, the figure on which Jellicoe based his minute at the beginning of the war. Probably it was some feeling of this which caused four prominent Unionists to address a letter to Lloyd George blackballing Winston Churchill as a member of the new coalition Government.

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Of the Battle of Jutland, Churchill gives a vivid account reinforced by his knowledge of anterior conditions and rendered piquant by his evident disagreement with the strategy

¹Winston Churchill in "The World Crisis," on his not obtaining office in the Lloyd George Administration.

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which animated the engagement. At the same time he is on the whole scrupulously fair to Jellicoe. Everybody is familiar with the phases of the meeting, the engagement between the battle cruiser fleets in which the *Invincible* and the *Queen Mary* were sunk. Churchill adds here Beatty's brief comment, "Chatfield, there seems to be something wrong with our —ships to-day. Turn two points to port," i.e. two points nearer the enemy. Churchill adds this apparently with some *malice* for Jellicoe turned two points away on coming into proximity with the enemy. But thereby hangs the whole tale. The second phase begins when Beatty sighting the German main fleet leads them north towards Jellicoe some sixty miles away. Here Churchill throws some light on a matter rather obscure. Beatty was supported by a squadron of four *Queen Elizabeths*, capable of 25 knot speed. When he swerved towards the Germans on his first reception of the announcement of their presence, Barham, in command of the battleship squadron, lost some time in following him, and so was never quite able to take part in the cruiser battle. Had he done so Admiral Hipper might well have shared the fate of Von Spee at Falkland Island. Churchill assigns as the reason for this (a) that Barham did not immediately conform to the movements of Beatty, (b) after the receipt of the signal he took some minutes to follow. It is, however, when the two main fleets meet that Churchill is most trenchant in his criticism. He here gives what is probably the view of the Beatty school of thought. Jellicoe was a little uncertain both of the position of Beatty and the German fleet, through a slight disagreement in reckoning. The information given leads him to think the Germans nearer by three miles than they really are. The crux for Jellicoe is how to deploy. He chooses the safer course of deploying away from the enemy, and so losing, according to Churchill, some quarter of an hour in time and a corresponding amount in distance. Churchill himself gives elaborate diagrams to show what should have been done. He digs up a manoeuvre by which Jellicoe—in the centre of his six columns of battleships—might have had the three columns to his right deploy on him and the remaining columns execute a kind of musical-chairs manoeuvre which would have brought them in behind. Thus time would have been saved and Jelli-

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coe—leading his fleet—would have been so much nearer the enemy. It has been said that recent changes at the Admiralty will have the effect of clearing up the mystery of Jutland. One will await with interest authoritative comment on this point.² If Jellicoe had been nearer, the escaping movement of Admiral Sheer might not have been so easy, but readers of Jellicoe's book will remember that he says he turned away in consequence of a torpedo attack, under cover of which and by the help of smoke screens the Germans escaped. Jellicoe's ships opened fire as they were deploying and this exchange of shots (with one other brief interlude) is the whole of the battle of Jutland, as far as the battleships are concerned. Churchill seems to attribute to Jellicoe's manner of deployment the failure to get to grips with the Germans at this critical moment. It is strange that contact was established again by a sort of accident. The two fleets have receded into obscurity and distance, when out of the obscurity Sheer suddenly emerges again. The German Admiral says he was out for blood, but in that case why had he executed his previous volte-face? Churchill expresses the opinion that he was seeking to get nearer home and also hoped to cut off some of the ships in the British rear. Instead of this he ran bang into the main fleet. As Churchill says in one of his telling phrases:

"As the German ships one after another emerged from the mist all the British battleships whose range was clear opened a terrific fire upon them.³ The German van, the formidable *Konigs*, saw the whole horizon as far as the eye could reach alive with flashes. About six minutes' intense firing ensued, and that was all. Scheer repeated his previous manoeuvre and thereafter the fleets were lost to one another in darkness

²Mr. Pollen, in a recent article in the *Nineteenth Century Review*, states that the whole difficulty at Jutland was this: The fleet after being 'under helm,' i.e. after a turning movement, was not able to fire with any effect until its ranges had been readjusted. This problem was known, had been studied and solved, but the solution had not been acted on by the Admiralty Board of which Churchill was head. If it had been acted on, even in the short period of contact with the German fleet, the British fleet should have been able to register anyhow two broadsides on their opponents, i.e. something like double the weight of projectiles which the Germans could discharge. The latter would not have got off intact from that little tap.

³But the British fleet at this time was in a formation resembling that of an ace of diamonds, moving in a diagonal line across the face of the card.

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and mist." Jellicoe, of course, is again at fault. Instead of turning away from the torpedo attack, he might have divided his fleet into two and caught the Germans between opposing fires.

Although no further contact was actually established, the British Admiral has still two further errors to his credit. He gave incorrect orders to his own torpedo fleet and he failed to place himself correctly so as to bar the road home to the Germans. But it is just the multiplication of these errors which leads one to doubt the criticism.

If all this be correct then it would seem that Jellicoe should have received the condemnation meted out to Admiral Byng, which caused Voltaire's ironic comment, and this is the criticism one can make repeatedly throughout the book. It is not only Jellicoe who apparently does not know his business, but Kitchener and Haig and Robertson as well. One would be a little more convinced if someone were right sometimes beside Winston Churchill. Events prevented him from taking any active share in the deposition of Asquith. This would indeed have been a particularly ungrateful part, for Asquith all along recognized the particular talent of Churchill and gave him his chance in his career. Churchill none the less saw in Lloyd George the 'Man of the Moment', and it was to him he attached his fortunes. He had now turned his attentions from the sea to the land. When he lost his position at the Admiralty he was for five months in command of a battalion in the Plug Street area, and those five months seem to have given him very definite opinions on the strategy of the Western Front. One has always associated these views with Lloyd George, but judging by "The World Crisis" it was Winston who indoctrinated the Premier. At any rate, we see his restlessly active mind constantly engaged on the problem of "a way round," while the whole of his analytic and oratorical powers are occupied in assailing the frontal attack. He is here as much in disagreement with the Higher Command on land, as he was previously with the High Command at sea, but he quarrels with the land lords because they would attack, whereas his criticism of sea lords is that they would not attack. Consequently in spite of the ability of the advocate one is never sure that "The World Crisis" is not in the

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main a piece of special pleading. Nevertheless the indictment of the assault on the German line, as contained in the Memorandum is an excellent example of logical statement and forceful expression.

Perhaps it is an advocate's trick to array against his own lucid exposés of the situation the following apology for the assaults on the German line of 1917 by General Sir William Robertson, Chief of Staff: "My own views are known. . . . They have always been defensive in all theatres but the West. But the difficulty is to *prove* the wisdom of this now that Russia is out. I confess I stick to it more because I see nothing better, and because my instinct prompts me to stick to it, than because of any good argument by which I can support it."¹ Against this "muddling through" policy, to use Lord Rosebery's trenchant phrase, Winston Churchill opposes his own clear-cut line of reasoning. The criticism in question is too long to quote but its headlines will suggest that it was the criticism which animated all of Lord George's attitude to G. H. Q. through 1917-18. It was contained in the form of a letter to F. E. Smith who had it printed and circulated among the Cabinet.

Its first point is that the wearing down process, 'the attrition,' is here all to the Germans favor, not against them. Haig attacked on the Somme in 1916 with a great superiority of men and the losses were in the ratio of 3:2. The gains were totally inadequate. The attack was repulsed along three-fifths of the line and the maximum penetration was only two miles. "We have not gained in a month's fighting as much ground as we were expected to gain in the first two hours." It is when he goes on to say "The tactical form of attack seems open to comment," that it will be readily understood that "these statements were resented and repudiated at G. H. Q."²

This question of political interference with generals always arises in a great war. Not many arm-chair critics have had the luck of the demagogue Creon, who when invited

¹Robertson, *Soldiers and Statesmen*, Vol. II, p. 255.

²Yet he admits finally that the losses became more even as time went on, and that the Germans never fought again as they did in that year—which largely gives the case away.

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to "come and do it yourself," did in fact win a great battle. One recalls also how Lincoln in the long years of failure puzzled over military problems, tried to "get up" strategy, was racked and harrowed by his responsibilities till at last he found Grant. The British Cabinet was in a similar position. Winston comments on the situation thus: "A series of absurd conventions became established in the public mind. The first and most monstrous of these was that the Generals and Admirals were more competent to deal with the broad issues of the war than abler men in other spheres of life. . . . The foolish doctrine was preached that Generals and Admirals must be right on war matters and civilians must be wrong." Who these 'abler men' were is suggested by a phrase of Churchill's on going to the Ministry of Munitions: "Not allowed to make the plans, I was set to make the weapons." For although out of the Government Churchill was not long out of the limelight. In a few months he was again in office as Minister of Munitions. From this position of vantage he delivered a whole broadside of Memoranda to the Prime Minister and the War Cabinet. The very list of titles is portentous:

(1) Nov. 16. On mechanical power in the offensive, prepared for his predecessor, Mr. Montague.

(2) Nov. 6. On Duplication and waste of effort (to War Cabinet).

(3) Oct. 5. On the Invasion of England.

(4) Oct. 21. Apropos of Munitions Programme (to War Cabinet)—a Discussion of the Plan of Campaign.

(5) A Note on the War. (To the Imperial War Cabinet).

(6) A Note on certain hypothetical contingencies, April, 1918—Discussing the surrender of the Channel Ports or the maintaining liaison with the French army.

(7) March 14, 1918. On American Shipping. (To Mr. Baruch, U.S.A.).

Whether he is in office or not these notes are taken quite seriously, sent to Haig or Wilson, submitted to the War Cabinet, used by the Prime Minister. After the battle of Flanders, 1917, in protest he sends a note to Lloyd George on "limiting the consequences." In short he is ubiquitous, omnivorous, and omniscient. One is stunned by his activity and

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well nigh carried away by it. He was perpetually seeking a "way round." As long as Russia existed as a fighting entity he wished to renew the Gallipoli experiment. He does not support the Palestine diversion, but rather on the ground that it was not done in sufficient force, and that sea power was not used to take the Turks in the rear.

* * * * *

Once he is at the Munition department he concentrates on mechanical development and the method of surprise. He becomes the godfather of the Tank. Already in 1915—in what capacity is not clear—he had memorialized General French on the use of Caterpillar Vehicles. As Minister of Munitions he is developing the tank and pressing its utility on the Higher Command. After a successful use of tanks by General Maxse, Byng made his surprise tank-attack at Cambrai, with its dramatic success—for the moment. In June, 1918, Churchill addresses to General Harington of the General Staff, a memorandum which seems to lay down for the latter his plans of a "Mechanical Battle," envisaging the construction and use of 9,000 tanks, and indicating broadly what can be done with them. One imagines such instructions usually proceed in the reverse order, but here the cart pushes the horse. To his subordinates he is writing in the same strain. He takes invention out of the hands of the technical experts and writes as follows à propos of the frustration of tanks by mines and buried shells. "There are then two methods of overcoming the difficulties which suggest themselves: first exploding the shells before the tanks reach them. . . . A tank might be equipped with a large steel hammer extending 20 feet in front of it and when reaching a mine area it could strike the ground heavy blows sufficient to spring off the shell¹ . . . The above crude ideas are only intended to excite the scientific mind and lead to the production of definite solutions."

Winston evidently had a great deal to do with the Tank Battle as it was: his real demonstration would have come in 1919, when he contemplated 25,000 tanks at least, and here a passage is of interest to Canadian readers, relating to the capture of the Drocourt-Queant Trench.

(¹Surely Heath Robinson would do justice to this idea).

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Let it not be thought, however, that his activities stop here. He also had in mind an extended use of gas, taking advantage of the fact that the wind was six times more often against the Germans than with them. He had gone into the question of a thorough Development of an Air Offensive. One is almost reminded of the celebrated Prospectus of his abilities which Leonardo drew up to issue to Princes and Potentates of Europe. The entry of the Americans into the field had only enlarged his scope. He is now for reviving the Eastern Front, but it is to be via the Trans-Siberian railway, with the help of Japan.

Is all this the effervescence of an amateur, or is it inspired energy? It is sometimes difficult to say, but again one may revert to the fact that Churchill rose to Cabinet rank when a mere youth, that he was entrusted with the Admiralty before the war, that Lloyd George gave him his own post as Minister of Munitions, and that he has in the teeth of fierce opposition won back his rank as Chancellor of the Exchequer. There must be a real great capacity behind this. The recent publication of Sir H. Wilson's diary suggests the question, what were the relations between the two? They were cordial and intimate. Before the war Churchill was the disciple of Wilson in military matters. He pays tribute to Wilson as the one soldier who could express his views. The two had points of similarity and worked together with cordiality. Perhaps the fact that they were both choices of Lloyd George is an index to their common natures.

* * * * *

About one thing there can be no doubt, and that is Churchill's power as a writer. One might take as an example the pages in which he describes himself as looking out of his window on an empty Whitehall when the news of the Armistice was about to break, when the jubilant booming of Big Ben suddenly turned quiet order into chaotic excitement. Wells could not improve on this, although it is Wells' special field. Again, one has such pen pictures as at Jutland of Jellicoe "anxiously peering at the menacing curtains of the horizon or poring over the contradictions and obscurities of the chart," or again of President Wilson's entering the war. "Step by step the President had been pursued and brought

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to bay. By slow merciless degrees, against his dearest hopes, against his gravest doubts, against his deepest inclinations, in stultification of all he had said and done and left undone in thirty months of carnage, he was forced to give the signal he dreaded and abhorred."

Curiously enough Winston Churchill does not seem to have come in contact with President Wilson. He addresses no memoranda to him. Perhaps he felt that it was hopeless!

For the qualities which make historical narrative of the first order, such, for example, as we find in Napier's Peninsular War, one may refer to Churchill's account of the Crisis of 1918. Churchill shows that in his judgement the March Crisis had passed away by the beginning of April and, contrary to general belief, the repulse of the German onslaught had fallen almost entirely on the British. The same thing is true in the Battle of the Lys. The newspaper reports at the time suggested constant French reinforcements where British troops had failed. Churchill shows that the opposite is rather the case. Foch had drawn on the British for his army of manœuvre and when the French did come it was in meagre quantity and with poor results (e.g. at Kemmel Hill).

When Haig issued his famous "Backs to the wall" order, Foch had refused further reinforcement. He rated British endurance as being adequate to the task. We are also given a vividly interesting picture of the feelings and struggles in the French camp. After the March assault, the French thought they were the only ones who could stop the Germans. The failure which drove them once more back to the Aisne gave them a fellow-feeling for their Allies which had been lacking in the previous months. Curiously enough there was just the same tension between Pétain and Foch as there was between Foch and Haig, and of the two Haig was more amenable than Pétain. Thus when the hour came for the counter-stroke Pétain demurred to releasing troops and contrary orders were issued from French G. H. Q. which Foch had to overrule personally. Haig was sceptical about Foch's counter attack but he acquiesced. He contributed the four British divisions promised and to General Smuts (with authority from the British War Cabinet permitting Haig to refuse) he said "he would take the risk, he admitted the responsibility,

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and he had acted in the main interest of the Allied Cause. . . If the dispositions of Foch proved to be wrong the blame will rest on me. On the other hand, if they prove right the credit will be with Foch."

The British offensive when it came Churchill felt to be in part his own triumph. When the first word arrived of Rawlinson's Tank victory on August 8, Winston characteristically got in an aeroplane at London and made for the scene, and his story of the battle still in progress concludes with the comment of an Australian private, "it's the best we've had." It is perhaps not an accident that Churchill gives in full the horrible experiences of the 8th Division on the Somme in 1916, and with equal fullness the description of the "Mechanical Battle" which culminated in the capture of the Drocourt-Queant switch.

It is in these concluding days that ample justice and amende is given to General Haig. We have seen him silent under the humiliating criticisms of the Somme, and yet when Robertson is superseded the Cabinet heard with relief that Haig did not intend to resign, his actions being, says Churchill, always ruled by his sense of duty rather than personal feeling. He evidently had a large share in the appointment of Foch as the only means of preserving the united front of the Anglo-French forces in view of Pétain's proclaimed intentions. We have seen also the support he gave Foch at the hour of the crisis. His "Backs to the wall" order rang like a bugle call through all British forces. [Churchill gives a facsimile of it. One passage is erased which might savour of rhetoric.] Though Haig refused to comply with Foch's final order to advance, he made that advance in his own way and carried it to a triumphant conclusion. His path like that of the just man "shines more and more unto the perfect day."

W. M. C.

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of the Religion of Judaism, 500 to 200 B.C. Archibald Duff, LL.D., D.D., Emeritus Professor of Old Testament Theology in the Yorkshire United College, Bradford. (James Clarke & Co., London. Crown 8vo, cloth boards, pp. 272, 7/6).

The author of this volume is a Canadian by birth, who has spent fifty years of his life in England, as a teacher of the Hebrew language and O.T. Criticism. He is a graduate of McGill and an honorary graduate of Queen's, well known beyond the circle of his own classes as a writer of books on the language and literature of Israel, as well as a competent translator of German books. Having passed the fourscore mark and having some "learned leisure," he continues to draw forth from his well-furnished treasury things new and old. It is right that I should have the privilege of saying a few words at this stage, as he welcomed me to his classes forty-four years ago and showed me much personal kindness, with the result that, though differing sometimes on particular points of history, there has been a continuous friendship since that time. Those have been changeful years in many respects and Dr. Duff has stood manfully to his post preaching and teaching, manifesting in this and other spheres wonderful energy, enthusiasm, courage and independence. He can look back with gratitude and say: "My students of the past half-century have all cheered me on. Of these especially the Rev. G. Stanley Russell, M.A., of Clapham, has revised and rewritten many a page for me; while the sainted Dr. J. H. Jowett was Russell's counsellor in such rewritings, as well as he was my strength by many a gracious word for me."

Still there is a certain note of sadness, verging on disappointment, in this statement. "I am eager to see the Old Testament used. To say that actually it is almost unused is no exaggeration. I know that disuse is caused by mistaken theories and methods. Only the historical and critical method can bring men to use it; for it is a work of men, and only the Divinely human estimate of it and use of it will induce men

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to know it and to love it. Many ministers are afraid to use it: afraid of its difficulties, afraid of 'fundamentalism.' Let us play the man. Some unwise minister wished publicly a few days ago that this great Literature might be destroyed, buried in the ocean! That wish cannot be fulfilled, else Jesus would be destroyed, for that Literature is part of Him, etc." That "unwise minister" reminds us of Goldwin Smith's foolish statement, probably regretted after it was published, that the Old Testament was "the millstone of Christianity." The way the Old Testament is treated in some quarters here almost enables us to understand if not to excuse the phrase.

Dr. A. Duff, in this book, does not keep strictly to the chronological lines laid down; he glances at the more remote past, as far as Hammurabi (2000 B.C.) and Ikhnaton (1500 B.C.), and includes in his survey a brief review of the Book of Jubilees (between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D.): but his chief concern is to defend the literature of the post-Exilic period against the charge of deadness and narrowness. He does not rest his case altogether upon such great things as the Book of Job, and The Songs of the Servant, but casts a halo of romance around what many have regarded as the dry work of The Chronicler. He regrets that there is so little knowledge among ministers of the Maccabean revolt and the new royal dynasty that sprang out of it. He is prepared, later on, to extend the same sympathy to the "Rabbinic" literature, believing that while there are degrees of glory, of literary excellence and spiritual power, that living stream of inspiration can not be bound by chronological or canonical barriers. "We touch now a tenderer nerve. It is common fashion to laugh and even to sneer at 'The Second Doctrine Book', that enlargement of the Pentateuch which is called 'Mishnah'. " 'Finicking' some folk say that the whole is, straining at gnats, burdening men sadly. We shall examine it; we shall see that it is filled with faith in most beautiful, most humble, personal intimate communion with God, and it is eager with large-hearted care to lighten all burdened Jewish souls." "The Great Charter" of Judaism (The Priestly Code) is treated in the same critical but kindly spirit. "The little Book now commonly called 'The Priestly Document' in the Pentateuch ('P') contains and expresses the soul of all the

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remarkable development whose climax was *Jesus*. And yet its central part has been left almost unread, and has even been pushed aside by Christian people as being a picture of a pure sacerdotalism unworthy of regard by earnest persons. But the neglect of it and the misreading of it are not due altogether to Christian treatment." Then follows a statement concerning the great activity of "Ezra", according to Jewish tradition, but this "Second Moses" disappears as we are told that "Ezra, cannot possibly be a person's name," but is simply an Aramaic word for "The Help." This mass of legend around the name of an imaginary person has, in Dr. Duff's view, done injustice to the writer of The Priestly Code. The number of topics discussed in this small book cannot be indicated in this short notice. The reader will find the interest maintained and meet some statements that may startle him and he will find the varied expositions concluding "with the firm assertion that from 300 B.C. onwards there was among the Jewish people a genuine willingness and an earnest desire to see all men enjoying the blessing and knowledge of Jahweh's Love. The ordinary fancy that Jews hated all other men is a mistake, and it has produced great injury to all. Let us believe that wiser ways are coming." The tone in which the author expresses this conviction shows both his courage and hopefulness. We wish for him health and strength to complete the arduous task that he has set before him.

W. G. J.

Dunham, Aileen: *Political Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836*. [Royal Colonial Institute Imperial Studies, 1]. Longmans, 1927, pp. 210+Bibliography 15 pp.

Both the authoress and the Royal Colonial Institute are to be congratulated on this first "study" in Imperial history. It gives a far more satisfactory sketch of the twenty-one years than any that has hitherto appeared; and it takes fairly fully into account the various causes of the unrest that characterized the period—constitutional, international, administrative, commercial, ethnical, personal, and ecclesiastical. The interpretation of the original documents is upon the whole sane

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and judicial; and the citation of secondary sources is for the most part admirable. The ample bibliography ought to prove most helpful to other workers in the field.

The appraisal of Bishop Strachan, Sir John Beverley Robinson, Robert Fleming Gourlay, William Lyon Mackenzie, the Ryersons, and the various Lieutenant-Governors is more just than that to which readers of so-called histories are usually treated. Those characters who are traditionally vilified are shown to have had at least some redeeming features; and the popular idols are allowed to have had at least feet of clay.

Notwithstanding the excellent summing up on pages 190-191, there is perhaps a tendency, on page 162, to view the situation in the light of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. The authoress's treatment of the Anglican Church, its position, and claims leaves something to be desired. There are a few lapses in chronology, one mistake in quotation, and one in the spelling of a name.

The letter of Col. the Hon. Richard Cartwright, M.L.C., quoted on pages 84-85 from "The Parish Register of Kingston, U.C., 1785-1811," is mistakenly assigned to his friend, the Hon. James McGill, who was not at all concerned with the Clergy Reserves of Upper Canada. The Anglican See of Quebec was erected in 1793, not in 1795, as the footnote on page 80 asserts. John Strachan is stated on pages 20 and 86 to have been appointed Archdeacon of York in 1828 instead of in 1827. Sir John Colborne became Lieutenant-Governor of the Province in 1828, not in 1825, as stated on page 119. Jesse Ketchum's name is, on page 118, misspelled Ketchem.

If the authoress will study the ecclesiastical arrangements for the "Old" Colonies, she will find that in North Carolina, not to mention others, statutory provision was made, even out of the municipal rates, for the support of the Anglican clergy. After a struggle they became entitled to their proportion also in the New England Colonies, where the sole beneficiaries under the law were at first the Independent Ministers. When the American Rebellion broke out, the Governors of New York and New Hampshire were busily engaged in setting aside out of the Crown lands Glebes and other landed endowments for the Church of England. Study of

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the history of Nova Scotia will show that the Church was established in that Colony by Act of the Legislature in 1758 and that divers grants were made to it, the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Administrator having in his hands the patronage of livings, as had subsequently the Governor-in-Chief, the Lieutenant-Governor, or the person administering the government for the time being in the Canadas. Accordingly it is hardly correct to say, as said on page 80, "This legislation [of the Canada Act, 1791] for a Protestant clergy in the colonies formed an innovation in colonial policy."

Study of the Royal Instructions issued to Governors-in-Chief and to Lieutenant-Governors of the Canadas proves conclusively that the Church of England was the one intended by the Home Government to be established in the Canadas, as it had been in the southerly "Old" Colonies, in Nova Scotia, and in New Brunswick. So too does the Canada (or Constitutional) Act of 1791, which was the negative answer returned to the petition of 1786 sent from Upper Canada for the establishment also of the National Church of Scotland.

The same purpose can be seen apparently in the stipends allotted to various clergymen, beginning with the Rev. Messrs. de Montmollin, Veyssière, and de Lisle in 1766, continuing with Messrs. Stuart, Doty, Langhorn, Addison, and others in and after 1785, and going on down to the time at which a more comprehensive arrangement was made with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, as almoner, at the close of the Napoleonic wars.

Notwithstanding the official letter to Lord Dorchester referred to on pages 83-84, this line of policy was not to be given up. It was based upon the interpretation given to the Act of Union between England and Scotland, under which it was claimed that the Church of Scotland was to be established only in Scotland itself, not in England, Ireland, or the Colonies.

The opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown handed out in 1819 in regard to the petition from the Scots Church at Niagara did not favour Protestants generally, but only the Church of Scotland. This view was contended for stoutly and persistently by Mr. John Charles Grant and other representatives of the Church of Scotland, notably by the Rev. Dr.

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Lee, who objected in so many words to allowing the chairman of the House of Commons Committee on Civil Government in the Canadas to style his coreligionists "Protestant Dissenters". It seems therefore a bit like begging the question to say, as Professor Dunham does on page 84, "The two churches engaged in this quarrel took no account of the fact that the large majority of the people for whom the reserves had been set aside were adherents neither of the Church of England nor of the Church of Scotland, but were dissenters of long standing, who had inherited a rooted antipathy against church establishments of any kind." For "dissenters" no provision was contemplated.

Even the Ryersons, especially Egerton, were not averse to State aid, as appears from the latter's cooling off in his attacks after he had received recognition of his denomination's claims and from George's statements presented to the House of Commons Committee on Civil Government in the Canadas.

In the quotation last made from Professor Dunham's book no account is taken of the fact that the Ryersons themselves were recruited to the Methodists' ranks from the Church of England. They, therefore, and hundreds like them, Bishop Richardson included, cannot be called "dissenters of long standing." Professor Dunham would therefore have stood on more tenable ground, if she had contented herself, on page 85, with noting the "futility to attempt to ascertain the relative numbers of the adherents of the various churches" instead of going on to affirm:: "There is, however, no doubt that adherents of the Church of England were in a minority, in spite of many advantages which that church enjoyed." The assertion is hardly borne out by various facts, including those of the census that was (subsequently) taken before the secularizing Act was passed by the Legislature in 1854.

As to the relation of the Anglican Bishop of Quebec to the Executive and the Legislative Councils much more might be said than Professor Dunham has said. Dr. Jacob Mountain, the first prelate to hold that title, was called to those bodies under instructions from the Home Government to Lord Dorchester and, through him, to Major-General Simcoe.

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This was done under those "permissive clauses" of the Canada Act, 1791, authorizing "the attachment of hereditary titles", concerning which Professor Dunham (on page 20) says: "but from the outset this was recognized as impracticable." Yet it was only by virtue of this summons that Dr. Mountain became entitled to the style of "Lord Bishop," which descended to his immediate successors and which has been ever since accorded as a mark of courtesy to Colonial Bishops, although they are no longer summoned to Councils or to Senates.

Why Strachan should have resigned from either Council "when appointed Archdeacon of York," Professor Dunham does not make clear. That appointment was a solatium for not being made a bishop and it gave him further right and power than he had had simply as an Executive and a Legislative Councillor to devote his life "to the support of the Church of England," to quote Professor Dunham's appreciation of him on page 86. And yet it was this champion "against all the ramifications of democracy", to quote again from the same page, who, in 1851, took the very democratic step of originating the Synod of Toronto, with its representation of the laity, which has become the pattern for diocesan synods throughout Canada and the British Empire. To this was added the provision for Synod's electing the Bishop whenever the See should fall vacant.

Professor Dunham does not state that the "Bishop" whom Lord Goderich "advised", with the Archdeacon, "to resign their seats in the councils", was Macdonell, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kingston. Nor does she state that the Government's payment of his salary antedated the agreement with the Canada Company and that the original payments had to do with the Government's recognition of its obligations as trustee of the forfeited Jesuits' Estates, which were in part an endowment originally for the support of missionaries.

Perusal of the S. P. C. Reports and of the Revd. W. J. D. Waddilove's "Stewart Missions" shows that practically every Church of England Missionary in Upper Canada from the time of John Stuart (1785 to 1811) and John Langhorn (1787 to 1813) regarded himself as an itinerant missionary. In Sir John Colborne's time, as before it, catechists, school-

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masters, and other laymen, were more or less generally employed for the purpose of maintaining the services of the Church in the intervals between the visits of the Travelling Missionaries, who were all too few. This has to be said as an offset to Professor Dunham's statement: "He [Colborne] realized that one cause of the failure [?] of the Church was its inability to adapt itself to a new country, and he urged that travelling missionaries be instituted after the pattern of the Methodists." His friend, the Hon. and Right Rev. Charles James Stewart, second Bishop of Quebec, with whom he co-operated heartily for the extension and the strengthening of the Church, had himself been appointed Visiting Missionary for the whole Diocese of Quebec (Lower and Upper Canada) some eight or ten years before his consecration as Bishop in 1826. He was succeeded by many other Travelling Missionaries, some of whom lived on into comparatively recent times and were known in later life to men still living.

In so far as the Church of England failed to make progress with the growth of the country, the main causes are to be found in the reluctance of ordained men in the Old Country to emigrate in sufficient numbers and to face life in the wilderness, the difficulty of training a native ministry, the desire of the laity for the premature establishment of parishes, and the unwillingness of the people to support men who, they wrongly supposed, were adequately supported by Government and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Adequate support from the Clergy Reserves they never had; and that source of support, which was still less adequate when shared with other communions, was taken note of by the latter only twenty-eight to thirty-seven years after being first provided and at a time when they realized that it might become very valuable.

Notwithstanding these seeming strictures upon one branch of the Professor's thesis, her general analysis of the subject and her conclusions are unimpeachable.

A. H. YOUNG.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Canada and the League of Nations

The election of Canada to a non-permanent seat on the Council of the League of Nations was not wholly a surprise. The Irish Free State was a candidate in September, 1926, but because of commitments arising out of the admission of Germany to the League she did not have the united support of the British Dominions. The further representation of the British Empire on the Council of the League was evidently discussed at the 1926 Imperial Conference and the way cleared for more general support for her candidature as the senior Dominion.

Special significance is attached to Canada's promotion to the Council of the League. It acknowledges the equality of rank and privilege of the British Dominions with the independent nation members of the League and at the same time indicates an extension of British influence within the League. Doubtless members of the League were anxious to secure representation of the North American viewpoint on the Council and, in the absence of the United States, that could be achieved most effectively by the selection of Canada.

Much has been heard in recent days of Canadian national status. The nations of the League, in placing Canada on the Council, were not concerned about any theory of status, national or otherwise. Her election does not, in itself, modify her legal status. It is, nevertheless, a very satisfactory tribute to the esteem in which she is held by the League members and a recognition of her prominence in international affairs. Since the days of the South African war, for instance, Canada has played a rôle of ever increasing importance in world affairs and to a corresponding degree the attention of the world has been extended in her direction. This favourable publicity has undoubtedly reacted to her material advantage.

Much speculation has been aroused in Europe regarding the extent to which the Canadian representative will follow the lead of his British colleague. In general, Britain and

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Canada have no interest in European affairs other than the preservation of peace and international stability, yet differences of opinion may arise regarding the means by which this common end may be achieved. One suspects that as long as Canada is represented by Senator Dandurand there may be a tendency to follow the French rather than the British lead in issues of method and procedure. Certain it is that the voice of Canada will not be a mere echo of that of Britain.

Election to the Council raises for us in Canada very definitely the question of the responsibilities involved in our membership in the League and the significance of the idea of representation on its Council. The Canadian background will undoubtedly in large measure determine the attitude of Senator Dandurand at the meetings of the Council. In many of the disputes which come before the Council the task of its members will be that of seeking a satisfactory compromise expressed by a 'formula' to which the parties will find it possible to subscribe. It cannot be said that in the discharge of such functions of mediation the Canadian delegate 'represents' Canadian opinion because such opinion does not exist beyond a desire to preserve world peace. If, however, a decision of the Council on which Canada is represented should lead to a disturbance of the peace of the world, would Canada regard herself under any greater obligation than the very vague commitment contained in the Covenant of the League? In any event, Canada's participation in the deliberations of the Council should arouse a keener sense of the importance of our external relations and of our share of responsibility for the maintenance of world peace.

The Dominion-Provincial Conference

That we have not yet solved all the problems of federalism was amply demonstrated by the Dominion-Provincial Conference which assembled at Ottawa in early November. This was the first Conference of representatives of the Federal and Provincial governments since March, 1918, when the successful prosecution of the war was the chief subject of discussion. Inter-provincial conferences had been held as far back at 1887 but Federal ministers do not appear to have attended such conferences until 1906.

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Difficulties inherent in a federal system of government based on a written constitution were brought into prominence at the recent conference. Problems of public administration have assumed a complexity not contemplated by the Fathers of Confederation. Who in 1867 would have dreamed of the term 'navigation' being extended to the licensing and control of pilots of airships? The framers of the British North America Act had no thought of fashioning a sacro-sanct and cast-iron constitution. The Act of 1867 represented compromises reached by patriotic and reasonable men and it was assumed that a spirit of fairness and of toleration and a love of justice would animate those who would be entrusted with the responsibility of adjusting the machinery of government to meet constantly changing demands. The recent conference by clearly defining certain of the new problems of government may thereby have contributed to their solution.

At the suggestion of the Federal government and in conformity with a resolution of the Dominion Parliament, the question of Senate reform was discussed. Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the four provinces which formed Confederation in 1867, expressed opposition to any change in the constitution of the Senate. Western delegates suggested several reforms, such as provincial participation in the appointment of Senators, a limited tenure of office and particularly the adoption of the British practice by which a bill passing the House of Commons three times becomes law, regardless of the Upper Chamber. As a consequence of this sharp divergence in view it would seem that for the present, at least, Senate reform will proceed by a slow and natural process satisfactory to the government except for the constant danger of alienating disappointed 'friends.'

Mr. Lapointe, on behalf of the Federal government, also presented the case for giving the Dominion parliament the right to amend the constitution subject to certain restrictions protecting the rights of the provinces and of minorities. This proposal is partly the outgrowth of the national status movement which sees an inconsistency in the necessity of securing constitutional amendments from the legislature of the United Kingdom and partly the result of a desire in the western provinces to simplify the procedure by which necessary and

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desirable changes can be made in the constitution. The advocates of reform were careful to allay fears by the proviso that, while ordinary, innocent amendments might be made with the consent of a majority of the provinces, vital amendments affecting provincial rights and relating to race, language and creed should be permitted only with the unanimous consent of the provinces. The line of cleavage on this issue was the western boundary of Ontario. The Western provinces voted for greater powers of amendment, the Eastern provinces, including Prince Edward Island which supported Senate reform, preferred to retain the present system.

We have not heard the last of this argument. The advocates of reform would probably admit that there is no specific change in the constitution of immediate urgency. They realize the necessity of making readjustments to meet the constantly changing character of our problems of government and are anxious to provide in advance a simple and effective procedure for making such changes. It is doubtful if the movement receives much popular support on the ground of the inconsistency of our present system with national status. The extent of the opposition which developed at the Conference indicates that we are still some distance from a solution of the problems. The British parliament would not be justified in transferring the right of amendment of the constitution to the Canadian parliament until there is much greater agreement than is manifested at present. This situation suggests the possibility of resort to a greater extent than hitherto to judicial interpretation as a means of extending powers under the constitution. Other problems relating to conflicting jurisdictions can probably be solved, in part at least, by agreement reached at such conference as that recently concluded. Many of the most important constitutional changes effected in the past, including the grant of responsible government, were effected without legislative enactment. It may be possible to carry on this tradition with real advantage to the nation.

Such methods were, in fact, recommended within a limited sphere by the recent conference. The extent of federal control over navigable waters and over civil aviation will be determined by the Supreme Court of Canada, while a greater

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degree of co-operation between Federal and Provincial departments has been assured in the incorporation of companies and in 'blue sky' legislation.

Much of the time of the delegates was devoted to a consideration of the question of provincial subsidies from the federal treasury. The original provinces which formed the Dominion surrendered their customs dues in exchange for an annual grant from the Federal government. It was not contemplated that the basis on which subsidies were fixed in 1867 should be permanent and adjustments have been made from time to time since then. Certain provinces now demand that there should be a further increase in the grants to the provinces and likewise a general consideration of the basis upon which subsidies should be determined. This opens up the larger problem of the relative spheres of taxation open to the Federal and Provincial authorities and also of the uses to which public revenue is devoted. Certain of the provinces are finding it extremely difficult to carry out programmes of public improvement which they conceive to be in the public interest because of the inadequacy of their revenues as supplemented by the federal subsidy. One of the easiest means of increasing provincial revenue is to tap the federal treasury. The time seems ripe for a thorough investigation of the contributions made by Federal and Provincial agencies to the economic life of the community with a view to determining an equitable basis for the apportionment of revenue derived from the Canadian tax-payer between the two administrative units.

D. McA.

The Geneva Naval Conference

On the question which caused Lord Cecil's resignation he seems to have had a considerable ground for complaint. When Mr. Baldwin appointed Lord Cecil as League representative he knew what he was doing just as he did when he made Churchill Chancellor of the Exchequer. In both cases he was giving kudos to his Government by enrolling in it merit and capacity. Cecil had made his reputation on the League by his work as the delegate for South Africa—a master stroke of General Smuts. Cecil, however, complained

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that the British Government had been consistently out of line with him, and that Chamberlain on his visits to the League had superseded him and pursued opposite policies. Matters came to a head with the Naval Discussions at Geneva. The crux of his criticism here is that while the Government delegation had no definite policy at all—apart from waiting on events—its service members had the definite intention of listening to no proposals and making no concessions whatever. When the Conference broke down—after its members had twice been fetched back to London—over a futile haggle about details, Lord Cecil considered his usefulness as a British delegate had come to an end, and he let the cat out of the bag and a whole family of kittens as well. Evidently his conduct has stirred the Government to action. A policy which must ultimately lead to an armament race with the United States is not likely to be popular with the tax-ridden electorate, and this fact provides the Opposition with a weapon they are already using. Rather late in the day Mr. Bridgman announces postponement of the cruiser buildings and Lord Balfour tells his cousin with some asperity that it is not considered that the naval discussions are at an end. President Coolidge, however, in his latest utterance (December 6) speaks rather as if the offer of reciprocity were withdrawn. The United States, he says, must go on actively with her naval defence. He ignores the postponed cruiser programme in Britain or treats it as meant for internal consumption only.

The Naval Conference at Geneva, it must be said, seems to have been badly handled. The *Manchester Guardian* complained recently that the Government was continually settling important questions in an off-hand, haphazard manner, without any discussion in Parliament. Now the experience of the Washington Conference a few years ago should have told the Government that the American method of doing things was to come with a cut and dried programme which must be discussed as an entity. At Washington the programme presented suited British needs admirably. Earl Beatty must have whistled when he saw the proposal which allowed Britain to mark time in the debateable matter of battleships and to make up in the meantime all her deficiencies in cruisers for trade defence. He accepted in a crack, though quite

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recently a well-known Admiral bemoaned the sacrifices made at Washington. The United States brought forward her Geneva proposals partly as an electioneering move, partly as a supplement to the Washington Conference. It would perhaps have been better if the British Government had said on the first day that these proposals were not acceptable. The onus would then have been on the States of having rendered the Conference abortive by bringing unacceptable proposals. As it was, Great Britain went into the Conference with some reluctance, and yet felt that it could not well decline to participate—as France did unhesitatingly. The ordinary French politician or journalist watched the proceedings with some amusement for the arguments Britain was bringing forward about national safety were precisely those France uses in defence of her army.

But one cannot escape the impression that a big man such as Lloyd George—or Churchill if he were not roped in on the other side—would have been able to bring forward a proposal and would have reinforced it with the 'magic word' which counts both in the American and British democracies. As things were the Conference broke down in the janglings of bureaucrats, uniformed and otherwise. No use, for example, was made of the Treaty of Arbitration between Britain and the States: in fact the two countries were not so much concerned with the question of whether they were going to fight one another—one can imagine what oratorical capital Lloyd George would have made out of this—but rather with the question of their respective prestige. *Enfin* if nothing can be done for idealism in the two English-speaking communities, certainly it will be done nowhere else, except by proxy and at someone else's expense—a protocol in fact.

The Irish Free State

The fault of the Cosgrave government in the eyes of the balancing voter has perhaps been that it was too masterful: certainly Kevin O'Higgins, who fell a martyr to duty, embodied this trait in his own make-up. He is reported to have said, "This country needs a Cromwell and it is going to get it." The government in a sense capitalized his death by a Public Safety Act which gave them Star Chamber powers

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of dealing with opponents of the government who used violent or unconstitutional means. At the same time they passed an act compelling candidates for the Dial to take the prescribed oath. These two measures brought the Republicans into the open. They took the oath and appeared in the Dial, where in conjunction with Labour and the Redmondite group they would have turned out the government, if one Redmondite had not "slept in." The Dial was prorogued and Cosgrave, encouraged by successful bye-elections in Dublin City and County, then appealed to the country. This was a fairly straight trial of strength between the Government and the Republicans, and as such it caused the electors to vote rather for the major parties than the minor groups. The result was that the Government and their associates had a bare majority of six over the opposition parties and groups. It is evidently one of the disadvantages of P. R. that it does not provide that wide margin which normally gives a substantial and working majority to the winning party in an election. The Republican party has shown it has a certain solid and definite strength in the country. At the same time there has been some change of front on the part of Valera, who has declared his intention of working for the republic (for all Ireland) on peaceful and constitutional lines. He may have been studying the procedure of Hertzog at the Cape. In the Dial, however, Fianna Fail has not distinguished itself especially. Its speakers have not yet learnt the game and offer hustings oratory in place of debate; De Valera seems to prefer to keep his thoughts to himself by expressing them in Irish. The programme he and his followers expound is too vague and too specious to attract many more votes. By one of the little ironies of life the first defeat of the Government was on the question of the treatment of Imperial veterans in Ireland, and the Republicans had to endorse what was for them an unsavoury proposal in order to inflict a humiliation on the government.

If one looks ahead, the normal thing seems to be that after the wear and tear of three administrations the present government will be defeated and power will pass to Fianna Fail, which in fact is shaping itself to become an official opposition with the usual right of succession. But the Cos-

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grave party will make them take office at the earliest possible moment, hoping to get the maximum profit thereby. Cosgrave has announced that the Public Safety Act will only hold good for a twelvemonth. Meanwhile we know when is an oath not an oath.

Regulation XVII.

The Premier of Ontario made a striking gesture when he cancelled Regulation XVII and put in force a contrary policy. This, however, has been foreshadowed for some time past by inquiries and reports that have been made on the question, and doubtless the election of independent French Canadian Liberals along the Quebec border has not been without some influence in the matter. Nevertheless, Regulation XVII has for some time been open to doubt in circles where the foremost consideration has been educational rather than political. Even if the major premise, nay the axiom, be unquestioned that English be the predominating language in Ontario, and even if in the past some school boards have acted as if they formed part of Quebec and not Ontario, nevertheless the first essential is that the school children of Ontario should receive adequate instruction, and such instruction is not always possible if Regulation XVII is interpreted *au pied de la lettre*. The very fact that Premier Ferguson was in charge of the Education Department has no doubt brought conviction to him that it was time to try the opposite policy and safeguard the other difficulties by administrative watchfulness. To appease a legitimate grievance is always a source of strength to a government.

Evolution Again

A writer in the *New Statesman* performs a useful service for the general reader—it is perhaps unnecessary for the scientist—by pointing out the gaps in the Darwinian theories. While not quarreling with the relation of man and apes he insists that the way in which Darwin suggested that evolution took place is no nearer proof than ever, and he finds fault with Sir Arthur Keith for not touching on this in his endorsement of Darwinism. "It is not the hypothetical ancestry of man but the whole theory of Natural Selection that is being challenged nowadays. . . . Our zoologists know of no

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species that have ever made progress by reason of natural selection. Such a thing may have happened, but there is not a single established scientific fact to show that it has happened. . . the missing link is still missing and seems likely to remain missing. That there have been great jumps at certain periods especially in the evolution of the brain both of men and of other mammals seems to be certain. 'Why this should have been—the writer here quotes Professor J. A. Thomson—we simply do not know,' and he continues, 'we have no more plausible explanation of the event than may be suggested by the first or second chapter of Genesis.

"If men or elephants or apes or mice have evolved in a progressive sense it is by a process which still remains utterly mysterious and of which no biologist has yet been able to form an even plausible explanation. From where did we get our brains and our "souls"? All the scientific evidence is against the idea of their having come to us gradually by small increment after small increment. There may have been certain crucial junctures—or to use Professor Thomson's phrase, some special spiritual influx from time to time. Who knows? . . . The theory of Natural Selection as an explanation of the evolution of man from mollusc no longer holds water. We want to know about that 'sudden' appearance of 'brain.' What did it mean? What was its cause? . . . The gulf between two (animals) is not in any sense comparable to the great mental and emotional gulf that separates man from animals. It is very difficult to define but it is as broad almost as the division between animals and vegetables. . . . Something very extraordinary must have happened at some time, but what it was Sir Arthur Keith seems to know no more than Moses."

This article may have been provocative, intended to draw some scientific men into a discussion. Except for very minor lights they have refused to be drawn. Perhaps some of our own scientists will explain the answers to these obstinate questionings. To-day even the Dooleys and Hennessys are interested in them.

W. M. C.

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THE RELIGION OF GREECE

IN that striking work, "*The Dawn of History*," Professor J. L. Myres seeks to sum up the results of recent archaeological research, attempting to reconstruct the obscure early history of the Greek peoples. Among other things, this effort may help us to determine, with some approximation to accuracy, the various stages of belief through which the Greeks passed, and incidentally to help us to form a more precise conception of the evolution of religion. It will not be denied that, in these days of unrest, when all things seem to be thrown into the crucible, such an enquiry is of singular importance.

Professor Myres reminds us that it is a mistake to treat Aegean culture as if it were the spontaneous creation of pure Aegean aborigines. No doubt, from the later Stone Age the islands of the Aegean were peopled by members of the "Mediterranean" race. Brunette in complexion, like the "Alpine" stock, they differed in build and proportions, and especially in their narrower head, longer face, and clearer skin. Though the same type is represented in early sites on the coasts, there is no evidence that it extended any distance inland, either in Europe or in Asia Minor. The "Alpine" type, again, is thick-set, broad-faced, and round-headed. Coming later than the other, it extended itself into the Cycladic islands, and into both ends of Crete. In the latter half of the Bronze Age, which followed the Stone Age, and preceded the Iron Age, the proportion of more or less "Alpine" individuals mounted up perceptibly. It thus seems certain that Aegean culture and religion were not the spontaneous growth of the Aegean aborigines, but were modified by the "Alpine" invaders, who seem to have come from the heart of the Balkan peninsula.

The so-called "Minoan" culture occupies the whole of the

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Bronze Age—say, from 3000 B.C. to 1350 B.C.—and has its own marked features. Its Art was at once naturalist and idealist: acutely observant of the form and habit of living things, sensitive to the qualities and potentialities of raw material, wonderfully skilled in the art of the potter, painter, gem-engraver, and goldsmith, and, above all, able to draw inspiration from other styles and methods, without losing the sureness of its own touch, or the power to impose its own strong character on its works of art (pp. 180-181).

During the Minoan Age the dwellings of the dead passed through many changes of fashion, but all Aegean rituals agree in this, that the dead are buried, not burned, and that they are provided with copious equipment for their other life. The earliest tombs are "contracted burials," in cist-graves. Some localities, in early periods, practised secondary burial: the body was interred provisionally until it was decayed, and then the bones were transferred to the common charnel-house, as in a modern Greek churchyard. Later, families of distinction practised coffin-burial in larger and larger chambers, constructed underground or in hill-sides. The coffins were often of clay, richly painted or frescoed with funerary scenes. In the latest phases such chambers on a smaller scale, with flat roofs, became common and superseded the old "cist-graves"; but the royal tombs at Mycenae still preserved, on a glorified plan, and with bodies at full length, the form of the primitive "cist-grave" (pp. 186-187).

In the late Minoan Age—from 1600 B.C. to 1350 B.C.—there occurred the gradual introduction of iron, first for tools, then for weapons; also of a new type of decorative art, and of the practice of cremation—wholly new in the Aegean, but long familiar in the forest-clad north. This is the beginning of the early Iron Age, with a new distribution of settlements, and almost total extinction of the late Minoan culture, which was still relatively high, though already far gone in decadence, by the eleventh century.

Greek tradition remembered three main events: (1) the "Coming of the Achaeans," (2) the "Trojan War", (3) the "Dorian Invasion." The Achaeans were blonde fair-skinned giants, "tamers of horses", "shepherds of the people." Their chief political centres were at Mycenae and in Laconia. Their

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conquests, which included almost all of mainland Greece, Crete, and the south end of the island fringe of Asia Minor, were rough-hewn before 1250 B.C., but there were still unpacified districts after 1180 B.C. The Trojan War, which the Greeks accurately dated 1194 to 1184 B.C., involved the whole of the Achaean force, and resulted in the destruction of the Phrygian city. The Dorian Invasion occurred two generations after the Trojan War, and therefore a little after 1100 B.C. It is certain that their subjects, all through southern Greece, stood aloof from the Dorians, and the Dorians from them, and for some centuries the peninsula was paralysed by a nightmare of race-feuds. Other northern peoples, moving nearer the east coast, conquered almost all the north, in a loose "confederacy of neighbours," from Thessaly to the frontier of Attica. On the mainland Attica alone outrode the storm. In the islands, things were rather better, though, in the south, Crete, Rhodes, and other parts were counted eventually as Dorian. The refugees from Greece profited by the havoc which Phrygian raids had made in the western half of the Hittite dominion, to colonize extensively on the west coast. Here in due course grew up Ionian Greece, prolonged northward and southward by the cities of Aeolis and the Hellespont, and of the Carian coast.

This hurried summary of its early history may help us to understand the changing phases of the culture and religion of Greece. Basing his conclusions upon the results of archaeological research, Professor Gilbert Murray, in his brilliant work, "Four Stages of Greek Religion," seeks to reconstruct the early religion of Greece. Ancient Greece, he contends, has the distinction of beginning at the very bottom and struggling, however precariously, to the very summit. We may, he thinks, regard the earliest stage of that religion as the raw material out of which religion is made. Early man lived in an atmosphere of religious fear; he regarded the snake as the symbol of the underworld powers; the sow as sacred because of its fertility, and the bull from its enormous strength, its rage, in fine its *Mana*, as the archaeologist calls it. The early religion of Crete is permeated by the bull of Minos. Down into classical times bull's blood was deemed sacred. His flesh was eaten and his blood drunk, as Dr. Robertson Smith

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divined, in order to obtain his *Mana*, his vital power. Early man cannot be said to have any idea of a "god"; he only possessed the raw material out of which gods were in course of time evolved. Even kids and fawns seemed to him to have a mysterious vitality, or at least some uncanny power over the weather or the crops. To him this seemed obvious, for do not frogs bring rain by croaking for it? From this primitive belief there was a transitional step. To obtain the *Mana* of the animal a man put on the head or skin of a holy beast, and thus, as he believed, obtained its vitality for himself. This man is, *par excellence*, the priest or medicine-man, and seems to have been the only 'god' that his society knew. The next stage is when the medicine-man becomes differentiated, as we may say: the visible part of him being regarded as merely human, but the supposed supernatural part being imagined to be a 'god'.

Besides the *Mana* there is the *Tabu*. What is not certified by immemorial custom is held to be *Tabu*, forbidden. To find out what things are *Tabu*, the 'Fathers' must be consulted, and if these Old Ones fail us we must have recourse to the Older Ones, the Chthonian people lying in their sacred tombs, and ask them for help. By an easy extension the Chthonian folk are believed to know not only what is, but what will be. The normal reason for consulting an oracle was not to ask questions of fact, but to learn how to behave in some emergency. Like most manifestations of early religion, the oracle generally fell back upon some remedy full of pain and blood. The history of uncivilized man, if it were written, would provide a vast list of victims, all of them innocent, who died and suffered to expiate some portent, with which they had nothing whatever to do, and which probably never really happened, and if it did was of no consequence. The taming of this blind dragon must rank among the very greatest services that Hellenism has wrought for mankind.

So much for Professor Murray's reading of early Greek religion. I think that his interpretation of the facts will be generally accepted as sound; but one cannot avoid the uneasy feeling that he has hardly penetrated to the true source of the religious consciousness of primitive man. And the reason is perhaps that his interpretation of the religious conscious-

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ness is, at least partially, inadequate. He contends that religion cannot be defined, since it deals with the "uncharted region" lying beyond knowledge, and "by methods of emotion or sub-conscious apprehension." This attitude, which may fairly be called sceptical, is based upon the assumption that religion by its very nature has to do with what Dr. Murray calls the "infinite." But when we ask what is meant by the "infinite," it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that it is that which lies beyond the bounds of all knowledge, and even beyond the bounds of all possible knowledge open to man. This view seems to approximate to the "Unknowable" of the late Herbert Spencer. In any case, it appears to be assumed that the "infinite" is apprehended as in some way beyond the sphere of what we call knowledge, and further that by no possibility can we get beyond this purely negative characterization of it. Does it not logically follow that as the "infinite" so-called has no determinate character for us, it is for us neither finite nor infinite, but is equivalent to pure nothingness? If that is so, it of course follows that it is for us absolutely unknowable. Now I think there can be no doubt that Dr. Murray everywhere speaks as if this unknowable region which is the object of religion were by its very nature higher than all that we are commonly said to "know." Is this a legitimate assumption? Why should that which admittedly we cannot define be regarded as higher than that which we can define? Why should it not be lower, if only we could come to know its true nature? Moreover, if the knowable world, as seems to be assumed, is not identical with the real world, how can we distinguish it from the real world that we do not know? It seems to me, I confess, that such a dualism leads inevitably to the conclusion that the knowable, like the unknowable, has no real determinateness whatever, and is indistinguishable from the so-called "infinite"; in short, that Dr. Murray's "infinite" is simply the "bastard infinite"—that so-called "infinite", which is really the purely indeterminate—the "night in which all cows are black."

Without further elaborating a point that seems to me self-evident, let us look shortly at Professor Murray's application of his idea of religion. He has evidently a very poor idea of the ordinary man's conception of religion, whether

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he is a primitive savage or a modern Christian. The Greek gods seem at first, he tells us, "particularly solid and anthropomorphic." And no doubt to the ordinary Greek, whose powers of reflection were almost non-existent, they were so; for anthropomorphism is "in its origin mostly the result of normal human laziness." The wind, for example, is obviously alive. "Being alive, it blows: how? Why, naturally, just as you and I blow. It knocks things about, it shouts and dances, it whispers and talks," and we "naturally assume that it does these things in the normal way" (p. 25).

Now, of course this is true enough; but is it the whole truth? I cannot think so. The savage not only figures the divine as if it were like himself, but beneath and beyond this crude method of envisagement he has the conviction, indefinite no doubt, that there is something higher than what he actually sees and hears and tastes; and it is this conviction that makes him religious. His power of thought in regard to all that he vaguely feels to be divine is at a minimum. He cannot define, and has never tried to define, the object of his faith, but nothing would convince him that there is not something of a higher nature which is real, nay, more real, than what he sees and hears. No doubt, if he happens to be very much above the level of the majority of fellows—and I think there must have been individual savages of this exceptional character—he may have an uneasy consciousness that the accepted idea of the divine is somehow wrong; but I should be very much surprised if it could be shown that he has no consciousness whatever of the divine. If the savage, *per impossible*, should actually conclude that there is nothing whatever but the bare fact, say, of a stone before him, and therefore nothing higher, he would cease to be a religious being. He would deny not only that things dance and talk and whisper, but that they in any sense indicate the existence of something more than what immediately presents itself. The explanation of the behaviour of the divine is really irrelevant to the problem of the fundamental nature of the religious consciousness.

Professor Murray, unless I misunderstand him, thinks otherwise. He sees in the mind of the savage nothing but a palpably absurd interpretation of ordinary facts, as his treat-

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ment of the religious festivals of Greece indicates. The Diasia was by the ordinary Greek regarded as the chief festival of Zeus, but in point of fact in the actual rites Zeus had no place whatever. The sacrifice was really meant to "placate or appease the powers below." So in the Thesmophoria, there was "a whole sequence of magical ceremonies," but these originated in the belief that the sow is "sacred because of its fertility, and possibly because of its cheapness." Similarly, the Anthesteria in classical times belongs to Dionysus, but when we "penetrate anywhere near the heart of the festival, all that remains is a great ritual for appeasing the dead" (pp. 27-36).

Now, apart from the valuable suggestion that these rites are the survival of an early method of explanation, Dr. Murray seems here to explain the religious belief of primitive man as the product of the ritual. And of course the primitive man, and even the ordinary Greek of classical times, never attempted to define what religion was; but, confused as his consciousness was, and utterly absurd as was his interpretation of the world, he had a firm faith in something higher than himself, and it is in this faith, not in the particular inadequate form it assumed, that the source of religion is to be found. It seems to be a *hysteron-proteron* to say that his religion was the projection of a spiritual observance. This does not account for the existence of the ritual. Surely the true source of the ritual was the rooted belief in something higher than all that appears to the senses. Thus even in the crudest religious observance there is implied a belief in something higher than self. A man comes to reflect seriously upon the nature of religion—a process which implies the existence of a religion to reflect upon;—he gradually learns to define the divine more and more adequately; but had the customary ritual not implied more than it explicitly expressed, it would never have existed, and in Greece would not have developed into the relatively higher form of a belief in the community of gods on Olympus.

Professor Murray's account of the wonderful transition when what we call classical Greece begins to take shape is full of suggestion. In the eighth century B.C. there cannot have been much to show that the inhabitants of Attica and

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Bœotia and the Peloponnese were markedly superior to those of, say, Lycia or Phrygia, or even Epirus; but by the middle of the fifth century the difference is enormous. On the one side is Hellas, on the other side "the motley tribes of Barbaroi" (p. 581). This self-realization seems to have been felt first in the Ionian settlement on the coast of Asia Minor, and if we wish for a central moment, Dr. Murray suggests the reign of Pisistratus (560-527 B.C.). In literature it came when, in Mr. Mackail's phrase, "Homer came to Hellas." It seems to have been under Pisistratus that the Homeric poems, in some form or other, came from Ionia to be recited in a fixed order at the Panathenaic Festival. In religion the cardinal moment is the same. It consists in the coming of the 'Olympian Gods.' These Olympians came with the Achaioi from Thessaly, and brought with them their Olympian Zeus. The Olympians, then, are the mountain gods of the old invading Northmen, and reflect the social state of their worshippers. They fight and feast, and play, and make music; they drink deep, and roar with laughter at the lame smith who waits on them. They are never afraid, except of their own king. They never tell lies, except in love and war (p. 65). By the time they have come down to us in Homer, they have passed through the minds of many different ages and places, especially Ionia and Athens (p. 67). Thus a body of poetry and tradition, in its origin dating from the Achaioi of the Migrations—what Mr. Chadwick conveniently calls the Heroic Age—growing for centuries in the hands of the Ionian bards, and reaching its culminating form at Athens, has prominent in it the Achaian Zeus, the patriarchal god of the Northmen, the Ionian Apollo, and the Athenian Korê (p. 72). As to Hera, she is in the Iliad represented as a shrew, a scold, and a jealous wife,—perhaps, as Miss Harrison suggests, because she was at the time of the invasion the native queen of the land. There is not much faith in these gods, as they appear to us in the Homeric poems, and not much respect, except perhaps for Apollo and Athena and Poseidon. Yet in the memory of Greece the kings and gods of the Heroic Age became in Athens and the mainland of Greece from the sixth century onward emblems of high humanity and religious reform.

What then was the religious value of the Olympians?

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In the first place, the Poems represent an Achaian tradition, the tradition of a Northern conquering race, organized on a patriarchal monogamous system vehemently distinct from the matrilinear customs of the Aegean or Hittite race, with their polygamy and polyandry, their agricultural rites, their sex-emblems and fertility goddesses. Secondly, though they are not court-poems, they go back in ultimate origin to something like lays sung in a royal hall. Thirdly, the poems are Ionian, and Ionia reinforced the old Heroic tradition. Again, when the Ionians settled on the Asiatic coast they were repelled by the barbaric tribes of the interior, and became conscious of something that was Hellenic, as distinct from something else that was barbaric. And lastly, Ionia was, before the rise of Athens, not only the most imaginative and intellectual part of Greece, but by far the most advanced in knowledge and culture. Thus Homer was calculated to produce a kind of religious reformation in Greece. The world was conceived as neither quite without external government, nor as merely subject to the incursions of *Mana*-snakes and bulls and thunder-stones and monsters, but as governed by an organized body of personal and reasoning rulers, like man in mind and shape, only unspeakably higher (pp. 78-80).

Nevertheless, the Olympian religion was a superb and baffled endeavour. It no doubt gradually swept out of religion that great mass of rites which aimed at direct stimulation of generative processes. It swept away a large part of the worship of the dead. Next, it brought intellectual order. And lastly, it is an attempt to make religion satisfy the needs of a new social order, based upon the idea of the City, as contrasted with that of the tribe. But the Olympian religion failed in these three aims. The moral expurgation failed owing to the force of inertia possessed by religious traditions and local cults. Nor did it merely fail. When lightning strikes the good and evil recklessly, it may be worshipped without moral harm; but when an anthropomorphic god strikes a well-intentioned man dead in explosive rage, a dangerous element is introduced into the ethics of the religion. Again, to worship elements of fertility and generation is not necessarily a degrading practice; but when these emblems are somehow humanized, and the result is an an-

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thropomorphic god of enormous procreative power and innumerable amours, a religion so modified has received its death-blow. The real religion of the fifth century was a devotion to the City itself. It is expressed best perhaps in the great Funeral Speech of Pericles, and that without mention of a single god. Yet even this was condemned by its mere narrowness. By the fourth century the average Athenian must have recognized that a religion, to be true, must be universal and not the privilege of a particular people.

Admirable as is this account of the excellences and defects of the Olympian religion, there seems to underlie it the defect to which reference has already been made. One who holds that religion cannot be defined must necessarily be somewhat indefinite as to the distinction between religion and theology, and between religion and morality. These no doubt are closely and inseparably associated, but they are not identical. A man may have a very imperfect theology, and yet be profoundly religious. At the same time, it cannot be denied that an unsound theology, especially if it is based upon an uncriticized tradition, may well react upon the religious consciousness of the individual. Professor Murray refers to the Funeral Speech of Pericles in proof of what he calls the "real religion" of the Polis, a religion which, as he seems to hold, was entirely independent of any belief in the divine. That Pericles, the friend of philosophers, did not agree in his theological beliefs with the ordinary Greek citizen of his day is manifest, but it can hardly be said that he had no theology and no religion other than his ethical enthusiasm for the good of Athens. Beneath his apparent indifference to the popular belief in the Olympian gods, he still had faith in something divine, and it was this faith which for him sanctified his conviction of the destiny of Athens. So at least I read his mind. If this belief were removed, what was there to give him confidence in the righteousness of his claim for Athens and its devoted saviours? To assume that he had no religion other than devotion to his native city seems to me to imply a confusion between morality and religion, and to be no more true than if one should maintain that Plato was irreligious because he saw, with unexampled clearness, the inadequacy of the popular faith in a medley of anthropomorphic gods.

JOHN WATSON.

THE PROPOSED REVISION OF THE ENGLISH PRAYER BOOK

IT is really extraordinary how much interest is being taken in England at the present time in the proposals to revise the Book of Common Prayer. Persons who have not attended church for years, except for weddings or funerals, even persons who ordinarily vilify the Church of England, or, at least, profess no high regard for her, have suddenly awakened to an overwhelming interest in her Prayer Book, while the leading newspapers devote columns to the subject and refer to it on the placards that announce their principal topics of interest. This is no doubt the reason why I have been asked to write a short article on the subject for this Review. But it is not at all easy to write upon such a subject for a periodical which appears at such rare intervals as once a quarter, for events are, at the present stage of the proceedings, moving with great rapidity. For some twenty years nothing seemed to be happening at all in the matter of the proposal to revise the Prayer Book. Now things are moving so fast that the situation may have altered very considerably by the time that this article has been printed. Let me say, then, that I am writing soon after the rejection of the Revised Prayer Book by the House of Commons. I need scarcely remind you that though the Lords accepted the Book by an unexpectedly large majority of nearly 3 to 1, the Commons, after a debate of only a few hours, rejected it by 238 to 205. It would perhaps be well, before we go farther, to consider what that rejection really means and what weight we should do well to give it. Those who have scrutinized the Division lists say that the majority of English members voted in favour of the Book, the adoption being lost by the votes of Scottish Presbyterians, North of Ireland Dissenters and Welsh Nonconformists, assisted by various persons of strange religions, such as Christian Scientists, and including one Parsee, Mr. Saklatvala, whose knowledge of Christian formularies can hardly be very profound. It is a strange position

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when we consider the following facts: The Church of England, after prolonged study and much discussion between the different groups of which she is composed, had at last settled on the forms of service she desires; she has given them the fullest synodical authority, for the Houses of Bishops, of Clergy and of Laity have passed them by very substantial majorities; they have successfully run the gauntlet of the Convocations of Canterbury and of York, they have passed the comparatively new Church Assembly, a body approved by Parliament as representing the voice of the Church of England; and they have been submitted to nearly all the Diocesan Conferences throughout the country and in most cases have passed by majorities that were absolutely overwhelming. This, then, is the Prayer Book which the Church of England desires to have. She has stated the fact with the utmost clearness, unmistakably, emphatically. Yet, after all this, a Parliament which was elected for any purpose you like rather than for Religion, a Parliament consisting of men of every shade of religious opinion and of no shade at all, says, You cannot have it. It is, I venture to think, a position which could occur in no other country in the world—certainly not in this country, for when the Canadian Church decided to revise her Prayer Book she did so without any let or hindrance by the State, and after some years of study produced a revised Book in 1918 to which the General Synod of 1921 gave its fullest sanction. It is, I suppose, the price which has to be paid for the Establishment of the Church, and it is a pretty big price. No wonder that recent events have strengthened very considerably the movement towards Disestablishment, a policy which would certainly give greater freedom to the Church, even if the life of the nation as a whole would lose a great deal thereby.

To me the most astonishing thing that has emerged is the intense veneration shown by the Protestant party for the book of 1662, the book at present in use in England. Yet that book was carried through by the Bishops in the face of the most violent opposition of the Protestants of that day. Richard Baxter, the Puritan leader, with his friends protested most strongly against it, even going to the extent of composing a

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new Prayer Book of his own as an alternative, a book written, it is said, in a fortnight. Under the book of 1662 the Catholic revival of the past sixty years has been possible, for liturgical scholars of the highest eminence have held that the so-called Ornaments Rubric definitely orders the use of Eucharistic vestments, altar lights, unleavened bread, the mixed chalice and so on, even though it has not been considered wise by the Bishops to insist upon their use after the long discontinuance during the uninspiring and dreary period of Church life that followed the collapse of Puritanism in the days of the Restoration. Under the Book of 1662, Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament has been authorized by a large number of the English Bishops. Yet a majority of the present House of Commons apparently consider that that book is little short of inspired and will not have it touched. One can therefore hardly fail to agree with one of the leading English bishops who recently wrote, "I cannot feel that the affection at present displayed for the existing Book is altogether real."

Briefly stated the position is this: The State, through a Royal Commission in 1906, tells the Church that there are great disorders and much lawlessness in the way that the services are conducted, and that the Prayer Book must be revised in order that obedience to the rubrics may be possible and therefore may be enforced. The Church of England spends twenty years of anxious thought and study upon the business of revision, and when at last she has produced a book which is approved by overwhelming majorities of both clergy and lay-people, the State tells her in effect that the Book of 1662 is sacred and must not be touched. That, at any rate, is the tenour of some of the most striking speech made by opponents in the Commons.

It is, as I have said, a most extraordinary situation and it is unprecedented even in England, for though the State has imposed on the Church a Prayer Book which she did not want, as Parliament did when in 1552 the ill-omened and short-lived (if indeed it can be said to have lived at all) second Prayer Book, composed very largely under the influence of the extreme Swiss Reformers, was foisted upon a Church which never wanted it and never used it; yet Parliament has never

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before refused to allow the Church to use a book which she undoubtedly wishes to have.

Since many people in this country write and talk about the Revision who have never had the book in their hands and do not know what it contains, it would perhaps be well if I were to give, as concisely as possible, a few of the main points of the Revision, choosing those which seem to me to be the most significant and asking my readers not to assume that I should myself be in favour of all of the proposed alterations, although I certainly do think that without doubt the Revised Book is in most respects a great improvement upon the old one. Before referring to these proposed alterations, however, may I dwell for a few moments upon the fact that a Revision of some sort was long overdue, and was indeed a necessity. In the first place, it is clear that nobody obeys the present book implicitly, least of all those who are expressing such love for it. As time goes on, changes take place in the conduct of Divine service, whether sanctioned or not, and the many acts of omission of which the Low Church clergy are guilty prevent effectually their complaining of additions by members of the other party, unless indeed one were to take up the position, as some of them do, that it is an act of merit to do *less* than you are ordered although you are a criminal if you do *more*, an argument which would produce some peculiar results if applied to ordinary life. The growth of liturgical knowledge during the past fifty years, too, has been very remarkable and it is possible now to obtain reprints of all the great Liturgies of East and West with the greatest ease. The Prayer Book can be compared with the great Service Books of other parts of the Church and all the inflated talk about "our incomparable liturgy" to which one use to be treated not so long ago, is now seen to be rather ridiculous, at least to one who is familiar with the wondrous stores of devotion to be found in the ancient Service Books of the Church. Again, the Prayer Book is felt to be in many respects out of touch with modern thought. The Exhortation in the Marriage Service, for example, strikes the ordinary educated man of to-day as quite unnecessarily offensive, while the references in this and other services to the examples of Old Testament worthies

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have lost a great deal of their point in a generation which looks at the Old Testament in a very different way from that in which it was regarded at the time of the Reformation. The modern bride, for example, does not feel that she is very greatly inspired to live as a good wife should from the thought that she is imitating Sarah, if indeed she knows who Sarah was. Modern life is fuller than that of the 17th century and we want enrichment in our Service Book. Our interests are wider than those of the Reformers, and so additions have been made, with or without authority. Harvest Thanksgivings (nowhere sanctioned in the Prayer Book) are held everywhere, and more important aspects of the Faith such as the social side of Christianity, its Missionary work, questions of international relations and of Capital and Labour receive an amount of attention, and most rightly so, that is absolutely ignored in the present Prayer Book. Besides all this, there is much more account taken nowadays of the historical position of the Church of England—in other words, we recognize more and more the fact that she claims to be a part of the Church Catholic. Now, worship in the rest of the Catholic Church is undoubtedly more dignified, more colourful, more ceremonial than ours has been wont to be in the not very distant past, when many of our people (and they are not all dead yet) seemed to think that a slovenly disregard of the details of the service was a sign of spirituality. So there has grown up the feeling that in some respects the Reformation went too far, many ceremonies that were quite definitely English being dropped because they were thought to be purely Roman. It is still true, particularly in rural districts and other parts which are rather out of touch with modern thought, that many object to *any* enrichment of ceremonial on the ground that it means a drawing nearer to Rome, a great dread of the Roman Church having been burnt into the English mind by the events of Mary's reign. It is quite easy, however, to make the distinction between what is truly Catholic and what is of purely modern Roman origin. The argument is that we should do well to restore to our services much that is definitely of English origin and much that is common to the undivided Church, for that is a part of our Catholic heritage.

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All these are arguments that *some* sort of revision has for a long time been desirable, I might even say necessary, for the Prayer Book as it stands cannot be said to satisfy entirely the spiritual needs of anybody except a few fossils.

Let us pass on, then, to a brief summary of noteworthy alterations in the Revised Book. In the Daily Offices there is provision made for shortening the service, especially when other services follow it, so as to avoid unnecessary repetitions. This will be very useful when the Choral Eucharist follows Morning Prayer as it does in so many churches nowadays. There is a revised use of the Psalter which will often shorten the amount to be said or sung and which makes some attempt at choosing more appropriate Psalms. The Venite may be shortened, as in the American Church. The Litany is not to be compulsory except on the Rogation Days, and may be shortened by omitting the last part which is really an Appendix in time of war. Great freedom is to be permitted in the use of the Athanasian Creed which need never be used, though certain appropriate occasions for its use are suggested. It seems to me that a certain number of Anglo-Catholics appear to lay quite excessive emphasis on the use of this Creed, though it is not found in the services of the Eastern Church at all, nor in the Roman Church in services attended by the ordinary layman. Special Collects, Epistles and Gospels are provided for the feast of the Transfiguration, of S. Mary Magdalen and for lesser festivals which may or may not be observed, for the Rogation Days, Ember Days, All Souls Day, the Patronal Festival, the Harvest Thanksgiving, and so on. All this additional matter greatly enriches the book, of course, and there are very few who would object to any of it with the exception of the proposed use of the Athanasian Creed. The same is true of the changes in the Baptismal service, which is made shorter and more intelligible, and Confirmation which is made fuller, as was done in the Canadian Revision. The Marriage Service has not been altered fundamentally, but the language is more restrained and more in accord with modern standards of good taste without, however, lowering the Church's witness to the sacredness of the married state. The Old Testament allusions have been taken

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out, as I observed above. Concerning the omission of the bride's promise to obey her husband there will doubtless continue to be great difference of opinion, but the alternative service is, of course, optional. The service for the Visitation of the Sick has undoubtedly been greatly improved, and much greater variety has been introduced into the Burial Service, the note of Christian hope being emphasized. The special service for the burial of a young child supplies something which has been needed for a long time. The Ordinal has been scarcely touched except in the form of the question asked by the Bishop as to belief in the Inspiration of Holy Scripture, so as to allow a convinced believer in the Higher Criticism to profess his belief in the Bible as a revelation of Himself made to us by God without appearing to regard every individual statement as verbally inspired. This seems reasonable, for the old question undoubtedly placed a very severe strain upon the consciences of many candidates for Holy Orders.

It is in the alternative Communion Service that the greatest and most controversial changes have been proposed. It must be remembered that the service in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, which was the work of genuinely English Reformers, maintained, on the whole, the main order of service found in the Primitive Liturgies of the Church, though translated into English. The central point of the service was the long Eucharistic prayer which included the recital of the Words of Institution followed by the solemn commemoration before God the Father of the merits of the Sacrifice of our Blessed Lord, and which contained also what is known as the Great Commemoration of the Living and Departed. The Second Prayer Book, however, which was in no sense the work of the English Church but was forced upon her by Parliament at the suggestion of the extreme Protestants of Geneva, lost all this and made a most serious departure from primitive tradition by breaking up the great Eucharistic prayer into several parts, placing right in the middle of it the preparation of the Communicants, consisting of an exhortation to confession of sins, absolution and a little homily called "The Comfortable Words," while the Lord's Prayer and the Prayer of Oblation which are integral parts of the great Eucharistic

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prayer were cut off from it and placed after the reception of the Sacrament by priest and people. It was clearly a determined attempt to break up the old order and it succeeded in cutting off our service from the universal tradition of Christendom by introducing something quite new. Every successive revision of the Book since 1552 has marked another step in the undoing the work which the extreme Protestants succeeded in consummating in the Second Prayer Book when, as one of our greatest liturgical scholars says, "Against the Archbishop's will and without the consent of the Church, English religion reached its low-water mark and the ill-starred Book of 1552 began its brief career." The alternative Order in the new Revision completes the work of undoing the harm done by the book of 1552. The confusion then introduced into the service is done away with and the Communion Service of the Church of England is restored to its proper place in Christendom as being based upon the primitive models and not as a mere freak in the family of Liturgies, if one may so express it. The new Book restores to us the Long Consecration Prayer with the Lord's Prayer and the Prayer of Oblation as parts of its ordered sequence. The Bishop of Gloucester, one of our most distinguished theologians and a man of singularly balanced mind, writes, "If I have had doubts about the policy of an alternative service, I have none at all as to the superiority of the new service. It is, I think, in every point better than the old. It is more evangelical and at the same time more Catholic." I doubt if any liturgical scholar of note will disagree with the Bishop. The new order follows the lines of the ancient services of the Church and does not continue the attempt to set up a different form of Communion Service, something new-fangled in Christendom (to use the phrase of the Reformers of 1549). The service in the Revised Book returns to the ancient type and is based on the same lines as that of the Scottish and the American Communions. The new Prayer of Consecration, then, consists of a commemoration of the Institution of the Sacrament followed by a solemn memorial before God the Father of "the precious death and passion of Thy dear Son, His mighty Resurrection and glorious Ascension" (the Anamnesis, as it is called), an Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon

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the gifts of Bread and Wine, the Prayer of Oblation and the Lord's Prayer.

I have dwelt at some length on the restoration of the ancient Eucharistic Intercession because that is by far the most important alteration made in the Service. There are, however, others of some consequence, and I venture to think that these are all to the good. There are in the Church Militant a petition for peace, a reference to the Bishop of the Diocese by name, prayers for missions and places of education and a more clear and very beautiful reference to the departed in these words, "And we commend to Thy gracious kéeping, O Lord, all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear, beseeching Thee to grant them everlasting light and peace." The same prayer gives praise and thanks to God for the glorious examples of His Saints. The Prayer of Humble Access follows upon the Comfortable Words, so that the Consecration Prayer may come immediately after its proper introduction, the *Sursum Corda*, with no unseemly break between the two. The custom of using only one-half of the words of Administration of the Sacrament, which has been adopted without authority in most parishes of any size and which is a necessity on great festivals unless the service is to be inordinately long, is definitely sanctioned.

The rubric about the Eucharistic vestments is a compromise. It allows the Holy Communion to be celebrated in a surplice and stole, or even in the very unsuitable robes of surplice, scarf and hood, instead of in the traditional vestments which are ordered by the Ornaments Rubric of the present Book. Either of the three sets of robes may be used under the new Book.

In the House of Commons the opposition to the new Book seems to have centred mainly around the proposals to sanction Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament. It is somewhat strange that this should have been the case, when we remember that under the old Book, Reservation has for many years been allowed in a great many Dioceses, both at home and in the Church Overseas, and that there has been so little objection raised to the custom that it is undoubtedly spreading very fast. It is strange, too, when we recall that Reservation

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of some kind for the communion of the sick is one of the most ancient customs of the Church and is plainly described in the first long account that we have of the Holy Communion outside the Bible, in the Letter which Justin Martyr wrote in about 150 to explain church customs to the heathen. The custom is in use in the American Church and has been common in the Scottish Church for many years.

The conditions under which Reservation is to be allowed are very stringent. It is true that perpetual Reservation is to be permitted, but it is abundantly clear that the sick and dying should be able to obtain the Blessed Sacrament at any hour of the day or night, and that it ought to be just as easy to receive the spiritual Food of the soul as to send for the Doctor to heal the body, and we may well wonder why the sick Roman Catholic should be able to obtain a great spiritual privilege to strengthen him for the last dread journey, and the sick Anglican be denied it.

There is really no valid reason why Churchmen should be so much afraid of the Reservation rubrics, for it is expressly ordered that it shall be only for the sick and that "no service or ceremony shall be held in connection with the Sacrament so reserved, nor shall It be exposed or removed except in order to be received in Communion or otherwise reverently consumed." The feeling in the minds of many is, no doubt, that this proviso will be ignored; but if it is, we shall be no worse off than we are now, for in many churches the Services of Devotions and Benediction have been held for several years and are much loved in many places. It is indeed more probable that these churches will discontinue these services in view of the express prohibition in the new Rubric than that their number will be increased in the near future.

Another point to be noticed is that Reservation is allowed only under license of the Bishop who is authorized to permit it "if satisfied of the need." In the re-revised Book issued by the Bishops since the adverse vote in the Commons, it is laid down that Reservation shall be, according to old English usage, in an aumbry, that is to say, not in a tabernacle on the High Altar, as is the modern Roman custom, nor in a hanging pyx which was a common method in England,

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but in a locked cupboard built into the wall of the church. It is worthy of note that, though the Bishops were, in this Rubric, willing to allow the Sacrament to be reserved in a cupboard in the vestry, if so desired, the House of Clergy and the House of Laity both refused, a few days ago, to accept this method and asked that it should be struck out, and very properly so, for no person of a really reverent mind could bear to think that so sacred a Thing as the Holy Sacrament should be kept in a cupboard in a vestry. If kept at all, the Sacrament must receive due honour and reverence.

One wonders whether, instead of all these detailed restrictions, it might not have been wiser to insert some short and simple rubric such as that in the Prayer Book of the Church of Scotland, which says, "According to a venerable custom of the Church of Scotland, the Priest may reserve so much of the Consecrated Gifts as may be required for the communion of the sick, and others who could not be present at the Celebration in Church." It is noteworthy that this rubric refers to others besides the sick. A strong case can certainly be made out in some places for such classes of the community as nurses, newspaper men, milkmen, and others who find it impossible ever to make their Communion at an ordinary service. If the principle of Reservation is admitted, and no unprejudiced student of Early Church History can well refuse to admit it, it would seem that to restrict the use of the Reserved Sacrament to the sick is indefensible, as they are only one class of those who are unable to get to church for their Communion, especially in big cities.

I have very briefly reviewed the main changes proposed in the revised Book because there are many in Canada who see the brief and often very ill-informed references to the subject in the daily press and who have neither time nor opportunity to study the Book very carefully for themselves. Considerations of space prevent my going more fully into the subject and I must apologize for this very scrappy presentation of an important subject.

May I in conclusion remind my readers that the new Prayer Book is definitely an *alternative* order and that it is open to any parish, where the Priest and the Church Council

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agree, to continue to use the old Book. No change is to be made in the services by introducing anything allowed in the Book unless a majority of the representatives of the people in any parish consents. In this way the arbitrary and unreasonable introduction of innovations is prevented. I do not think that I can do better than draw this article to an end by quoting once more Bishop Headlam of Gloucester who in the concluding sentence of his excellent little book on the Revision says of the new Book: "It harmonizes with the traditions and aims of the Church of England; it suggests an ordered and intelligent comprehensiveness; it will give us services well constructed, simple and edifying; it has lost nothing of the dignity of the old Prayer Book; it preserves its merit and has removed its defects, and will be found to deserve the gratitude of Churchmen, and to be a power to strengthen and deepen our religious life."

THE BISHOP OF ALGOMA.

THE ARCHBISHOPS' BILL IN ENGLAND

IT is difficult for a quiet and sober person to read the debate in the House of Commons which defeated the Archbishops' Bill without a certain sense of humiliation: the Lower House came out so palpably inferior in intelligence to the House of Lords, in spite of the "backwoodsmen" supposed to be influential in the Lords.

It may be said of course that this inferiority is no news and no new thing: that it is a truism, not merely a truth, that a democratic House cannot compete when serious subjects are discussed, with a House of "All The Talents" as is the modern House of Lords. Nevertheless the defeat of the Bill was a surprise as well as a disappointment to people of independent minds.

It is true that since the defeat both Dean Inge and Bishop Barnes have taken the side of the victorious "Protestants", of Mr. Joynson Hicks and Mr. Hogg and Mr. Rosslyn Mitchell and Sir Thomas Inskip: but what then? have the Dean and the Bishop ever represented England, still less the Anglican Church? have they ever represented more than—I won't say "the under-world of Protestantism" with which they were allied on this occasion—but the very small over-world of supermen and intellectual modernists? Between the upper and the nether millstones of the two under-worlds of Protestantism and of Anglo-Catholicism, the other two little worlds of the intellectual modernists represented by the Dean and the Bishop, and the devout modernists represented by Canon Streeter and Mr. Rawlinson and the writers of rational piety or religious rationalism, are crowded out of sight: but though they are only small minorities, the future presumably lies with them, especially with the second of these schools, the school which more patently contrives to combine religion with its modernism.

What is the net result of the debate? It seems to imply that England can still be swept for a moment by a purely negative cry of "No Popery": the echoes of the old slogans of Lord John Russell and Lord Beaconsfield, neither of whom,

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anyone can see, had any interest in the Anglican Church and not much interest in religion; each of whom was just a politician. The victors in the recent debates do not appear to have been such mere politicians, but rather sincere "No Popery" fanatics: but what a narrow negative outlook they take up! The debate appeared to turn on "transubstantiation", a metaphysical labyrinth, quite unfit for a popular debate and quite unintelligible even to ninety-nine out of one hundred educated men.

The victors do not appear to know their own age or the nature of their own countrymen or the rudiments of religion: it is not a question of the mysteries shadowed by the word "transubstantiation": it is a question which has manifold larger and simpler aspects, both religious and political.

(1) Have the neglected and sorely driven masses of the poor English, and the submerged slum-dwellers been attracted, interested, entertained and to some extent edified, consoled, redeemed by the devotion of Anglo-Catholic so-called "priests" and their "masses" and their somewhat mediæval rites, their exorcisms of evil spirits and the like?

(2) Has any "Protestant" section of the Anglican Church any record so good to show for its work during the last fifty years?

(3) Is it possible to maintain religion on the whole for the man in the street, for normal human beings indeed, for anyone in fact but a small academic, cloistered and intellectual circle, without services and doctrines which involve not of course "transubstantiation" (the word should never have been imported into the discussion), but what is called a sacramental or sacramentarian view of the Last Supper?

(4) Has not the sacramental view always formed a part at least of Anglicanism? Is it not even increasingly shared by the Free Churches? Is it possible to maintain Holy Communion as a chief part of Anglican or any worship, if the service be regarded as a bare memorial service? The service has been degraded over and over again in the past by slovenly celebrations, which reduced the elements into so much bread and wine to be dispensed after service to underfed paupers, as so much extra "dole": what is the religious value of such celebration? Obviously there is none.

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(5) And apart from the history of Anglicanism and of other Christian doctrine, how can the words of Christ when He celebrated His last supper be reconciled with any interpretation of them which is not "sacramental" in some sense? Does anyone suppose that He only meant "eating and drinking are the two temptations of mankind: henceforth, so eat and drink as not to forget Me"? But then the words shrink into a mere grace before meals!

(6) And does not the argument about Holy Communion extend *mutatis mutandis* to other sacraments? Is not Baptism intended to be something more than a sentimental recognition by decent parents of the Founder of Child-worship? Is it not meant to be a solemn dedication of the young child to the service of the only Master who has hitherto succeeded in some measure in redeeming mankind? Is not marriage a sacrament to celebrate the beginning of a life-long mutual love, mutual sacrifice, patience and toleration of each by each, on the part of two beings not easily able to understand each other? What can follow but mutual degeneracy, increasing impatience and incompatibility, if it sink, as it threatens to sink, into the beginning of a series of "probenacht" and temporary companionship? The sacramental theory must extend to all the sacraments, if life is to be redeemed in some degree from its animal grossness.

(7) Is it reasonable to merely forbid any and all extension of Catholic doctrine, as bringing men nearer to those practices of Roman Catholicism which are founded in human nature and instinct? The Roman Church allows prayers for the dead: the horrible abuses of it are patent even to a blind man: the doctrine nevertheless remains a part of human instinct, as has been illustrated by the Great War. The Roman Church accepts the Invocation of Saints: does not the Anglican "communion of saints" mean the same thing? Most of us have no interest in invoking St. Bridget or St. Catherine of Siena, St. Francis of Assisi or St. Francis of Sales or St. Francis Xavier, or St. Vincent de Paul: is that any reason why we should not invoke the help and intercession of the saints among our own dead? the fathers and mothers, sisters, and brothers who are still dear to us, and we, presumably, still dear to them: and for whom we naturally conceive,

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among other functions at least, the one of helping us from their new and better conditions and their higher life, in the lower and worse conditions with which we are still struggling.

(8) The fear of political "Romanism", of subjecting the Englishman and English woman again to the political rule of the Pope, appears to be a mere bogey and nightmare. The French even, who have not our record of Protestantism, have not been so subjected: rather they have largely ceased to be Christian, since their own Gallican Church disappeared, and left them to become either Ultra-montanes or Infidels. The Irish have never been so alienated from Roman Catholicism as our people, yet how little have the Irish ever listened to the Pope in politics and how little are they ever likely to listen? It is only in doctrine, not in politics, that Romanism and Papal Supremacy has meant anything to them, and it means still less to our people. Have the Roman Catholics of England ever flinched from their political allegiance to their own country and king? Besides to-day the temporal power of the Pope is gone: does anyone imagine its revival now?

(9) The disestablishment of the Church in England not only means the withdrawal by the State from the recognition of the only supreme instinct of mankind, the religious instinct: it means also the mental and spiritual impoverishment of the dwellers in small and forgotten communities throughout England, by the withdrawal of a set of men known as clergy, who at least represent instincts and interests lifted above the oppressive materialism and the sordid secularism of daily life. This set of men obviously fails here, there and on all sides, to measure up to their ideal, being still human; but they have produced again and again saints and comforters of every school of thought, such as could not have been produced in equal numbers by any voluntary system, with the inevitable subjection of such a system to the power of the purse, and to the power of demagogism and flattery and popularity hunting. Does the voluntary system work better in Canada than the Erastian system in England? Is our method of appointing clergy and bishops better? Is the independence and intelligence of our clergy greater? Do they better inspire a spirit of modest but true religion? Do they leaven our

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commercial world more with a breath of otherworldliness and Christianity? If they do not, the disestablishment of the Catholic-minded English Church, the church of all schools and shades of Christianity, would be a misfortune for England.

MAURICE HUTTON.

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"The King shall sell to no man, nor deny or defer to any man, either justice or right."

LAW and law courts from earliest times have been a source of mystery to the untrained. When the language of the lawyer was a medley of Latin, Norman-French and Anglo-Saxon, the ponderous phrases heard in courts of justice filled the hearts and minds of the people with a deep respect not unmingled with fear. Since the prisoner at the bar standing "mute of malice" did not win the doubtful privilege of speaking in his own defence until comparatively recently, the pomp and circumstance of a great trial were to many as awesome a spectacle of temporal power, as an ecclesiastical conclave of spiritual. Form and formulae both served as barriers to a mutual understanding between lawyer and layman.

Many of the physical accompaniments of the administration of justice, reminiscent of a medieval day, have passed away, but the law, substantially in its original cast, remains. Old Statutes have been repealed, new ones enacted, old cases abandoned and new decisions handed down, to clarify and extend the application of law to changing conditions, but the principles remain. The language of law has been much simplified to secure uniformity and accuracy; and the ceremony of law has been modified, but the dignity remains.

All of these changes in the main have been changes for good. Many have been the shibboleths of reform campaigns, the result of which is not to be deplored. Yet the real barrier between lawyer and layman still prevails, raising in many minds several perplexing questions as to its cause, its necessity or desirability and its persistence in the future.

The student of the laws embarking upon his career is early impressed with the difference in modes of thinking. If he be one who has studied the humanities, he is faced with the essential difference between the solution of a problem in jurisprudence and one in metaphysics. The force of "language" is still strong. Yet "doubt" must not creep into legal analysis, while it may be and very often is the fundamental

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element in philosophic discussion. In the former, one is guided by "evidence", in the latter, by "pure reason." And so at the threshold, the student must reconcile himself to abandoning much that he has learned at the university. For the lawyer is not concerned in the strict sense with the logic of law—that is primarily for the legislators and the judges. He is, however, vitally concerned with its application. The apposite law, in any given instance, turns on facts about which there *must* be no doubt. Here, then, the first and perhaps the chief difficulty arises. How is one to discover the facts: We are told that it is for the jury to find the facts—it is the supreme judge of fact. That being the case, it is natural then to ask how one is to know what law to apply. That, we are told, is for the judge to decide. His province is the interpretation and application of law. Between these two authorities, then, stands the lawyer, gowned, brief in hand, with his client at his side. What is he to do, or, to put it in another way, what must he do? And the answer is, he must perform the function of an advocate.¹

It is in the performance of this duty that the chief difference obtains between the modes of thinking of lawyer and layman. To illustrate the point, consider for a moment some of the characteristics of legal education. The following are perhaps the outstanding: appreciation of elementary legal principles in the abstract; ability to resolve the issue by technical rules of evidence, having regard to the proper facts

¹ " . . . an advocate does his work under strict and severe restrictions of professional duty, imposed by a strict code of honour, for the very purpose of securing that he may discharge this difficult task, which is essential to the administration of justice, without selling his own conscience or being false to the duty which he owes to justice and to the state. The function of an advocate is not to ascertain the truth; the function of an advocate is to present from one side of the case all that can be usefully and properly said, in order that it may be compared with what is presented from the other side of the case, so far as that can be usefully and properly said, and in order that the tribunal may then have before it these competing considerations and may hammer out on which side the truth really lies."—Sir John Simon: "The Vocation of an Advocate."

" . . . A prosecuting counsel stands in a position quite different from that of an advocate who represents the person accused or who represents a plaintiff or defendant in a civil litigation. For this latter advocate has a private duty—that of doing everything that he honourably can to protect the interest of his client."—Kenny: "Outlines of Criminal Law."

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involved; and, ability to relate to the issue so adduced the proper formulae of law. Take the common instance:

The layman has come into the solicitor's office and in his own way has narrated his grievance. The form of his narrative will depend largely on training—whether he be a professional man, a business man or an artisan. It will depend also upon his disposition and experience. If he be well up in years with a multiplicity of experiences behind him, and perhaps of a soured or supercilious disposition, his story will savour of his mental attitude. So the lawyer must decide for himself how far he can rely on his own client's testimony.² Nor is native dishonesty the chief obstacle here, for through some outpouring of the subconscious or by reason of an innocent forgetfulness or an involuntary lack of clarity or an excusable animosity, the facts probably will be distorted in any event. Morally, the individual may be honest; legally, his evidence may be a tissue of falsehoods. Only by the court can facts finally be found on which to base a judgment. And so at the commencement of his preparation the lawyer is likely to be handicapped by the psychological impossibility of eliciting from his client the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Assume, however, in a given case, after the preliminary examination of witnesses, that the fabric of the issue is fairly well established. The next step to consider is the relevant material from the standpoint of the primary legal elements into which it may be broken up; and to relate those elements to the proper principles of law. This is not always an easy task. In the older law, it was necessary to bring a case within one of the relatively few artificial actions available, such as *trover*, *deceit*, *detinue* or *assumpsit*.³ If it would not fit into one of these,

²“(The lawyer) is constantly under the duty—and if he regards his profession seriously it is a most solemn duty—of learning the detail about his client's business with a precision and a minuteness which passes long beyond the bounds of what is interesting or permanent, and when he has done it he has to face the circumstances that this vast and detailed study may very well, to a large extent, be wasted labour. Truth may lie at the very bottom of the well, and all this pumping out of the liquid that lies above it only serves to find at last the one small point, which a practising lawyer so often discovers to be the key and heart of the mystery.”—Sir John Simon, *ibid*.

³Cf. Maitland on “Equity and the Forms of Action at Common Law.”

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then the duty of the solicitor was to advise his client that his grievance did not give rise to any *known* cause of action, and, therefore, no remedy was open to him. Because of this unsatisfactory condition of the early adjective law there grew up that system of equitable relief practised formerly in the Courts of Chancery. The old distinction has of course been abolished. But the principles of equity and of the common law which remain demand of modern pleading a formal recognition.

A famous jurist once said that a case may be won or lost, before it comes to trial, in the office of the solicitor. Why? Probably because the client himself by his own statement or mis-statement of his grievance will have determined the trend of the plea to be advanced. Come what may, this will colour the entire proceedings (whether they be criminal or civil) throughout all their tortuous windings, from the preliminary examinations to the address to the jury or the argument presented to the judge.

When the witness is in the "box", he is ready to tell the Court by his answers to a series of guiding but not leading questions the facts of his case as he sees them. Suddenly, the even tenor of the examination is broken by opposing counsel who rises in his place to object. The witness is very anxious to answer. To him the purport of his intended reply is most important, his own counsel asks for a ruling, and then there ensues a technical discussion among counsel on either side and the judge as to "admissibility." Perhaps the objection is sustained, and the offending question withdrawn. Objection after objection may follow with the same result. What is the witness to think? Is it not natural that he should feel he is not being permitted to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth? In a preliminary hearing recently when a garrulous woman was giving evidence in a domestic relations case on behalf of the wife, the cross-examiner, after his patience had been justly exhausted, mildly and politely suggested to the witness that she confine herself to what she herself saw and not to enlarge on what someone else told her, that the Court was not concerned with that kind of 'evidence', to which the irate lady replied: "I am concerned with it, it

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is my evidence here." Nothing is more galling to the talkative witness than to be thus cut short.

From the moment the case has first been discussed to the moment when judgment is handed down, instance after instance of that sort will occur. And the lawyer will not have time to explain. Hence the client leaves the court room with many unanswered queries on his lips which later find expression in his attitude towards any and all things legal. It must of necessity be so.

Then there is that extraordinary opinion held by many otherwise thoughtful people that skill in advocacy lies in the ability to make the worse appear the better reason. Hand in hand with that belief is the oft-put question: "How can Mr. So-and-So possibly defend Jones, whom he knows to be guilty?" Lawyers, I think, have long since given up trying to explain the fallacy of both these propositions. To do so would entail a course in advocacy.

It is impossible within the space of this discussion to go into many of these very interesting incidents of legal work. Suffice it to say, misunderstanding creeps in as to the "why" and "wherefore" of so many legal acts, that the layman is apt to jump to the same conclusion as that estimable personage who declared that "the law is an ass"—by which very token he himself only proved that he misconceived the whole purpose of advocacy. The law in many instances may be "an ass", but, fortunately or unfortunately, it remains the law. Whether a given law is good or bad from a moral point of view matters little in the court room unless it is "ultra vires" the legislature that passes it. If it is fundamentally wrong there are constitutional ways of abolishing it, but until abolished, the litigant finding himself faced with it, must acknowledge it, as must the judge, the jury and the lawyer. You cannot uphold "law" if you deny one single law, for in jurisprudence all law is generically violable only at the doer's peril.

This truth is manifest in the popular reaction to sumptuary legislation. Everyone knows the type of individual who blatantly declares that he does not scruple to violate the liquor law because he does not believe in it. Yet he wonders at the callousness of the bootlegger in violating section after section

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of the Criminal Code which *he* would uphold. Such an individual is arrogating to himself a prerogative to select from the mass of law what portion of it he will or will not obey, refusing to see the chaotic result if such practice became general. That he has continued to violate the law without apprehension is to him only a vindication. Yet, if and when he is finally 'caught'—as he probably will be—the test by which he must stand or fall is that very law which he has characterized as "an ass".

The wisdom of given laws cannot be discussed within the space of these pages. Where the matter is one to be decided by the court, the wisdom or unwisdom of the appropriate law is not in issue. The court is only interested in it as existing law, when the facts at bar are within its scope, in which case it must be strictly construed.

All this background the lawyer has in mind when he takes his brief. The layman on the other hand, especially the legally unsophisticated layman, has no such point of view.

Turning now to the question of desirability or necessity for the barrier, let the reader bear in mind two prime facts: first, that law in *substance* cannot be impeached; and second, that the abuse of law is no argument against its chief good. In all fields of learning, the impressions on the individual resulting from study will be determined largely by his own standard of values. What has been the reasoning or the experiencing factors determining those standards of values will vary in each instance. But, as a consequence of human enterprise and experience, much has crystallized into a body of law acknowledged by the "general consent of Christendom." Blackstone, that great luminary of our English Common Law, tells us that the "law of God is part of the law of England."¹ I take it that no syllogism may be framed from his language predicated that part of the law of England is of satanic origin. Be that as it may, however, what does the statement mean? Blackstone was too keen a philologist of law to state a proposition merely from religious fervour or from some pious emotionalism. If one analyses the Levitical Code it would seem that the origin of much of our early criminal

¹One of the Chancellors of Henry VIII said: "The law of this Court is none other than the law of God."

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and property law is to be found in some such source, as, for example, in the interesting passages relating to mortgages.² Considerable law was also derived from the Roman, notably, the Institutes of Justinian. The Roman "obligationes" is the source of our present law of sale. It would probably be impossible to ascribe a definite source to every known principle of law—although before any such principle was originally invoked, its authority had to be cited.³ Hence Blackstone's all-embracing proposition. At any rate, jurisprudence had and has little of the arbitrary character. Any system of rights is founded on experience. And the wisdom of our ancestors has determined through the centuries those basic rights of the freeman which largely govern our conduct to-day. Rights at law are of two classes: rights *in personam* and rights *in rem*. A right "in personam" is a right which, if invaded, gives A, as an individual, a personal remedy against the wrong-doer by what is called a "personal action." A right "in rem" is a right which one has against the whole world irrespective of particular persons. From the doctrine of rights arises the doctrine of duties. A duty is a legal obligation to do or forbear from doing something in respect of

² "The land shall not be sold for ever; for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me.

And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land.

If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath sold away some of his possession, and if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall he redeem that which his brother sold.

And if the man have none to redeem it, and himself be able to redeem it;

Then let him count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the overplus unto the man to whom he sold it; that he may return unto his possession.

But if he be not able to restore it to him, then that which is sold shall remain in the hand of him that hath bought it until the year of jubile; and in the jubile it shall go out, and he shall return unto his possession.

And if a man sell a dwelling house in a walled city, then he may redeem it within a whole year after it is sold; within a full year may he redeem it.

And if it be not redeemed within the space of a full year, then the house that is in the walled city shall be established for ever to him that bought it throughout his generations; it shall not go out in the jubile."—Leviticus 25: 23-30.

³ "Three elements go to make up the whole of what we call 'law.' First, the most obvious is a body of precepts or rules of law. Second, there is a traditional method of interpreting and applying legal precepts and of deciding cases, and a traditional technique of developing

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some person to whom at law the duty is owing. Failure to perform one's legal duties may result in actionable negligence.⁴

All this foundation of law is back of definitive legislation. The man in the street will say he can see no reason for special construction or interpretation of a given ordinance. He understands its language. True, he understands it grammatically, but not from the standpoint of jurisprudence. But why should he have to be bothered with the jurisprudential phase? The mystery of language and the magic of benefit of clergy have passed away. This is an age of simplification—of katabolism of the old dogmas, and so on. He will declare that the demands of law are unreasonable if they deny him the right to construe it in his own way and at the same time place upon him the onus of meeting the challenge of "*ignorantia non lex excusat*." We are presumed to know the law and yet we must have lawyers to explain it. Surely an amazing state of affairs!

Plato teaches that Justice is the solvent of the ills of the human state, but that only the philosopher is the true arbiter of conflicting claims in the ideal state—the philosopher who knows truth and reality and "is capable of understanding the real principle underlying the legislation of the City."—For

"he that truly keeps his understanding bent on the realities has no time to look down upon the affairs of man, to fight and become full of malice and hate. Such men rather look upon and behold the world of the definite and uniform, where doing or suffering injustice is unknown, and all is governed by order and reason."¹

We have, of course, not reached the ideal state, neither Plato's conception of it nor any other, but we have evolved a con-

legal precepts, by means of which those precepts are eked out, expanded, or restricted and adapted to the exigencies of administering justice. Third, there is a received body of philosophical, political, and ethical ideas as to the purpose of law, and as to what legal precepts ought to be and how they ought to be interpreted and applied. These ideas are the background of all application of the traditional technique to the received or authoritatively established legal precepts."—Roscoe Pound, Dean of Harvard Law School.

⁴Cf. Holland: Jurisprudence.

¹Plato: "The Republic" VI: 500.

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ception of law which provides for an equable dispensation of justice when the values are understood.²

Even in this age—which suffers from the so-called modernism—the old cant of man's equality still insinuates itself in the thoughts and actions of the average individual, unconsciously perhaps, but to such an extent as to render it impossible for him to understand why he is precluded from saying what he should or should not do in his daily round of duty.

The ramifications of the problem before us are indeed many, but on pursuing each to its logical conclusion the questions finally to be answered may be summed up as follows: "Why must law be technical?" For it is the "technique" of law which requires the skilled interpreter.

I said that law in *substance* cannot be impeached. The reason is that law primarily controls at all times the equities of all persons amenable to it. It is that principle which governs precedent. There is no superior wisdom in the mere words of a judge, but when he speaks "in banco" what he has to say affects the conduct and relationship of all subjects of the law—not only of the litigants now at bar, but all persons who may find themselves at any time hereafter within the same jurisdiction in similar circumstances. And so the language of the judge becomes "*res judicata pro veritate accipitur.*"

Reduced to their prime factors the principles necessarily underlying all law are essentially humanitarian. But the hope of the world depends upon their proper interpretation. It cannot reasonably be conceived that all manner of persons are fit to govern their fellows. The cancer of politics has so infested organized society as to submerge the ideal; but it remains for those who are entrusted with the enforcement of law to use their best endeavours to carry out the spirit

²"Man, at his highest, is concerned with the discovery of those principles upon which law is based: at his lowest, he is concerned with the imposition of unprincipled laws. And as the discovery of ideal principles is an eternal quest, never wholly to be achieved but ever beckoning the soul of man to more complete understanding, it follows that law ever lags behind the needs of the human spirit, since being by nature more and more constrictive, law moves in a concentric circle which is in direct opposition to the ever-widening flight of human understanding."—Max Plowman.

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thereof. Recognition of rights presupposes a disposition to enforce those rights.

Since the war there has been a breaking down of old standards of morality. Perhaps some of them were founded on fallacy. We shall not quarrel with those who challenge the existence of justice in much that passes for law. This is an age of transition—a period of change—let us hope for the better. But in any event it is of prime importance that we retain from the past that which is good.

The mechanics of law are weak instruments in expressing the true intention. And since we cannot claim for law a divine origin we must content ourselves with the feeble effort of human agency to apply it sanely to all issues which seek determination.

It will not be gainsaid that the judicial attribute is of prodigious value to the state—for after all, the administration of justice must be viewed from the standpoint of the chief good of the community it affects. It is apparent, I take it, that specialization is necessary. The question of the fitness or unfitness of particular individuals so to specialize is beside the point. We must assume that the common sense of the community will ultimately determine that selection.

It will be apparent at this stage in the discussion that there is—or seems to be—a conflict of ideal in the progress or advancement of the state of our law, in that the retention of technique is concurrent with the acquisition of simplicity. It is in the explanation of that conflict that our final question can be answered: "Will the barrier between lawyer and layman persist?"

We are now ten trying years away from the great war. In all civilized countries, so-called, a prodigious effort has been put forth constructively to meet the needs of political and economic dissolution. In the scheme of things to-day, there are few "constants"; and the discord of the all too many "variants" may well cause dismay in the stoutest hearts. Yet, notwithstanding all these evil conditions the prime elements of a decent jurisprudence have, I think, stood firm. It is only fair to say that this is true not only in countries where the English Common Law flourishes, but even in the over-radical

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and over-reactionary ones--to some extent at least. The almost international consequence of the trial and subsequent conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti³ bear testimony to that fact.

The need, therefore, of legal experts—men of training, of culture, of vision—stands out to-day as one of the great essentials for our future well-being.

Now, the worth of the advocate's work in the court of law, upon analysis, will be in the measure of his simplicity, in both thought and language. This is true whether he be dealing with a land dispute between acrimonious neighbours or presenting an argument on some justiciable question of

—Regarding this case Mr. Justice Riddell said:

“My conclusions from a Canadian point of view are:

1. That no evidence was wrongly excluded or admitted.
2. That the evidence which is considered to be so fatal to the accused was given by themselves in their defence against the advice of the Trial Judge.
3. That neither Judge nor Prosecuting Counsel was guilty of misconduct before the Jury.
4. That there was a fair trial.
5. That there was ample evidence upon which a Jury might convict.
6. That there is nothing but subsequent declamation and vituperation to suggest prejudice or failure to perform their duty on the part of the Jury.
7. That the refusal of the Motions for a New Trial cannot be held erroneous.
8. That the great delay in executing the sentence was due to the Motions made by the condemned men and the extraordinary tenderness of the law of Massachusetts in respect of one convicted of crime applying to her Courts for protection from injustice.
9. If the accused should not have been convicted, the error is that of the Jury and not of the Court or its officers.”—“The Sacco-Vanzetti Case from a Canadian Viewpoint,” (American Bar Association Journal, December, 1927.)

In respect of Criminal Appeals in Canada and the application for new trials, by virtue of Section 1013 et sequor of the Criminal Code of Canada, the general effect is to preclude improper appeals, thereby avoiding unnecessary delay in the final disposition of criminal cases. The pertinent clauses of the Sections referred to above are as follows:

“1013. (1) A person convicted on indictment may appeal to the court of appeal against his conviction—

- (b) with leave of the court of appeal, or upon the certificate of the trial court that it is a fit case for appeal, on any ground of appeal which involves a question of fact alone or a question of mixed law and fact;

(3) No proceeding in error shall be taken in any criminal case, and the powers and practice now existing in the court of criminal appeals for any province, in respect of motions for or the granting of new trials of persons convicted on indictment are hereby abolished.”

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international law¹ before the World Court. The gravamen of the issue will consist of one only salient point.

Yet when all is said and done, and the press—in its inimitable style—has “translated” the judgment of the tribunal for the waiting masses, the man in the street will look up from his paper and say, “Well, what of it? I see nothing remarkable in that so-called victory. Really, after all, what is this “legal acumen” about which we hear so much?” The result of the issue will have been so simple, so obvious, perhaps, that to the average intelligent mind it is merely common sense. And so it is common sense, but not “merely”. Law proper is, thank God, that and nothing more. But, so distrustful is human nature of its own kind that it seeks to hide the truth behind a cloud of words and subterfuges—products of elemental emotions, such as fear, envy, despair and jealousy. Hence the need for justice as expressed through a literal, that is, technical law—a justice serenely mistress of even-handed dealing who mingles not in the strife of man’s affairs but stands firm and impartial with her “checks and balances.” So, we have rules of evidence, strict, technical, adamant, but never, in the larger sense, unfair. So we have rules of procedure in order to safeguard proper deliberation. And so we have advocates who, although imper-

“1014. (1) On the hearing of any such appeal against conviction the court of appeal shall allow the appeal if it is of opinion—

- (a) that the verdict of the jury should be set aside on the ground that it is unreasonable or cannot be supported having regard to the evidence; or
- (b) that the judgment of the trial court should be set aside on the ground of a wrong decision of any question of law; or
- (c) that on any ground there was a miscarriage of justice; and
- (d) in any other case shall dismiss the appeal.

(2) The court may also dismiss the appeal if, notwithstanding that it is of opinion that on any of the grounds above mentioned the appeal might be decided in favour of the appellant, it is also of opinion that no substantial wrong or miscarriage of justice has actually occurred.”

There do not appear to be similar provisions in the Criminal Codes of the various States of the Union.

The perusal of Mr. Justice Riddell’s article will disclose many of the differences obtaining between the trial practice in Ontario and that in Massachusetts. The speedy administration of justice throughout the Dominion of Canada is well known to those who are conversant with conditions existing here and in the United States.

¹Where the issue is between two or more private individuals, one or more of them being domiciled in a foreign jurisdiction, the principles applied are drawn from what is known as “Conflict of Laws.”

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sonal before the Court, may do honourably all that the defendant might do—if *he knew how*.

Surely law is not technical in order to confuse the ignorant, but rather is it technical in order to safeguard the weak. What the lawyer reverences most is not the letter of the law—although taken collectively it will be found to clothe a “simple” justice—but rather the conception of impartiality which it suggests. That perhaps seems idealistic, but the real lawyer is an idealist. To whatever extent this impartiality has been attained, by virtue only of the literal law has it been made possible. Nor do St. Paul’s great words preclude the urgent necessity for the written word,—“The letter of the law killeth, but the spirit giveth life”: for only by the letter can the proper spirit be expressed.

Our English law has been promulgated from a deep sense of right living—not for the few but for the many, not for one age but for all ages. Could Sir Mathew Hale, Lord Erskine, or Blackstone have served their fellows better if they had lived in the twentieth century? Their work has perennial significance. Surely these men must have kept steadfastly before them a magnificent purpose—the purity of law. An eminent writer of our own day² counsels us against “parcelling theology, history, literature, what-not, into periods, and so excluding a sense of life’s continuous variety, energy, flow.” So also may the same be said of law—it cannot be parcelled into periods. Nor can the breaking down of form and ceremony in procedural law banish the fundamental barrier which has quite logically grown up between lawyer and layman. In different ages there have been different accompaniments—pageantry, solemnity of various orders, and the like—in keeping always with the times. But common to all ages according to their light has been the aim to satisfy the proper ends of justice through a technical law. The barrier then must persist, and will persist as long as English jurisprudence endure. But it is a friendly barrier—built high to protect Justice against the onslaught of those whom most she seeks to serve.

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²Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch: *Studies in Literature* (Second Series).

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IN spite of the researches and debates of archaeologists on the structure and physical aspect of the Greek theatre, we seem to have reached few safe conclusions. Still less have we been enabled to reconstruct any accurate picture of the spectacle on the Greek stage. The setting, scenery, costumes, grouping, "business"¹ in the technical theatrical sense, and gestures have to be supplied by each reader's imagination. It is very difficult to estimate—especially as this part of dramatic antiquities has been relatively neglected—to what degree the technique of the ancient producer resembled our own, and to what degree the presentation on the stage was intended to approximate real life.

Competent scholars are at variance over the question of realism in the Greek drama. One responsible German authority says that the Greek stage was practically bare; another supplies us with an elaborate list of stage properties and scenic apparatus; another denies that the Greeks had any interest in the stage illusion, and says that only the most rudimentary stage mechanics were employed. As for the action and stage business, Blackie, in his translation of Aeschylus, says in effect: Greek tragedy was lyric, not dramatic; the dramatic form was thrust upon it by the theorizing of Aristotle about tragedy; Aeschylus would only remotely envision action in his plays. Donaldson, an older authority upon the Greek theatre, says, "Their (the actors') movements were slow, their gesticulations abrupt and angular, and their delivery a sort of loud and deep-drawn sing-song . . ." Professor Allan² says: "His (the actor's) costume, instead of being an encumbrance and a restraint . . . allowed him abundant freedom and use of movement. He could run, dance, climb, kneel, creep, fall and rise again unassisted—all of which actions have a place in the extant plays," and "the actors appeared on the stage with the stature and figure of ordinary men."

¹I am going to use the theatrical terms, 'set' and 'business', throughout without further apology.

²Univ. of California, Publications in Class. Phil., vol. II, No. 5, p. 282.

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In the face of these disagreements, my paper is intended merely to suggest a method which may be of use in estimating the realistic effect of Greek stage productions. There were certain conditions of the ancient stage which even careful readers are prone to neglect. These conditions made the problem of stage technique utterly different from our own. The immense size of the Greek theatre must be reckoned with first and foremost. While it did not interfere seriously with an actor's making himself heard—an experiment in any extant theatre will prove that—it yet precluded the use of delicate gestures, expression, *by-play* and “point-making.” The plays were produced in broad daylight. In the peculiarly searching atmosphere of Greece the effects of light and shade which contribute so much, at least conventionally, to the illusion in the modern theatre, were entirely lacking. All action, in practice, must take place by day, and out of doors. In theory it often purported to be night time; but, as far as place was concerned, scarcely ever in tragedy and rarely in comedy were indoor scenes attempted. When they were, only a shallow interior was shown through opened doors, or a rude device moved on wheels was used. At least, many handbooks vouch for the latter; one is very strongly tempted to think that it was used only in comedy, and then as a deliberately comic contrivance. The stage set was uniformly simply: a circular orchestra, or dancing floor, with an altar in the middle. The latter was sometimes used as a property, purporting to be a tombstone, or some similar object. A joke in Aristophanes gives the clue to this custom; for one character retorts sharply at another for calling the altar, on which he is seated, a tomb. (*Thesmoph.* 886).

Not only the physical structure of the theatre, but also the conventions of the drama were all against realism in the presentation. The survival of the chorus from the ancient ritual of Dionysus and the primitive, more purely choral, drama, seriously interfered with the handling of the action. It was impossible entirely to identify the choristers (themselves originally spectators of the ritual) with the central figures in the play, or to merge them convincingly in the action of the piece. A half-hearted attempt was made to represent them as a body of citizens or retainers or soldiers.

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But the Greeks must have been more conscious than ourselves how arbitrary an attempt it was. It might be urged that the chorus merely fulfilled the part of the curtain in the modern drama, punctuating the episodes of the play. But the analogy holds only if one were to suppose that the curtain itself, by some perverse ingenuity, was woven into the action. After making all allowances for the acceptability of familiar conventions, it must be concluded that the chorus was always a serious obstacle in the way of handling the action in a convincing manner.

In combination with this standard setting and this conventional drama form, it is difficult to see how mechanical contrivances could be effectively used to heighten the illusion of reality on the stage. These elementary conditions would at once impose a handicap on the producer who aimed at verisimilitude.

The evidence generally used for the reconstruction of the stage spectacle is untrustworthy. The scholiasts, or editors, lived long after the plays were written, and have in mind, in their commentaries, the conditions of their own day. There is a good deal of evidence too for the alteration of plays by producers in order to conform to the altered equipment of their times. The remarks of the scholiasts touching methods of presentation are full of anachronisms. Again, the writers on architecture, when they discuss theatres, have in mind the closed buildings later developed, and cannot be used without demur as sources of evidence for the classical Greek drama. Further, it has doubtless been a common error to confuse the free treatment of the comic drama with the more conservative modes of presenting tragedy. Comedy might indulge in laughter-making contrivances and ingenious stage machinery for comic situations; Aristophanes might put on a roaring parody of the "deus ex machina" by having the actor hoisted onto the stage by a great crane—the actor stopping in the midst of his ethereal flight to curse the man at the winch! But it surely argues a misconception of Greek tragedy to suppose that such clownish contrivances, or anything approaching them, were used in a performance which never quite lost its sacred character. Yet scholars both ancient and modern have been all too prone to discuss the staging of

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tragedy in connection with such clumsy mechanics as wheeled platforms representing indoor scenes, or revolving wall panels, with a semi-circular floor attached, which could be whisked about, loaded with actors, to reveal a change of scene or an interior.

The external evidence on the present subject, then, though in many ways extremely useful, must be regarded as somewhat precarious. The object of this paper is to show that the least misleading method will be the use of internal evidence, the evidence incorporated in the plays themselves. The important fact is that the text of Greek tragedy is loaded with implicit stage directions. It was suggested long ago that these should be thoroughly studied, but, so far as I know, the method was never carried out in detail. Indeed there is a wide difference of opinion as to the reliability of these notices in the text. Some would have it that the Greek dramatists composed their pieces with a vivid picture in their minds of the properties that would be used to set off the action; and even intended the scenic allusions in the dialogue to be explicit directions for the benefit of future producers. On the other hand such a bold statement as the following has been made: "The method of reading the scenic setting and decorations from the text of the drama is actually so erroneous that the reverse principle will, as a rule, lead to more correct results. The reason that the performers mention the decorations and scenic setting in detail is exclusively to cause the public's fancy to imagine these, and therefore it is, at the outset, probable that they are *not* represented to the eyes of the spectators, or in any case they are not represented in such a manner as to be immediately comprehensible."¹

Such irreconcilable views could hardly be held unless some important factor had been neglected. The various *kinds* of scenic allusion must be distinguished; for unless this is done, confusion must inevitably result.

On any stage there must be allusions to scenic effects that could not possibly be produced concretely. Other scenic allusions are rhetorical and imaginative. Others must refer to obvious stage business—indeed many kinds of business could not occur unless marked by some suitable words from

¹Rostrup, *Attic Tragedy*.

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the actor. We are here more interested in demonstrating that, conversely, many kinds of reference to business in the text would be simply absurd without appropriate action. The significance, then, of the implicit stage directions in Greek tragedy will be missed unless the distinction is made between references to (1) impracticable properties; (2) practicable properties; (3) impracticable business; (4) practicable business.

The limits of the practicable and impracticable will have been determined in general, I fancy, by the conditions of the Greek stage described above. One can get an approximate picture of the verisimilitude of the Greek stage if he remembers the outdoor setting conventionally represented, and the traditional palace-front back scene. The indoor scene on the modern stage has a tremendous advantage in creating the illusion. We have become sufficiently accustomed to looking at a three-sided room to ignore that convention. But it must be recalled too that as an indoor scene is more natural to us in an indoor theatre, so an outdoor scene was more convincing to the Greek in an outdoor theatre. But even then on the Greek stage some strain was put upon credulity. When on the modern stage an outdoor scene is represented, some small portion of, say, a heath or battlefield or garden is shown. Panoramic effects have to be imagined off-stage. This is precisely the point in which the Greek drama differed. It did not ask you to imagine a scene off-stage, but on-stage. It did not hesitate to represent a play as taking place in a setting which could not be physically depicted at all.

In Euripides' *Helena* the Nile is referred to as if it were in full view. In Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus* a grove forms an integral part of the action. Neither of these, of course, could be attempted by the master of properties, and one is reluctant to suppose that any crude convention should be used to suggest them. Not only was the setting dependent in many cases upon the imagination, but situations frequently occurred in which the conventional back scene would be entirely inappropriate. Reference to mountains close at hand, and, as in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, to the court of the Areopagus sitting, were obviously rhetorical devices not intended to be accompanied by actual properties.. It must be borne in mind

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of course that a great many of the liveliest scenes in Greek tragedy, which would need elaborate mechanics or business, were only reported on the stage. Yet it remains true that in this respect the Greeks were not concerned with verisimilitude, but left it to the spectators to conjure up in their minds the image of scenes which it was impossible to depict. However, as a general rule, there was no violent discrepancy between the conventional set and the scenes purporting to be represented. Perhaps one of the most remarkable things about the ancient drama was its skill in transcending the severe limitations put upon it by various factors.

Purely rhetorical allusions in the text are concerned with effects, rather than properties, which could not be carried out graphically. In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* the play opens in semi-darkness, although the presentation would take place in broad daylight. In the *Prometheus* earthquakes, lightning, and fierce gusts of wind take place. In Euripides' *Orestes* the palace is set on fire, with smoke and flame leaping into the sky. It is difficult to believe that even an approximation to these effects should have been attempted.

The allusions to a practicable set will be found to be exceedingly rare. In the plays chosen to illustrate best the various degrees in which verisimilitude was attempted¹ there are only three references to fixed properties: the rock to which Prometheus is bound, which may or may not have been actually represented on the stage; the cave of Philoctetes, which however, as subsequent lines suggest, must have been imagined just off the scene; and the bed of Orestes. The latter would seem to be the only actual piece of property. A freer treatment is naturally looked for in Euripides than in his predecessors. The whole tone of his plays puts them on the level of common life. He is much more interested than the other two in the vivid portrayal of emotion and in spectacular effect. But even he scarcely infringes a convention which a close reading of the lines suggests: namely, that so far as properties were concerned, permanent or movable, the Greek dramatists were content to leave almost everything to the imagination. They were so far interested, however, in

¹Aeschylus' *Prometheus*, almost a pageant; Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, one of his liveliest plays; Euripides' *Orestes*, a mad melodrama.

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dramatic propriety as to incorporate the standard set into the action naturally, only rarely, through change of scene or unusual location of the action, admitting incongruities. And it must be observed that the time-honoured, half-religious themes drawn from mythology, however realistically represented, did not often demand an elaborate apparatus; and that plots were in nearly all cases presented, the course of which was already well known to a Greek audience and needed no very graphic staging.

It is a very different matter when we come to consider the allusions in the text to business. Perhaps we ought to make a further distinction between (1) purely rhetorical references which might not demand any concrete action and still do no violence to common sense; (2) references to actions which in the nature of the case were invisible to so large an audience, owing to the distance and the possible use of masks; (3) references to actions which would be absurd unless the action itself were performed at the same time.

Aeschylus, less interested than the other two in the spectacle proper, has the largest number of purely rhetorical references to action. It would be unsafe to deny that his actors made suitable movements and gestures in support of these allusions. But, on the other hand, comparatively rarely do we find that common sense would demand some actual business. The total impression that one derives from the play under discussion, as indeed from all his plays, is that they could be, even ought to be, produced with a minimum of movement and by-play. The episodes in dialogue occupy a much smaller, and the choral interludes a much larger, portion of the play than those of either of his successors. And the dialogue itself is certainly much more declamatory in tone than properly dramatic. In Sophocles' *Philoctetes* these rhetorical allusions to action occur only twice, in Euripides' *Orestes* not at all.

The allusions to business which would be visible on a modern stage, but not on the ancient, are rare in Aeschylus and Sophocles. There is only one doubtful case in each of the plays under discussion. The device is constantly used in Euripides. The self-description to which Donaldson takes such exception, is merely an evidence of the strong pictorial

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and dramatic instinct of Euripides trying to break through the limitations of his theatre. Euripides was keenly alive to the possibilities of effects; and next to their actual portrayal, the appeal to the imagination of the audience was the best device. He constantly makes a character allude to his own tears, or facial expression, or to delicate manipulation of features, none of which the audience could discern. Or he puts such descriptions into the mouth of the interlocutor. When the plays are read, this feature borders on the clumsy or grotesque. But in production, situations are so vividly portrayed that they would scarcely occasion discomfort. It was not a mistaken judgment upon Euripides that he was the most dramatic of the Greek tragedians. Whatever the ultimate values in his drama may be, it may be safely said that he was most skilful in adapting an essentially choric and declamatory tragedy-form prescribed by tradition to realistic production and convincing action.

But the true test of the realism of the stage will be found in a scrutiny of the scenic allusions which must be accompanied by concrete business. With the exception of one passage which is doubtful, there are only three cases in the *Prometheus*. In the *Philoctetes*, one of the liveliest of Sophocles' plays, there are about twenty. In the *Orestes* there are upwards of a hundred. They prove, I think, beyond all peradventure, that the play was intended to be produced, and actually was produced, with a great deal of lively action on the stage. Quotations from the play will serve to make this point more clear.

Orestes and Electra have slain their own mother in revenge for her adultery and murder of her husband, their father, Agamemnon. The play opens six days after these two have done their deed. Orestes has gone raving mad, Electra is watching over him. On this day Orestes is to be tried before a Court of his fellow Argives. It happens that on the same day Menelaus returns from Troy with his recovered wife, Helen; Orestes and Electra look to him for help in the trial but are disappointed; thereupon, Orestes tries to revenge himself on Menelaus by killing his wife, Helen, and his daughter, Hermione. The play closes when Orestes has set the palace on fire and is in the act of slaugh-

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tering Hermione. Apollo intercedes and smooths everything out. The play is full of melodramatic situations; as the ancient commentator remarks, "it is one of the most famous plays for stage effects, but is very inferior in regard to character for almost everyone in it except Pylades is worthless." The play opens with Orestes lying on a couch, sleeping the fitful sleep of exhaustion. Electra sits watching by him. Not to go to undue length by discussing all the examples, I will try to show how the dialogue in one or two striking cases contrives to picture the physical spectacle. First in the opening scene, where Electra watches over Orestes, Electra speaks, "And the wretched Orestes here, consumed and wasted by a dread malady lies stricken upon this couch and his mother's blood torments him with madness, and I sit here, a sleepless watcher, by this poor lifeless form." Later, as Orestes awakes, now somewhat refreshed and sane, the following scene takes place: Electra has gone forward in the orchestra to deliver her solo part in the chorus, and is summoned back to the bedside with the words, "Come close to the couch and watch, Electra, lest haply thy brother should die." There follows a dialogue between Orestes and Electra, in which lively action is clearly developed.

E. Dear brother, how gladly I saw you fallen into sleep; shall I raise you up and rest your body?

O. Lift, I pray you, lift me up and wipe from my mouth and eyes this frothing foam.

E. There, a task gladly done; nor do I disdain with sisterly hand to tend a brother's body.

O. Put your shoulder beneath mine and thrust aside this matted hair from my face for my sight is all made dim.

E. Oh, pitiable head and locks unkempt; how wild is your aspect from this long madness.

O. Now lay me back again upon the couch.

E. There! the couch is pleasant to one in sickness.

O. Now raise me again upright, turn my body about.

E. Perhaps you would try your feet upon the ground.

O. Indeed, I would

E. Alas, my brother, your eye is rolling. Quickly does madness come upon you, who just now were in your senses

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. . . my poor brother, remain quiet upon your bed; what you think you see is nothing . . . I shall not let you go but fastening my arms about you shall restrain you from your insensate frenzy.

- O. Let me go . . . give me a horn-tipped bow, the gift of Loxias, with which Apollo bade me drive away the furies should ever they terrify me with mad ravings. One of these goddesses shall be smitten by mortal hand. Do you not hear? Do you not see the winged barbs of my far-darting bow spring forth? Aha! aha! why do you still stay? Mount the air upon your pinions—(and with a sigh) Ah, am I mad? Where do I wander, why this labored breath? Whither have I strayed away from my couch? Ah, sister, why do you weep, your head wrapped in your mantle? Come, I pray you, beloved sister, uncover your head and cease from your tears. Go within the palace and give your wakeful eyes to restful sleep.

Of course, as dialogue for its own sake, this is effective enough accompaniment to the peevish restlessness of the sick man, to the attentive offices of the sister, and then to the mad ravings of Orestes with his make-believe bow and arrow shooting at the imaginary furies. But with all the skill of the dramatist, the words describe the action with a too painful exactitude and must, I feel, have been composed with something more than a purely literary motive. At the end of the play, Orestes in madness and despair sets fire to the palace, rushes to the roof with the senseless Hermione, Menelaus' daughter, in his arms, threatening to kill her unless Menelaus shall provide him with some escape from the death sentence just passed upon him. The wild scene is described in the dialogue, first, by a line quite, I think, inappropriate in its place, setting forth the situation in advance. Electra says to Orestes, "When we have killed Helen, should Menelaus do aught amiss to us, promise that you will slay Hermione—and you must draw your sword and hold it at the maiden's throat." Later, in the midst of the scene, the chorus exclaims: "Look, over the palace, see that heralding smoke, as it leaps up into the sky; they kindle torches that they may set afire these halls of Tantalus, nor do they cease from slaughter." Menelaus enters and says: "One of you, ho,

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open the palace doors, you servants, I bid you thrust back these gates." Orestes from the roof, as the dialogue shows, shouts down to Menelaus as the servant approaches the door. "There, fellow, touch not these gates with your hand—Menelaus, it is to you I speak—or with this tile will I break your head, (this is Euripides' high style), tearing away this ancient coping stone, the builder's work." Menelaus answers, "Alas, what sight is this? I see the glare of torches and these men mounted upon the housetop and a sword threatening my daughter's throat." (A laborious speech, the only excuse for which, as I can see it, is its description of the stage scene). The dialogue goes on to indicate the threatening posture of Orestes, his sudden move to plunge the sword into Hermione, Menelaus' frantic gesture in protest, the appearance of Pylades and Electra upon the roof by Orestes' side, the further firing of the house, until finally Apollo enters and settles the whole desperate situation.

Not to quote at further length, I shall summarize Euripides' usages by saying that passages constantly occur which (1) describe an action which has already happened; (2) describe an action about to happen; (3) describe with unnecessary explicitness the speaker's own action or the action of the person addressed; (4) describe the scenic setting, entries and exits, clothes, appearance, and attitude of actors, or objects carried by them. And all these passages cannot, I think, be justified as making any worthy contribution to the literary quality of the dialogue. A comparison of Euripides' earlier plays with the Orestes is instructive; the former contain less than one-third of the number of scenic allusions to be found in the latter. My examples have been, or tried to be, only suggestive; a close perusal of a play is necessary really to appreciate this feature of its construction.

It would seem inconceivable that the scenes quoted should be declaimed by statuesque actors. It would surely overtax the most credulous acceptance of convention to listen to this picturesque dialogue delivered without any attempt at concrete action. One is tempted to go on and maintain that Euripides had developed from the hints of his predecessors an elaborate system of implicit stage-directions for the benefit of the producer. But that question, though intimately involved

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with the present one, would need a separate and more detailed study of all the devices by which the dramatist contrived to make intelligible to his audience the course of the action.

Many interesting analogies might be drawn. One might observe that in the tragedies of Seneca, not intended for presentation, the implicit stage direction rarely occurs. *King Lear*, to take another example, yields very few examples of the same phenomenon; but that play was written when already an entirely different tradition of stage technique was in vogue. Japanese and Chinese drama present interesting problems. Without elaborate properties, they contrive to suggest these by rude conventional devices. For example, a man with arms outspread, represents a tree; a man holding a sloping piece of cloth, a mountain; men lying on the floor of the stage, the waves of the sea; two men moving their knees up and down, an army in flight. Perhaps this sort of convention was not altogether absent from the ancient stage. We know that in the Roman theatre a highly elaborate set of gestures had been developed to suggest certain emotions or actions. But, hardly knowing why, one can scarcely believe that this sort of thing was largely employed in the Greek theatre. Perhaps it is because there is an unmistakeable simplicity, grace, and straightforwardness about the Greek drama incompatible with an artificial technique.

This paper will have achieved its object if it has demonstrated that, within the narrow compass of the writings now extant, a striking development may be observed in the mode of presenting the Greek drama. It must be clear that Euripides, improving upon his predecessors, introduced the drama of lively action, free movement and vivid portrayal of emotion. The bareness of the stage and the absence of realistic properties were supplemented by convincing business, and to this degree the drama took on the semblance of actual life. Perhaps it will have been enough to amend the popular notion, propagated by the easy generalities of the handbooks, that *all* Greek acting was statuesque.

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THOMAS HARDY—REGIONAL NOVELIST*

I HOLD in my hand an old album of Dorchester. Here is High West street down which you remember the bees wing their direct flight through the town. To the left are the lodgings of Judge Jeffreys when that peremptory dispenser of justice visited these parts. Just in the picture to the right is the Corn Exchange where Bathsheba plied her trade to the astonishment of the natives. Next it is St. Peter's Church, in the front of which the poet Barnes stands grimly on his pedestal. Beyond is the Museum, where Mr. Hardy might often be seen idly turning the pages of *Punch*. The Angelus rings from St. Peter's (they call it the Curfew, but it now rings at 12 o'clock!) and we can imagine Mr. Hardy rising to walk down South street. It is the important hour when the London papers have just come in. Two juniors are leaving the Town Clerk's office for an appetizer. The local shoemaker is slipping on his wig preparatory to closing his shop. (In business hours his door is always locked so that you may not catch him unawares.) The King's Arms bus rattles down the street to catch the up-train to London. Mr. Hardy by now has reached the South Walks, that inimitable avenue of light and shade, and skirting Fordington, where the skimmity ride was hatched, crosses the railway bridge towards Max Gate his substantial home. Perhaps he pauses a moment to look over his "kingdom." Northward is Frome Valley through which the river runs on its way to Talbothays. Beyond Yelham wood lies far-famed Wetherbury. Southward is the mile-long hollow of Fordington field at the end of which stands the monument of that other Hardy in whose arms Nelson died.

It is a summer morning near the end of the last century. Few people know or suspect that Mr. Hardy has broken his magic wand and will write no more Wessex Tales. Yet Mr. Hardy had put Dorset on the map, and made a shy rural county, with a sober beauty of its own, the object of the keenest interest to a wide circle of admirers. One says Dorset advisedly, for though he uses the pseudonym of Wessex, if you

*To be followed by further discussion of other aspects of Hardy.

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look at the map of Wessex at the end of any Hardy novel, you will see that comparatively few places are mentioned outside of Dorset and if "Jude" and "A Pair of Blue Eyes" had not been written a much smaller map would have sufficed.

This brings me to my point. Mr. Hardy is most frequently alluded to as a pessimist, as a master of tragic irony. He did not accept the former title himself, and I would suggest that as there are constant touches of the eighteenth century about his writing, we content ourselves with the term spleen in describing this characteristic of him and so let it go as a digestive question. After all, is he more of a pessimist than the innumerable authors of the Border Ballads?

Mr. Llascelles Abercrombie also seems to hint in his criticism of Hardy that the insistence throughout his novels that the course of true love never shall run smooth, implies a kink in Hardy's own composition (can one avoid the word complex?) traceable to a kindred cause; but indeed if this form of criticism apply admirably to a de Musset, may it not be a little inadequate for a man who lived to be eighty, who was happily married and whose broader title to fame is based on quite different grounds. In any case such a criticism cannot be established without the poking and prying which no one would resent more than Hardy himself, so that it is proposed in this article to consider him simply as the Homer of Wessex, what is known as a regional novelist in the fullest sense of the term. Examination of his prefaces will show that all his novels come fully under this description.

And here a word on his method would be timely. Hardy told his first publisher, Tinsley, that he had note-books filled with observations and traditions collected by him, material sufficient for a whole series of books such as he initiated in *Under the Greenwood Tree*. He was following then the method of the French naturalistic school. One thinks instantly of Flaubert, but you will I think get more actual reminiscence of George Sand.

Strangely enough, Meredith as reader to Fisher Unwin diverted Hardy somewhat from his own plan by urging the need of more plot and intrigue. The criticism was perhaps intended more for potential readers than as a literary prin-

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ciple, but we can see that Hardy writes *A Pair of Blue Eyes* according to his own theory, and *The Hand of Ethelberta* in a rather laboured attempt to satisfy his critic. However, even a master must serve his apprenticeship, and it is interesting to note how in *Under the Greenwood Tree* Hardy is extracting an idyll from the material of his note-books. In *A Pair of Blue Eyes* where the scene switches to North Devon—Hardy married a Plymouth lady—we have undoubtedly some of the more autobiographical matter natural enough in an early novel. His father must have sat for the portrait of the father of Stephen Smith, the budding architect, and the home-coming of Stephen, the killing of the pig, the supper on “pigs’ fry” are, to adopt a well-known cliché not only *choses senties mais choses vues* (and one might add *goutées*). In *Far From the Madding Crowd* Hardy makes his first true flight, but there follow a rather disappointing series, such as *The Trumpet Major*, *Two on a Tower*, and *The Laodicean*, which seem coloured by the demands of the magazine readers of the day; only in *The Return of the Native* may Hardy be said to be on his native heath.

We now reach the central massif of his work in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *The Woodlanders*. The former is an admirably planned and executed novel, which I suggest is a work rather of the craftsman than the poet. There is still a touch of the mechanical in its construction, and the lesser figures, such as the Scotchman Farfrae and Lucetta, are decidedly artificial, though the power of the *ensemble* is undeniable. In *The Woodlanders* Hardy seems to halt between two opinions. The background and the minor figures are of his best, but *Fitzpiers* and *Mrs. Charmond* might have wandered out of the pages of Wilkie Collins. Marty Smith again never seems to obtain the position intended for her by her first appearance and her final epitaph of her lover.

Now come the two peaks of Hardy’s fame, *Tess*, and *Jude*, of which the former is a tragedy done in the grand manner, the latter a piteous tale painful as *Lear*. Thereafter he directed his steps to fresh fields and pastures new.

Reference is frequently made to the architectural training of Hardy. Indeed it is as patent in his writing as it is

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in Linley Sambourne's drawings, the careful sense of detail, the slow elaboration of effect. Look, for instance, at the Flemish exactness and realistic fidelity with which *The Mayor of Castlebridge* opens. Sometimes indeed an effect of woodenness—or woodcut—is conveyed, reminiscent of the 18th century. There are even times when Hardy's insistence on an exact and technical term produces a quaint baroque effect. "Turning he saw a circular disc reticulated with creases, and recognized the smiling countenance of the fat woman." His dialogue presents a curious feature: only in the mouths of the peasants is it quite full and natural with the raciness of the soil. His drawing-room tones are apt to be flat. His personages no longer speak in character and we have only the gist of what they mean to say, the utterance being quite lifeless. Yet this is not the formal manner of, let us say, a Jane Austen conversation which still has an animation of its own. It means that with Fitzpiers or Mrs. Charmond, Hardy is working in a milieu that is not quite familiar to him. If Mr. Wells' countesses do not betray the same defect it is because society has become more uniform and democratic nowadays.

One trait of Hardy's writing is that we seem to know the whole community he describes. No one is quite a stranger. It may be that only a descriptive phrase, a chance remark put at some time in a character's mouth is sufficient to indicate them.

"Do any body know of a crooked man or a lame or any second-hand fellow at all that would do for poor me, said Mary Ann. "A perfect one I don't expect to get at my time of life." . .

"An old woman now entered on the scene. She was Mr. Melbury's old servant, and passed a great part of her time in crossing the yard between the house door and the spar shed, whither she had come now for fuel. She had two facial expressions, one of a soft and flexible kind she used in-doors when assisting about the parlour or upstairs, the other with stiff lines and corners, when she was bustling among the men in the spar-house or out of doors."

We all know that old woman, and have met her counterpart somewhere. Even the mere functionaries of urban life,

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janitors and the like, have a faint shadow of such a personality, the less easily distinguishable in the swirl and mass of cities. It is curious that in *The Woodlanders* we somehow miss this customary effect. Perhaps it is because the community is a scattered one, perhaps Melbury himself is so self-centred a person that his presence forbids congregation except in chance gatherings under eaves. The banquet at Winterbourne's was no success. Sue Damson and Tim Tangs are ambiguous characters for a Wessex village, more akin to the family of the famous Arabella. The general aspect of *The Woodlanders* in fact is one of rain and fallen leaves and drifting snow. Its culmination is that scene in the damp hut where Winterbourne got his death.

With true rural insularity Hardy looks on towns with some suspicion. Casterbridge, although so close to the country that the reaper could greet an acquaintance on the city pavement (I have often perambulated the town wondering where that could be), has its assortment of loose characters and the unfriendliness of a strange place.

"True, said Buzzford, Casterbridge is an old hoary place of wickedness by all account. . . . Lots of us was hanged on Gallows Hill and our different jints sent round the country like butcher's meat; and for my part I can well believe it."

"Faith, said Christopher Coney, we be bruckle folk here—the best of us hardly honest sometimes, what with hard winters and so many mouths to fill and God A'mighty sending his little taties so terrible small to fill 'em with."

If Casterbridge fares badly, Oxford or Christminster comes off even worse. There it is only loafing gentry in indifferent inns that we meet, decayed tradesmen and retired scouts, ready with gossip and scandal of their neighbours and their betters. One leaves the towns with a sense of relief glad to be out on the downs again or among the clear tributaries running through the water meadows over gravel and fine sand with the trout gliding through patches of sunlit water, or on the yellow road across the heath, where the Scotch firs frame distant vistas of Frome or Stour. For that is the essential Wessex. Hardy has described it in all its detail, and if

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you seek a suggestion of the reality see Joseph Pennell's sketches in Treves' book on Dorset.

* * * * *

And this brings us to the consideration of Hardy as a regional writer, the Homer of Wessex. It is only a few miles of chalk downs looking on the sea, yet he has made it the site of a whole cosmos. Two or three river valleys, Frome and Avon and Stour, carving the chalk into rounded combs. On the downs thousands of sheep with their tinkling bells. In the valley-pastures rich herds of dairy cows. Here and there stretches of sand and gravel which have resisted cultivation and survive as heaths. The place-names rich in association and sweet as the chime of bells—Came and Charminster and Owermoigne, Maiden Newton, Cerne, Sturminster Newton, Tol Puddle and Toller Porcorum. Did Hardy do right to twist those names into suggestions of semi-detached villas, such as Chaseborough, Stourcastle, Deansleigh, and Knollsea?

Here, too, we must note that Hardy's Wessex is rather the Wessex of his father's day, a Wessex more flourishing and alive before the dead hand of agricultural depression was laid on the English shires, and the industrial revolution had silently sapped the village crafts and industries, closing the mills, stopping the weaving and spinning, underselling the maltsters, the saddlers, the wheelwrights. It was these trades that gave the spice to the rustic wit in village inns. Your true labourer is too tired for aught but soaking.

When I was in Dorset one got a faint echo of those days in the recitation of the Ballads of William Barnes in the Dorset dialect, without which no parish concert or penny reading was complete. But only one or two old performers were left to recite "Gruffmoody Grim", or "Gammony Gay", or "Bleakes House in Blackmwore."

'Then up they sprung a dancen' reels
An' up went toes an' up went heels,
Awinden roun' in knots and wheels.
"Brisk, Brisk," the maidens cried.
"Frisk, Frisk," the men replied.
"Quick, Quick there wi your fiddlestick,"
Cried merry Bleake of Blackmwore.

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Can you not hear it in the maltster's kitchen, or if Winterbourne had had the sense to marry Marty and live? Most of those voices were stilled and gone even in Hardy's prime. The men had found jobs on the railways or drifted down to the seaports. The maidens were just a little keener on making sure of marriage, and the countryside had readjusted itself to a day of humbler things and less renown. For this country had been the essential England, looking out on the Channel, the real *mare nostrum* of England. Here the manors are the finest, here is your Christ Church and Beaulieu and Wardour and Longleat. Here are minsters and abbeys in profusion such as Sherborne, Wimborne, Romsey and Milton Abbas, not to mention the great Sarum and Winchester. Every parish church was a fine piece of architecture with a characteristic fluted tower. Here the monks had made every stream do double and triple work by the irrigation of the water-meadows. But this wealth and prosperity had ebbed away.

As I've a zeed how fast do fall
The mould'rin hall the wold volk's pride,
Where merry hearts wer woonse a-ved
Wi' daily bread, why I've a-sigh'd
To zee the wall so green wi' mould,
An' vind so cold the vi-er-zide.

One wonders whether that note of melancholy which rings through Barnes' verse has not its echo too in the gloom of many of Hardy's tales, just as the touch of morbidness in Hardy is found also in such poems as "The Child and the Mowers."

There can be no doubt that Hardy loves his land deeply and passionately and that it is his own kith and kin whom he most loves to describe. The Parson even is looked on somewhat critically and coldly as in another social plane, and it is from townsfolk and wanderers that the mischief comes, from Farfraes and Sergeant Troys and Angel Clares. Life is at its best when neighbours are sitting round the board, as for instance when the pig has been killed at Stephen Smith's home-coming and the "fry is served on each plate well seasoned with onions, hot and spluttering from the pan"; or again when "on a snowy cloth fresh from the press and reticulated

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with folds, as in Flemish 'Last Suppers', the hot baked is served by Joseph Creedle . . . by elevating the little three-legged pot that contained it and tilting the contents into a dish (on the table), exclaiming simultaneously, 'Draw back, gentlemen and ladies, please!'"

I refuse to let my enjoyment of these meals be disturbed by the fact that the omens are bad for the principal characters concerned. Rather will I leave them in company with Farmer Bawtree and the hollow turner singing

She may go, oh,
She may go, oh,
She may go to the Devil for me.

for I hold the she in question (Grace Melbury) in small consequence, seeing that two good lives were spoiled on her account; in fact, I wish her joy of that mere simulacrum of a man, Fitzpiers. While on the subject of meals were it not for the solemnity of the occasion I would willingly revert to the "lovely drunks" on which Jacob Smallbury expatiated with a sigh, but will go no farther than a reminiscence of the chat at the maltster's where Shepherd Oak waives all scruples about the cleanness of the God-forgive-me mug. "I never make any fuss about dirt in its pure state and when I know what sort it is." Which indifference perhaps emboldened Mark Clark to—"Here's a mouthful of bread and bacon that mis'ess have sent, shepherd. . . Don't ye chaw quite close, for I let the bacon fall in the road, and maybe 'tis a little gritty."

I would respectfully call attention to the fact that here Gabriel Oak is mingling with those who are now his peers, and accepting the situation with stoical philosophy. Certain critics refer to these scenes as the "peasant chorus" who comment on the ups and downs of the major characters. I venture to be of another opinion, and to think that though Tess and one or two major characters will abide in permanence, remote posterity will pay little heed to such half-gods or goddesses as Bathsheba, Sergeant Troy, Grace Melbury or Fitzpiers, while they will take perennial delight in this peasant chorus, these *minuscules*

"qu'il faut pour composer une page d'histoire."

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Space will not allow more than a glance at this company, but enough will have been done if I can send any reader packing off to his Hardy again, and so taking a joint part in his commemoration service.*

* * * * *

Much as Hardy seems to linger over the mere village folk it is evidently impossible to write a novel without principal characters. Of these the nearer they are to the soil the better he draws them, with the more sympathy and the more insight. Gabriel Oak who I imagine is one of Hardy's favorite characters, belongs as much to the background as the foreground. Though he falls in love with the headlong precipitancy of Jude, unlike him he always remains the captain of his soul, finding his strength in being a philosopher and sticking to his job. Misfortune does not paralyse him and at need he turns an honest penny with his flute. He finds a friend in plain Jim Coggan who on the occasion shows as much delicacy and tact as any. In retirement and eclipse he is still present as a force, and no sooner has Bathsheba most unjustifiably sacked him than she has to send for him to save her sheep. His great moment comes when he saves the ricks in the thunderstorm. This incident is narrated with true epic force, as indeed it is an epic of rural life. The moment is chosen with striking effect. Troy and the workmen are asleep after their carouse. The cause is a simple economic fact—£700 is at stake. The remedy seems hopeless, for the task for one single man is well nigh titanic, but Gabriel does it. See him in the middle of the storm—

“Not a drop of rain had fallen yet. He wiped his weary brow and looked again at the black forms of the unprotected stacks. Why should he be chary of running risk when important labour could not be carried on without such risk. He

*It is a little ironic that Hardy should have expressed a willingness to lie in the Abbey. It means that after all he had compromised on his ideas about the “President of the Immortals.” Indeed one can see those ideas do not go beyond his reason. His instincts are against him and he shows too keen an interest in old palms tune and the church service in general to be the notorious evil liver some would have him to be. Perhaps he too claimed that general allegiance professed by Joseph Coggan.

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resolved to stick to the stack." (and improvises a lightning conductor to lessen the risk.) "Before Oak had laid his hands upon his tools again out leapt the fifth flash, with the spring of a serpent and the shout of a fiend. It was green as an emerald and the reverberation was stunning. What was it this light revealed him?" Here Bathsheba arrives to help, and the experienced novel reader will take heart from the omen. But the ultimate task Gabriel finishes himself. "This done, Oak slaved away at the barley. A huge drop of rain smote his face, the wind snarled round every corner, the trees rocked to the bases of their trunks, and the twigs clashed in strife. Driving in spars at any point and on any system he covered more and more safely from ruin this distracting impersonation of seven hundred pounds. The rain came on in earnest and Oak was finally reduced well nigh to a homogeneous sop," but by seven o'clock the task was done.

Oak watches his mistress' tergiversations with her lovers with unbending calm. He gives a word of advice but ultimately leaves Bathsheba to "dree her own weird." Quite otherwise is the conduct of that unfortunate introvert Farmer Boldwood, who is doomed all along to inevitable shipwreck. Yet so true is the picture that Oak never acts out of keeping with his class nor otherwise than as the plain blunt heart of oak he is. His first surreptitious peepings at Bathsheba are quite true, so is his investigation of the pretty story of Sergeant Troy's Sunday worship: so too are the little self deceptions in his attitude to Bathsheba. Of Bathsheba herself it is impossible to speak apart from the three with whom her fate is entwisted, but in this tale at any rate Hardy keeps somewhat in bounds the fickleness and perversity with which he endues his women. He says somewhere she was a mixture of Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth, and the remark is apt. But the characteristics she shares with so many other of Hardy's women constitute an indictment of the sex which is well nigh Miltonic in its severity. Bathsheba when a simple milkmaid does not reject Oak's overtures without giving him a preliminary inspection. Then her girlish fancy is displeased with his ruggedness. Her sending the valentine to Farmer Boldwood has just the touch of the hoyden, and indeed when she

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succeeds to her uncle's farm she is a little the *parvenu*, uncertain of herself and making mistakes in consequence. Somehow we are shown less of charm than her creator gives her credit for. In nearly every one of her scenes she is at fault somewhere, though always she is nought but pure womanly. How hopelessly she "falls for" Sergeant Troy; and how dearly she pays for it. Her sisters of to-day might think it weakness on her part, but we must give her credit for taking the initiative in tapping at Oak's door (she had been down that road before) to effect the last conciliation.

And so of this beautiful creature, of whom we have all along known the worst, her creator writes finally: "Theirs was that substantial affection which arises when the two who are thrown together begin first by knowing the rougher sides of each other's character, and not the best till further on, the romance growing up in the interstices of hard prosaic reality. This good fellowship — *camaraderie* — usually occurring through similarity of pursuits, is unfortunately seldom super-added to love between the sexes, because men and women associate not in their labours, but in their pleasures, merely. Where however happy circumstances permit its development, the compounded feeling proves itself to be the only love which is strong as death—that love which many waters cannot quench, nor the floods drown."

I quote the passage partly because Hardy seems to be speaking with a real personal note. The ironic touch however will out—"said Joseph Poorgrass, I wish him joy of her: though I were once or twice upon saying to-day with holy Hosea, in my scripture manner, 'Ephraim is jined to idols: let him alone.'"

In *The Mayor of Casterbridge* Hardy makes what is so far his most ambitious study, a full length *genre* portrait of Henchard the Cornfactor. For this complex personality in which good and evil, virtue and defect are closely twined he goes to the town as if the country could not yield such a type. At the same time he maintains the regional atmosphere, for just as Casterbridge was identified with the ways and fortunes of the country round, so Henchard is a middleman of the farmers' products. Somehow it is a convention that a

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study of a Burgomaster implies a shady past or qualities of avarice, acquisitiveness and masterfulness. Even Rembrandt and the Venetian painters seem to accept that convention, and it is a little curious that Hardy in this venture in urban life shows the rural suspicion of the town. We have already seen the character the town's folk give themselves and their borough, and our first approach to Casterbridge reveals the roofs and windows "reflecting a bloodshot and bleary light." The church is "grizzled and dilapidated," its bell gives out a 'peremptory clang.' We are taken largely into sordid and squalid by-lanes, or to the chilly northern escarpment of the town over which looms the forbidding walls of the gaol. Instead of the "village chorus" we have tap room loafers with not a good word for any one, and the first voice heard in Casterbridge is raised in protest at bad bread. The whole atmosphere is unsympathetic.

If *The Mayor of Casterbridge* looked on as a whole is as fine and finished a portrait as Bellini's *Doge Loredano*, nevertheless the accidents and accessories by which the portrait is made to stand in relief are just a little questionable. The elements of intrigue and coincidence are brought into play rather to excess. Thus it is somewhat of a tax on reality that a successful business man should have begun by selling his wife in a drunken freak, and then that the two women, with whom his life has been mixed up, should converge on Casterbridge at approximately the same time, while the one vital witness of his first crime appears at the dramatic moment when the wheel of fortune is beginning to turn against him. There is just a hint of over-elaboration about the way in which Hardy draws up his plan and rears his elevation, which we have to overlook before the finished portrait quite convinces us.* But thereafter each incident in the Mayor's progress is a mosaic of town life, which gives the whole book a strange verisimilitude and is as much a chronicle of Casterbridge as a biography of its mayor. The fact that Henchard understood hay and not wheat is the reason of his first un-

*Perhaps a sense of his difficulty or defect, which ever it be, makes him in his preface to *Jude* disclaim for all his novels the importance of 'consistency or discordance' in the events he relates.

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popularity in the town, and the real reason for the impetuous insistence with which he associates Farfrae with him. Business allies are apt to be dangerous friends and Henchard's trouble is not so much the fact that he had taken a viper to his bosom, as the unceremonious way in which he gets rid of him, and the crude methods by which he seeks to defeat the man he now discovers to be his rival. Just as the dramatic climax in *Far from the Madding Crowd* comes when Oak saves the wheat stacks from the thunderstorm, so it comes in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* with a harvest that goes wrong. The forces of nature, the labours of man, the calculations of one mind, working not in harmony but in discord, produce an explosion which smites Henchard as the electric spark splits the tall poplar tree by Bathsheba's farm. Hardy shows us almost uncannily how the very atmosphere seems to enter into this conspiracy. Henchard in his eagerness to forestall Farfrae had bought heavy stocks of old wheat.

"When his granaries were crammed to choking all the weathercocks of Casterbridge creaked and set their faces in another direction, as if tired of the southwest. The weather changed: the sunlight which had been like tin for weeks, assumed the hues of topaz. The temperament of the welkin passed from the phlegmatic to the sanguine: an excellent harvest was almost a certainty."

That is Act II in the drama. Act III shows a different aspect.—"No sooner had the sickles begun to play than the atmosphere suddenly felt as if cress would grow in it without nourishment. It rubbed people's cheeks like damp flannel when they walked abroad. There was a gusty high warm wind; isolated raindrops starred the window panes at remote distances: the sunlight would flap out like a quick opened fan, throw the pattern of the window upon the floor of the room in a milky colourless shine and withdraw as suddenly as it had appeared. From that hour it was clear that there was not to be so successful an ingathering after all—"

Thus the barometer and his own headlong temperament accomplish Henchard's ruin. The incidents or 'accidents' which accentuate it and drive him desperate are not quite so well chosen. The stroke which sends him to the weather-

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man before making his speculation is far more convincing than that other stroke by which the old furmity woman turns up in the dock to denounce him the magistrate as himself a criminal. With a sure touch Hardy makes his characters wander in the wheat fields where this drama in wheat is being played out, and Henchard hiding in the wheat sheaves and overhearing the conversation of Farfrae and Lucetta is legitimate enough but in the intrigue which turns on Lucetta's old letters falling into the hands of Jopp, we have machinery a little too evident. The same is true of the return of Newsom, though it is hard to conceive by what other device Henchard can lose her, who is now a daughter to him, and be reduced to that lonely King Lear condition in which he crawls off like a wounded hare to die in a thicket.

It would be impossible within any stinted limit to handle at all adequately the tragedies which conclude the Wessex Tales. Tess with its perfection of form seems to round off and complete his previous work, while Jude seems to thrust out into a new sphere which others have sought to develop since him. Yet both Tess and Jude are essentially of the soil and, as Hardy tells us, the tale of both has some basis of actual reality. In Tess we have the maiden of the pastures brutally wronged by an alien intruder and usurper. To account for her perfection we have the strain of ancient knightly ancestry which is claimed as a common possession of the old Wessex stocks. Because he greatly loves his creature Hardy has lavished on her story his most careful telling and has put her in the richest setting he can devise. It is in the idyllic beauty of the May dance that we first see Tess and here as if deep called to deep, or cell to cell, Angel Clare passes and halts to join in the dance. It is in the almost unearthly beauty of summer at Talbothays that Tess meets Angel again and the wooing begins, while their sad parting takes place in winter under weeping trees and by mourning streams. Finally it is on the stone of sacrifice at Stonehenge that Tess has her last rest and her last happiness before the grim servants of the law close in.

But what a magic there is about that Sunday morning when Tess and her companions are on their way to church.

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"July had crept on them unawares and the atmosphere of the flat vale hung heavy as an opiate over the dairy folks, the cows and the trees. Hot steaming rains fell frequently, making the grass, where the cows fed, yet more rank. . . . All the preceding afternoon and night heavy thunderstorms had hissed down upon the meads, but this morning the sun shone out brilliantly and the air was balmy and clear. "The crooked lane leading from their own parish to Mellstock ran along the lowest levels and when the girls reached the most depressed spot they found the result of the rain had been to flood the lane to a distance of some fifty yards. They could hear the church bell calling as yet nearly a mile off. While they stood clinging to the bank they heard a splashing round the bend of the road." It is Angel Clare who comes gallantly to carry the four milkmaids through the flood water round the bend. It is impossible to explain how by a paucity of detail, but that to the point, Hardy conveys the picture, but it is an English summer pastoral of amazing charm. Angel Clare stands in his waders looking up at "the rosy cheeked bright-eyed quartet in their light summer attire clinging to the roadside bank like pigeons on a pent roof. His eye fell last upon Tess and, being full of suppressed laughter at their plight, she could not help meeting his glance radiantly."

Jude is the story of the lad of parts whom fate is against to the end. Surely this is Matthew Arnold's 'scholar-gypsy' come to life again. Yearnings and aspirations which in Scotland might have some hope of satisfaction for Jude are hopeless from the first. The ancient university of Christminster is just beyond the border of Hardy's Wessex and Jude has hardly more than a Pisgah sight, when hearing of its glories he climbs the ladder and gets his distant vision of its towers and spires.—

"Some way within the limits of the stretch of landscape points of light like the topaz gleamed. The air increased in transparency with the lapse of minutes, till the topaz points showed themselves to be the vanes, windows, wet roof slates and other shining spots upon the spires, domes, freestone-work, and varied outlines that were faintly revealed. It was Christminster, unquestionably: either directly seen or mir-

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aged in the peculiar atmosphere: (Jude) gazed on and on till the windows and vanes lost their shine, going out almost suddenly like extinguished candles."

Whether designedly or not Hardy's use of symbolism is always striking and it is often a symbolism which borders on what is known as the pathetic fallacy. Take another example. Jude has reached Christminster and in the kindly dusk wandering round the mystic city feels it instinct with the spirits of the past, great minds whom the University has given the nation. Morning brings a different view.—

"Passing out into the streets on this errand, he found that the colleges had treacherously changed their sympathetic countenances: some were stern: some had put on the look of family vaults above ground: something barbaric loomed in the masonries of all. The spirits of the great men had disappeared. . . . What at night had been perfect and ideal was by day the more or less defective real. Cruelties, insults had, he perceived, been inflicted on the aged erections. The condition of several moved him as he would have been moved by maimed sentient beings. They were wounded, broken, sloughing off their outer shape in the deadly struggle against years, weather, and man."

Then our scholar-gypsy in this home of learning starts to look for a job. In his preface Hardy defines "Jude" as being an attempt "to deal unaffectedly with the fret and fever, derision and disaster, that may press in the wake of the strongest passion known to humanity, and to point, without a mincing of words, the tragedy of unfulfilled aims." It would be difficult to say whether the animalism of Arabella or the perversity of Sue were the chief obstacle to the fulfilment of those aims, but a man of the people does here seem making some further protest. In the early days of the university poor students lived in the town ditch, starved or lived on a diet of bad fish, but learning was not denied them and the teachers spoke to who ever listened. For them too were these colleges built. All over England the well-to-do have absorbed and monopolized the privileges of education. There is some sense of protest at this in the story of the peasant boy who comes to Christminster, is rejected and dies there miserably.

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The tragedy of *Tess* like all true tragedy has its note of appeasement when the weary are at rest. The discordant tragedy of *Jude* is all the more pitiful since he was meant for higher things.

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Deliberately discussion has been confined to one aspect of Hardy and perhaps enough has been said to demonstrate that he is as careful of his background as of his central figures, who indeed owe their significance largely to their setting. One might elaborate this to the full in *The Return of the Native*, making the reddleman the symbolic figure of background characters. In these homely peasants one finds also a serenity, even a gaiety which redresses the balance of the often tragic central figures. If at times the heath has all the grim and harrowing tragedy of *Lear*, at other times it is populated by quaint rustic shapes which seem to have come from the forest of Arden to dance again round Maypole or November fires, and faintly we hear the lilt of an old-time puckish music,

To sorrow
I bade good morrow,
And thought to leave her far away behind,
But cheerly, cheerly,
She loves me dearly,
She is so constant to me and so kind;
I would deceive her,
And so leave her,
But ah! she is so constant and so kind.¹

W. M. C.

¹Lines on title page of *The Return of the Native*.

A STORY OF RECENT FOOTBALL AT QUEEN'S

I N the autumn of 1920—at a banquet given by the victorious McGill Rugby team to the Queen's team whom they had just defeated—that most loveable “friend of all the world,” Dr. Johnny Evans rose—and in reply to a toast to Queen's, said: “Gentlemen, some day Queen's will win an Intercollegiate championship, and I am going to play quarterback on that team.” Many of us had carried that hope in our hearts long before even the High School hurdle had been taken. We had seen the great football players representing that mysterious institution battle against McGill and University of Toronto—when fences had to be climbed and policemen eluded in lieu of the necessary twenty-five cents for admission. True, they did not win championships, in our memory at least, but there were never Greek heroes to match their greatness, and nothing more worthy of boy-worship than they. A great back division man leaving the old Athletic Grounds with a trickle of blood from his nose impressed one so that for nights one dreamed of fighting his enemies, and asked only a word from this greatest of men in return. Then came High School days, and on the golden horizon—Queen's. They allowed our team of youngsters to practise with the University team now and again, and these were wonderful days indeed. We were battered and bruised by the larger men, of course, but happy and proud as kings, for before all of us was that vision of perfect happiness—Queen's and foot-ball for her.

Then came entry to the University, and with it the realization of new and bitter experiences. The player beside you was not a hero now, and the pride of playing was largely eclipsed by uninterrupted and overwhelming defeats. We began to ask ourselves: Why was the rugby team an object of Intercollegiate sympathy? The school and its traditions were at least as good as any other, and the opportunities it offered for academic work, of the first order. That in sport Queen's should bow to her neighbors was then a matter of deep concern to many of us.

And so boys who had come from all about Canada, who had

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dreamed the same dreams as those of us who had the good fortune to live in Kingston, took stock of themselves and the situation. Johnny's dictum was the result of it all.

But to get on with the story. It was in 1919 that the Intercollegiate Athletic Union again took up the threads of sport, so necessarily, but roughly, cut by the world war. At Queen's, this reorganization found the students doing nothing in particular, with a great show of importance. The Secretary of the Athletic committee was a student and held an honorary position only. A large part of his time was taken up with petty things, and the rest of it in wondering what his predecessor had done. There were six or eight boys about the school who had played foot-ball before, and we considered that enough till we met McGill and Varsity, who showed us quite efficiently that it wasn't. We had Johnny Evans who could play either quarter-back or outside wing, and we had to take our choice between having some one who could tackle, by playing him at outside wing, or putting him at quarter-back, and getting the plays away. We couldn't have both. If Bill Campbell was made a catching half-back the kicks wouldn't be fumbled, but we had no secondary defence man worth mentioning. And, under these circumstances, Jack Williams and Prof. W. L. Malcolm struggled through two years of coaching, both giving their best in a lost cause. McGill won the league in 1919 and Varsity in 1920, both teams allowing Queen's the honour of playing against their regular players for one-half of the game and against their substitutes for the remainder.

However, they were great years from a player's standpoint. The best of fellowship prevailed in the team itself and between our players and those of the other University teams. There was little for wonder in that when one calls to mind such names as Coach Shaughnessy, Jeff Russell, Monty Montgomery, Boo Anderson, Flin Flanagan, of McGill; Coach Laddie Cassels, Red McKenzie, Joe Breen and Harry Hobbs, of Varsity, with a host of others. And it wasn't easy to forget the ludicrous figure of Carson who was knocked groggy in this and every other game, rolling the ball on the ground ahead of him, while he shouted "Held" at the top of his voice, and wondered in a misty way what it was all about.

The first word of reorganization which the students heard

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came from Prof. W. L. Malcolm and Fred Ellis. These two organized the new Athletic Board with its fuller representation and wider responsibilities, and too much cannot be said in praise of their work. About this time the great impetus of a new stadium was given by Mr. James Richardson, in memory of his brother, Captain George Taylor Richardson, so well-known to Queen's men and women of all ages. The further work necessitated by these two ventures demanded a third, and Queen's was forced to cast about for a secretary who could give his full time to the work. The logical plan of choosing a man with foot-ball coaching experience was carried out when Mr. George Awrey was discovered in Hamilton and came to us in the Fall of 1921. We then had a stadium, a foot-ball coach and an Athletic Board secretary, but no money, and little in prospect. It isn't difficult to imagine the gasp of disapproval which was given when Prof. C. W. Drury told us that we had to build a rink. Not that we should, mind you, but that we must. We looked to the football to support the new moves, and indeed had nowhere else to look. A majority of the foot-ball players were closely associated with the new Athletic Board of Control, and they felt that a large measure of the responsibility fell upon them.

Now let us see what was the new material with which we were to conquer new worlds and accomplish triumphs as yet undreamed of.

Dave Harding, an unknown quantity from Sarnia; Liz Walker, a Hamilton High School graduate, and Peps. Leadley, then Hamilton Tiger substitute player, came in that year, the latter accompanying George Awrey from Hamilton. Their entry was the cause of much excitement for we had great hopes and worried a good deal as to their reception. The first practice was "packed." We had everyone on the field in some sort of uniform, whom we could get there by persuasion or force, and Mr. Awrey afterward admitted that he was horrified by the motley appearance of the crowd. The first boy to whom he spoke was Johnny Woodruff, a member of the hockey team, but certainly not a foot-ball player, and Mr. Awrey wanted to know what position Johnny played. That wasn't a fair question, since Johnny hadn't played before, but he grasped the situation at once and bravely replied that he

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was equally good in any position, which was true. George nearly left us that afternoon to return home—how nearly, he admitted some years afterward.

On the morning of October 8th, 1921, the George Richardson Memorial Stadium was opened with a most impressive ceremony, and in the afternoon the boys met Varsity in the opening game. It was a matter of "do or die." with the A. B. of C's financial problems in the background. No student of that time will ever forget the run made by Dr. Bill Campbell after he scooped up a blocked kick and outdistanced the field for a touch. That run won the game which ended up at 9 to 5, a perfect conclusion to the memorable occasion, and the dawn of better things in athletics at Queen's.

Peps. Leadley took tonsillitis two weeks later, and a disorganized team lost to McGill by 25 to 1. Varsity won in Toronto in a heart-breaking game by 13 to 12 and Queen's were fortunate to finish the season by beating McGill at 6 to 3 in Kingston. Here, though, was something new. Queen's had been able to win from both of her rivals and that was a remarkable thing indeed. Men had turned into foot-ball players over night from the sheer necessity of the thing, and help came from all sides.

The next season, that of 1922, was one of fortunate successes until the last game of the season, that with Varsity in Kingston. Harry Batstone had entered the University, and been found to be a wonderful foot-ball player and a splendid man. Dave Harding, the inimitable Davie, had, after two years of threatening, finally returned a kick. The fact that it went straight into the grandstand did not dampen his ardour. Orrin Carson, now a member of staff and this year's honorary coach, had made the prize mistake of the season when he chose to let Don Bailie, of McGill, who had the ball in his sweater, go on his way again while he chased a yellow leather helmet meant for a "snare and a delusion."

Some splendid combinations were developed that year. The Batstone - Leadley back field with the Batstone-Leadley-Harding end run will not soon be seen again. Going down under their kicks were Thomas, Veale and Walker at outside wing; Dr. Bill Campbell and Davie Harding, secondary defence men, and Art Lewis, the peer of snap backs. It is

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small wonder that opposing backs were worried about them. Muirhead, good old Uncle Bill, and Orrin Carson were the strongest defensive insides playing at that time, and altogether it was the most friendly, and happiest, football team that could be gathered together.

Johnny Evans, no matter who might be nominally Captain, was undisputed ruler on the field. And there is only one Johnny. Hard taskmaster he was, but always admired and followed with blind obedience. If Johnny expected five yards, they must be made, and when one didn't do what he thought fitted the particular capabilities of the player, his scorn was withering. He would look straight at the offender, call the same signal and send him back again, too, as he said, "Do your 'TUFF." All who have played with him have vivid memories of his caustic comments on their form given between signals. In a McGill game in Montreal when things were not going as Johnny thought they should, he went over each player on the team, touching in varying degrees on their awfulness. My name had not been mentioned until the last, when, looking at me with utter contempt, he finally said: "And you, you big——, you're the worst of the lot."

It was in this year that Johnny developed his game of giving the ball away to the opposing team. Queen's had a strong defence and could afford to let the other team work until they made a mistake, which might be capitalized in a score. It gave Queen's the reputation of being lucky winners—but it was successful, and Johnny and others used it in later years to good advantage.

The final game of that season almost spelt disaster. An epidemic of carbuncles, which spread like fury, started it. Every member of the team was in hospital at least once for poultices without end. But it settled two problems. The equipment of the senior team had been disappearing, and no one knew where it went until the second team developed carbuncles, too. After that it did not need a Sherlock Holmes to make the inference.

Next, George Awrey took sick and affairs became further disorganized. The nervous tension of being possible Inter-collegiate champions, combined with the severe work of the year (and the team had been unmercifully driven) threw all

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cohesion to the wind. A committee of the Athletic Board, through the kind offices of Mr. Shaughnessy, arranged for Mr. Hughes to come to Kingston, in the hope that he might pull the loose ends together. He arrived on Friday, and in Saturday's game with Varsity, did not even know his players' names. Added to all of this, Varsity played a superb game, and in the George Richardson Stadium, where only a year before Queen's men had risen to heights of good football, they tasted the bitter, yes, and shameful, dregs of a 24 to 1 defeat. And Varsity and Queen's were tied for first honors.

What to do? Had we only known it, there was an inevitable result, and it happened when that great coach, Bill Hughes, for the first of many, many times, made himself "Self-selected chairman of the meeting." No one who was there will ever forget the man, his inspiring personality or his good fellowship. His question was, "What price are you willing to pay in self-privation and work to do what you can do at your best in the play-off game?" He outlined a plan, which, as we shall see later, was worthy of an absolutely spartan leader, and did not even urge it on the boys, only asking, "What will you pay?" There were tears in many eyes when he had finished, tears from strong, hard, unemotional young men, and quiet "I'm with you's" came one after the other.

That spirit prevailed throughout the week, and no one left the "gang" in thought or person. We slept in the rink, rose at six in the morning—to run miles with little Billie Hughes, the trainer, and then back to the showers and breakfast. After breakfast, a "chalk-talk" on foot-ball, and the remainder of the morning was given to a heavy scrimmage. After lunch a sweet hour off work to rest, and then there was a practice game for the remaining three or four hours of the afternoon. After dinner, there was another "chalk-talk" which lasted until nine o'clock, when bed was irresistible. In this way, a whole new system of foot-ball, defence, offense, with its plays and signals, and a working system of interference which we had never had before, was given and grasped in five days. School was ignored, but other lessons of life-long value were learned. And that crowd became welded into a team, a machine, with a great heart of friendship at its centre. Professors may well envy Bill Hughes, his ability to teach,

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and all could admire his power of leadership. We cursed him for his cruel driving, each day of which was worse than the preceding one, but still we went on. The town and the University caught the spirit of the thing, which fact was evidenced by a gift of beautiful sweater coats from Prof. and Mrs. Will Nicol, and the co-operation of all who could help.

There was no limit to the ability of the team when they met Varsity at the Molson Stadium, the chosen neutral field in Montreal. The whole atmosphere of the preceding week was changed and the result too, Queen's leaving the field with a score of 12 to 6, Intercollegiate champions for the first time since 1904.

And in all the excitement of getting off the field, who could sum it up better than Johnny Evans who quietly said, "It's all right, ain't it?" Whereafter, to all external appearances, he promptly forgot about the game completely.

Argonauts, the next week, were a more difficult matter, and there are those, Queen's players among them, who think that Queen's did not deserve to win. Bill Hughes did an unheard-of thing when he ordered Peps to kick to Conacher. He was their strongest man, and we could not see, then, that the man who receives a pass is a greater threat than the original carrier. Conacher was well watched and encouraged to take the play on his shoulders, a strategy which has since become sound football tactics. Peps won that game when he sneaked through the centre of the line to put the ball in position for a field-goal which he later kicked, to win the game by 13 to 12.

But in spite of the nerve-wrecking character of the game, irresistible Johnny Evans and his presence of mind drew a laugh. In the dying moments of the game Queen's had a one point lead. The ball was in their end of the field, anything might happen, and a championship was at stake. The struggle was bitter, and Johnny was stalling for time. Sensing this, the referee was using a stop watch to check the twenty seconds allowed by the rules to get the ball into play. As Johnny cackled his signals there was a tense silence. It was Queen's second "down". Unperturbed, almost uninterested, he went on; "Fifteen, forty-six, seventy-five, ———". Suddenly the referee called—"Queen's, third down". Johnny

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never even changed the tone of his voice, never even graced the official with a look, but continued, gazing about the field: "Sixty-six, twenty-one, five, eleven." "You can go to blazes. I was going to kick it anyway. Play!" And away the play and the ball went. It drew a laugh, eased the tension, and made the players more sure of themselves, all of which, I dare say, was what Johnny wanted. Great little old Johnny!

Edmonton proved easy the next week, and Queen's were Dominion Champions. Which was the greatest year of all from the players' standpoint. This one beyond a doubt the first fruit, and Oh, how sweet it was! Principal Taylor voiced our feelings at the Argonauts' dinner in words which—well we will not bring them up against him.

Limitation of space makes impossible a discussion of the following years. Suffice it to say that the team won twenty-six consecutive victories, which helped to collect three consecutive Dominion Championships and four consecutive Intercollegiate Championships, and a great many memories most valuable to the players. The 1927 team with Prof. Orrin Carson at the helm as Bill Hughes' successor, has added another Intercollegiate title, and the 1928 team will add——. But that is rather far off, isn't it? Let me whisper that the splendid tri-color blankets which Mr. Coverdale presented to the team some years ago are being well preserved this winter with a view to heavy wear next year.

And now you may see why those who take part in these things rejoice at the results of the last few years. It isn't because our team beat McGill or Varsity, but because our ventures are successful; the argosies sent out with hope and prayer are returning in glory; and all is well at the school.

One word in closing. It is a matter of some disappointment to me that those who have in a large part been responsible for the interesting and successful affairs at the University have refused in a body to grant me permission to make honorable mention of them. Their work has been their reward, they say, but I wonder if the knowledge of a sincere admiration from those of us who have watched their efforts, may not also add a trifle to their satisfaction. It has been impossible also to mention names and incidents which ran parallel to those

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given above. Let me blame lack of space for touching only on high lights.

But there you are—the song, how it was sung, and why, the accompaniment and where it leads. All generations at the school have added their bit to the material and moral assets of their Alma Mater, and this is the most recent of these additions. The lure of memories of other days is strong and one is somewhat skeptical of the advantages of being able to say with William Cory:

“I live—I am old—I return to the ground.

Blow trumpets! And still I can dream to the sound.”

J. ^{L.}~~A.~~ MCKELVEY.

CANADIAN FEDERAL FINANCE

I N the July, 1915, and October, 1918, numbers of the *Queen's Quarterly* there appeared two articles by Dr. O. D. Skelton under the above caption, offprints of which were afterward issued as Bulletins 16 and 29 of the Departments of History and Political and Economic Science of Queen's University. In them he reviewed Canadian war finance down to midsummer, 1918. It is the purpose of this article to continue this survey to the close of the fiscal year 1925-26, by which time the country had adjusted its finances to peace conditions and was moving forward, at long last, to a period of renewed prosperity. The years 1913 to 1926 will however be viewed as a whole so as to get the correct perspective of post-war finance.

The war found Canada in the midst of a period of readjustment following a decade and a half of almost continuous prosperity. Free land in the area adjacent to the railways in the west was being rapidly exhausted. Homestead entries had reached their peak in 1911 when 44,479 had been made, and by 1914 had fallen off to 31,829. Immigration continued to rise until 1913 when it reached the enormous figure of 402,432. In 1914 Hon. W. T. (now Sir Thomas) White, Minister of Finance, estimated that the immigrants of the previous year had brought in capital goods to the value of \$100,000,000. Since the beginning of the century about 2,000,000 immigrants had entered bringing with them over \$1,000,000,000 in foreign capital. At first they had to buy, in large quantities, needed supplies, while their own productivity only gradually became of economic importance. In the meantime they had been provided with schools, colleges, hospitals, roads, railways, postal and judicial services, and all the other conveniences of a modern state at enormous expense to the country. Urban centres felt the full influence of the national optimism. Prairie towns pictured themselves budding cities, and cities budding metropolises, with the result that they expanded and provided themselves with equipment far beyond the country's needs. Meantime lands adjacent to towns east

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and west had been subdivided and sold as town lots. With altogether too much truth half a dozen other cities might have had the story told of them which is related of Edmonton. A man from the Windy City is alleged to have asked an Edmontonian, "Say, Eskimo, how big is Edmonton, anyhow?" to which the answer was given, "Oh! about the same size as Chicago, only it is not all built up yet." The single tax on land values, which had appeared in Vancouver in 1910, and had reached Saskatchewan towns by 1912, had encouraged the erection of scattered residences, and the extension of all municipal facilities far out into these subdivisions, thus enormously increasing municipal indebtedness. But, for the time being, all this development, urban as well as rural, spelt prosperity to mining, forest and industrial enterprises. Capital flowed into the country as never before. Hundreds of new concerns were established and old ones extended. In consequence of this vast amount of industrial and railway construction, as well as of the equipment of new farms, imports had mounted rapidly, while exports had, until 1912, remained fairly constant. But by that year a change had come. The majority of new industries and immigrants had become producers. Exports were rising and imports were rapidly declining. Then the 1913 economic crisis broke on the world, and on Canada in exaggerated form. The period of immigration, homestead entries, urban development, suburban lots, and Calgary oil leases had been brought to an end. The government, therefore, found the chief source of revenue—the tariff—drying up. To make matters worse, the war broke out while the country was slowly struggling to put her house in order and was totally unprepared for a second, and even greater convulsion in eighteen months.

At the outbreak of war the railways provided the most serious problem, from the standpoint of Dominion finances. By the beginning of the century it had already become evident that the single track line of the Canadian Pacific Railway would soon become inadequate to handle the rapidly increasing output of western farms. Consequently the government and the Grand Trunk Railway had combined to provide a second transcontinental system. The government was to build the line from Winnipeg eastward and lease it to the Com-

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pany, while the latter was to build that from Winnipeg to the Pacific coast at its own expense but with government subsidies. The outbreak of hostilities found this system still uncompleted. It was deemed imperative to press forward construction so as to provide Canada with a second line of communications between east and west, and with an additional outlet for western produce, and to bring the enormous investment already made to a producing stage as quickly as possible. Meantime the Canadian Northern Railway, which had begun as a western system, had invaded Ontario in 1910 and was building through the Rockies to Vancouver when war was declared. Thus there were two unfinished trans-continental systems which had to be pressed forward to completion at war prices if the country was not to suffer the even greater losses that would be involved in the deterioration of work already completed, and in the payment of interest during the war on the money invested. In addition to these two systems the government had, in the fiscal year 1912-13, given way to western pressure and commenced construction of the Hudson Bay Railway as a national undertaking, and it was deemed unwise to resist the demand from the same quarter that construction of this line too be pushed forward. Table I¹ gives an indication of the very heavy burden which these

TABLE I¹
Dominion Expenditure on Railways
(in thousands of dollars)

	CAPITAL ACCOUNT			Consolidated Fund	Other Disbursements		Total
	I.C.R.	N.T. & H.B.R.	Govt. Rys.		Loans	Subsidies	
1913	2,509	16,378	....	14,433	11,133	4,935	49,390
1914	4,477	19,772	....	15,667	21,372	19,036	80,325
1915	7,484	17,421	....	14,603	31,587	5,191	76,288
1916	9,211	14,712	....	21,448	....	1,400	46,772
1917	5,482	9,254	....	27,874	25,664	959	69,234
1918 . . . . .	....	1,892	32,999	35,293	33,004	720	103,910
1919 . . . . .	....	2,285	14,827	46,053	60,126	43	123,336
1920	3,288	762	22,307	9,602	45,780	334	82,074
1921	731	50	6,221	9,990	100,662	....	117,556
1922	106	34	1,239	8,624	97,950	....	107,954
1923	59	27	1,313	7,691	77,863	....	86,954
1924	196	207	—94	2,126	23,710	—1,523	24,623
1925	—124	24	1,996	9,934	11,830
1926	—2	—30	745	10,000	10,713
	33,548	82,672	78,812	216,150	548,789	31,088	991,061

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railways laid on the shoulders of government and country in the years of war and reconstruction.

The table serves to remind one that the Intercolonial Railway was, in the opening years of the war, even more unsuccessful than usual in balancing its accounts, and that it was not until the fiscal years 1917-18 and 1918-19 that the heavy military traffic provided it with a sufficient revenue. The National Transcontinental reached its peak of expenditure in 1912-13 at \$15,000,000, thereafter declining to \$6,600,000 in 1916-17. The Hudson Bay Railway figures—\$4,500,000 in 1913-14, \$4,900,000 in 1915-16, \$1,900,000 in 1917-18, and \$500,000 in 1918-19—indicate the fact that the temporary abandonment of this work only took place *when the war was over*. Meantime the italicized figures under "Other Disbursements: Loans" represent advances to the Canadian Northern, down to its being taken over by the government in 1917, of \$56,500,000 and to the Grand Trunk and Grand Trunk Pacific of \$42,200,000, in addition to G.T.P. bond purchases to the extent of \$33,000,000 to maintain their price in the market, down to the passing of both into the hands of a receivership in 1917. The "Canadian Government Railways" were formed in that year by the uniting of the Canadian Northern with the National Transcontinental and I.C.R. and connected systems. The effect of this amalgamation is shown in a sharp decline in capital expenditures as shown under these separate headings and the appearance of a new and formidable item "Government Railways", which demanded very large sums during the next three years for the purposes of rehabilitating and organizing the lines—\$33,000,000 in 1917-18 and \$22,300,000 in 1919-20. The rise under Consolidated Fund account from \$27,900,000 in 1916-17 to \$46,000,000 in 1918-19 is to be explained in the same way. In 1920 the Grand Trunk and Grand Trunk Pacific receiverships ended with the taking over of these railways also by the government, the whole of the publicly owned lines being now known as the Canadian National Railways. At the same time the finances of the system were separated from the general budget. Expenditures from 1921-22 onward, under Capital and Consolidated Fund Accounts either relate to the Hudson Bay Railway (not

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yet taken over), or to old obligations which it was felt the government ought to fulfil out of these funds. Assistance to the new system, since 1920, has been credited to "Loans", under "Other Disbursements." It is encouraging to note that these loans have declined from \$45,780,000 in 1920-21 to \$10,000,000 in 1925-26.

The significance of these railway figures will be seen when we place them in relationship to our war and other expenditures of the period. Thus, our total cost for War and Demobilization, to the close of the year 1925-26, was \$1,694,000,000, while that of our railways was \$991,061,000, or 58% as much. It must also be remembered that only about \$200,000,000 of this was for Capital expenditure, or in other words, constructional work; \$800,000,000, or *approximately half of our war bill*, was spent on bolstering up our system. Or, to put the position another way, the total figure for bonuses, loans, stock subscriptions, cash subsidies, bond guarantees, etc., etc., to private companies, and for expenditures of all kinds on government railways from 1850 to 1926 was \$1,790,000,000, of which approximately 55% was incurred during *the period of war and reconstruction*. What proportion of this billion dollars spent on railways since 1914 may properly be charged as a war expense it is impossible to say. Some portion of it is due to the fact that the war's demands for capital made it difficult, if not impossible, for railways to raise money by ordinary market financing, thus placing the burden on the government; some that the war caused a sharp rise in prices, and so enormously increased the capital cost of the 10,000 miles of lines under construction; and some that the rise in prices was much more rapid than railway rates, thus leaving the railways in the condition of being constantly worse off than before the war, and causing the people to pay in taxes what they would normally have paid in rates. One can only conclude that a considerable proportion of the five hundred millions shown under "Loans" should be written off as a subsidy to the railways, and charged as a war cost.

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Turning now to the actual costs of the war, Table II² fairly well indicates the enormous burden we have assumed. The "Interest on Debt" column includes that on pre-war debt, as it would be next to impossible to separate it from the war debt. Otherwise the table includes only war costs. The size of these figures may be indicated by the fact that only in 1912 did the Dominion revenue become large enough to meet the interest on the debt in 1926; that down to 1890 it was only large enough in the years 1883 and 1889 to pay our 1926 pension bill; and that war and demobilization between 1914-15 and 1919-20 cost more than all our national revenues from 1867 to 1909 inclusive. The total expenditure on debt, pensions, war and demobilization was \$3,233,000,000, to the end of 1926, a figure almost exactly equal to our revenues from 1867 to Armistice Day, 1918.

The encouraging side of this table is to be found in the fact that the annual burden for interest on debt declined about nine million dollars between 1921 and 1926, both because of the conversion of maturing obligations into new ones at lower rates of interest, and because of the actual reduction of debt through the retiring of large blocks of maturing bonds. Furthermore, although the Pensions burden may seem to be moving in the wrong direction, since the figure for 1926 is the largest in the table, this can be explained by the dis-

Table II²
Debt, Pensions, War, and Domobilization
(in thousands of dollars)

	Interest on Debt	War Pensions	Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment	War and Demobiliz'n	Totals
1913	12,605	....	....	....	12,605
1914	12,893	....	....	....	12,893
1915	15,736	....	....	60,750	76,487
1916	21,421	307	....	166,197	187,926
1917	35,802	2,447	....	306,488	344,738
1918	47,843	7,262	....	343,836	398,942
1919	77,431	16,598	....	446,519	540,549
1920	107,527	23,308	45,869	346,612	523,317
1921	139,551	35,375	35,174	16,997	227,098
1922	135,247	34,828	17,781	1,544	189,401
1923	137,892	32,025	13,365	4,464	187,747
1924	136,237	32,344	10,312	446	179,339
1925	135,789	33,706	8,981	506	177,983
1926	130,691	35,970	7,734	191	174,587
	1,145,667	254,174	139,220	1,694,557	3,233,620

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charge of large numbers of disabled soldiers, who had formerly been in military hospitals, or other institutions, and the consequent transfer of obligations connected with them from "Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment" to "Pensions."

Table III³ summarizes our expenditures for the whole period. One is familiar with the oft-repeated story of the insatiable demands made by modern warfare upon the resources of a country, and some figures, which seem to bear this out, have been given. But, great as our war bill has been, when compared with our previous revenues, this table serves to show that it was only 52% of our total expenditure for the period under review. We have already noted that our railways were responsible for a billion dollars of our non-military budget. The "Defence" figures convey a very different impression. They remind us that, with all our vaunted equality of status we are to-day leaning more heavily on Britain for protection, than we were, wealth considered, before the war. But it is probably at least as justifiable to have our "navy" in the dry dock as to have it going the rounds of Maritime political picnics, as it was before the war. "Other Revenue Charges" show a sharp rise during the period for reasons definitely ascribable to the war. "Charges of Management of the Debt" rose from \$483,000 in 1913 to \$992,000

Table III³
SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES
(in thousands of dollars)

Year	Debt		Railways	Revenue Charges		Miscel.	Total
	Pensions and War	Defence		Prov. Subsidies	Other		
1913 . .	12,605	11,201	49,390	13,211	14,876	54,304	155,589
1914 . .	12,893	13,157	80,325	11,280	17,529	72,427	207,613
1915 . .	76,487	11,350	76,288	11,451	20,556	83,551	279,685
1916 . .	187,926	5,835	46,772	11,451	20,592	67,124	339,702
1917 . .	344,738	5,538	69,234	11,469	21,023	71,863	523,867
1918 . .	398,942	4,982	103,910	11,369	23,355	67,104	609,664
1919 . .	540,549	4,045	123,336	11,327	24,699	53,201	757,168
1920 . .	523,317	5,894	82,074	11,490	26,729	136,524	786,030
1921 . .	227,098	14,529	117,656	11,490	30,311	127,216	528,302
1922 . .	189,401	17,417	107,954	12,211	36,371	100,172	463,528
1923 . .	187,747	14,155	86,954	12,207	35,573	98,097	434,735
1924 . .	179,339	12,371	24,623	12,386	36,322	105,546	370,589
1925 . .	177,983	11,607	11,830	12,281	38,243	99,223	351,169
1926 . .	174,587	14,113	10,713	12,375	42,504	100,354	354,648
<hr/>							
	3,233,620	146,198	991,061	166,002	388,687	1,236,715	6,162,316

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in 1921. "Premium, Discount and Exchange" (to which account were charged and credited losses and gains connected with the making of sterling payments in London on debt and war account, and dollar payments in New York in connection with our borrowings there), rose from \$19,000 in 1913 to \$3,300,000 in 1922. Customs and Excise expenditures rose from \$3,994,000 in 1913 to \$5,955,000 in 1920. It should be noted under this head, however, that, although prices have been falling since 1921 the charges have continued to mount, touching \$10,305,000 in 1926 owing to higher salaries and increased efforts to cope with smuggling along the international boundary. Post Office charges are also included here as being offset by revenues. They rose from \$10,882,000 in 1913 to \$20,696,000 in 1920 (due to war conditions), and to \$32,099,000 in 1926, owing to increased salaries and more efficient service. Thus it is seen that the burden under "Other Revenue" Charges has risen, during the period, from \$14,876,000 to \$42,504,000 and that a large part of the responsibility for the rise is to be laid at the door of the war.

One aim of this table is to isolate the expenditures of the developmental departments from those which might at best be described as necessary evils, as well as from those, which, while developmental, yield, like the Post Office, a large return to offset the expenditure. The Railways also have been placed in a class by themselves because, as has been shown, they bulk so largely in the expenditures of the period. All developmental expenditures, then, save those of the two departments in question, have been brought together under the head of "Miscellaneous." The chief Departments included are Agriculture, Canals, Immigration, Interior, Justice, Labour, Legislation, Marine and Fisheries, Public Works, and Trade and Commerce. The significant fact brought out by these figures is that these central departments spent a total sum which rose from \$54,304,000 in 1913 to \$83,551,000 in 1915 and then steadily fell to \$53,201,000 in 1919. Thus, despite a rise in prices of 250% the cash outlay was, in the last year of the war back to the 1913 level. In other words, the government had cut its services to the public to about 40% of the

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pre-war level. The departments, on which the chief weight of the war fell, will be seen by examining Table IV⁴.

These figures show that over a third of the 1912-13 expenditure was connected with Public Works and that almost the only cut of importance during the war came under this head. When the purchasing power of money is considered it becomes further evident that every department must have seriously curtailed services (or cut out wastes), but the Public Works Department cut its outlay from \$19,525,000 to \$5,736,000. In 1913 this department expended 36% of developmental disbursements, but by 1919 this had been reduced to 22%. It may also be noted in passing that this figure was still further depressed by 1926 to a bare 20%. The sharp increase in Developmental expenditures after the close of the war is due to the launching of the Canadian Government Merchant Marine, which took \$33,000,000 in 1920, \$9,000,000 in 1921, and a constantly diminishing amount thereafter until in 1926 it was reduced to \$668,000. The last four years' outlays are termed "loans", but we may well doubt, from past experience, whether the money will ever be returned or even interest paid on it.

The item "Provincial Subsidies" in Table IV serves to remind one that American critics of our system seldom recognize the fact that about 10% of our pre-war national revenues were paid out to the provinces as subsidies, and that this was part of the price of Confederation. Only in the Provinces of Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia, which derive large revenues from forests and mines, do the subsidies assume small proportions. Indeed, until 1900 direct taxation was all but unknown in Canada, and only became important when the inflation of prices during the war reduced the purchasing power of subsidies to less than half of their former value.

Table IV⁴
Expenditures of Developmental Departments
(in thousands of dollars)

Dept.	1913	1919	Dept.	1913	1919
Agriculture	2,647	3,434	Marine & Fisheries	4,579	3,694
Canals (capital) .	2,259	2,211	Public Works . . .	19,525	12,000
Immigration	1,427	1,112	Trade & Commerce.	614	1,608
Interior	4,280	4,218	Miscellaneous . . .	16,225	22,191
Justice	1,335	1,495			
Legislation	1,379	1,766	Totals	54,304	53,210

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Canadian federal figures are not, therefore, comparable to American inasmuch as a very considerable portion of provincial, as well as of Dominion expenditures have been, until recently, financed out of Dominion revenue. Furthermore, in the column "Miscellaneous" there are included the Public Works Department figures, as we have already noted. A large part of them is made up of items that, in the United States to-day, would be left to the states or even towns. Indeed they were left in Canada to provinces and municipalities until the period of "abounding revenues" (as Sir Herbert Ames used to style them), before the war. Table V⁵ provides a list of petty works taken over by the Dominion from the Provinces. It is from the list, in the Public Accounts known as "Harbour and River Improvements", but could be duplicated from that of "Buildings." The figures speak for themselves. That they are representative may be seen from the fact that of the 129 harbour works in Nova Scotia, in the same year, 39 had expenditures of less than \$1,000, of the 28 in Prince Edward Island 15, of the 65 in New Brunswick 22, of the 133 in Quebec 50, of the 89 in Ontario 17, of the 10 in the Prairie Provinces none, and of the 46 in British Columbia 8. For the Dominion as a whole the smallness of these harbour works may be judged from the fact that, of the total of 500, only 3 were for amounts of over \$500,000, 6 for sums between \$100,000 and \$500,000, 7 between \$50,000 and \$100,000, 13 between \$25,000 and \$50,000, 44 between \$10,000 and \$25,000, 269 between \$1,000 and \$10,000, and 153 under \$1,000. The nature of many of these items and the amount of real Dominion responsibility for them may be illustrated from the Mani-

Table V⁵
Harbour Works, Department of Public Works, 1912-13

Province	Total No.	Smallest Work		Cost
		Town	Work	
Prince Ed. Id.....	28	H'd Peters' Bay	Reconstruction of wharf.	\$ 2.24
Nova Scotia.....	129	Cole Harbour	Wharf	22.55
New Brunswick..	65	Green Point	Breakwater	38.44
Quebec.....	133	Ste Anne des Monts	Deep water wharf	50.42
Ontario.....	89	Belleville	Harbour improvements . .	26.72
Manitoba.....	6	Pelican Lake	Wharf	3492.12
Saskatchewan...	2	Prince Albert	Wharf	9939.54
Alberta.....	2	Edmonton	Wharf	9660.10
British Columbia.	46	Kalso	Wharf	20.27

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toba instance, quoted in Table V, the project being in connection with the Provincial sanitarium at Pelican Lake. This policy of undertaking what are really Provincial or even municipal works may be compared with that of the United States where the present government insists that the works needed to protect the Mississippi valley states from a repetition of the 1927 floods are largely chargeable to the states concerned.

Revenues

Before turning to an analysis of the actual revenues of the Dominion, by means of which it was sought to meet our war and other national burdens, it may be well to make certain observations on taxation in general.

(a) The shells, guns, clothing, equipment, etc., etc., with which our troops had to be supplied in unheard-of quantities, had all to be provided by the generation then living. The actual burden of the war could not be left to future generations to bear. Those unborn would only be paying to others then alive such sums as we might, in war-time, have contracted for on their behalf. But the war generation could not, in any way, get possession of this future wealth. The *government* might postpone the obligation by borrowing, but the nation could not. Whether by taxing itself or by lending itself the money, it would have to find it. Those alive in 1914 had not only to produce the troops to fight but the entire supply of war materials for their equipment, and pay for both. This enormous demand on the existing population could only be met by saving. Luxuries had to be foregone so that the labour might be released from these trades and the cash raised to produce the supplies for our armies. It is true that by borrowing abroad the nation might postpone the obligation, but Canada did comparatively little of this during the war.

(b) Heavy taxation, either of the luxuries or of the incomes of the well-to-do, may be defended during a period of war, on the ground that it discourages or effectively prevents lavish expenditures on luxuries, on the part of those not sufficiently patriotic to be willing to contract their purchases of their own accord.

(c) Heavy taxation avoids the inflation of credit, and of prices which large scale borrowing seems inevitably to bring in its train.

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(d) Heavy taxation avoids the complaint of those who go into the army, that while they fight others live in luxury and ease at home, by mobilizing the wealth of the country to assist the mobilized manpower to win the war.

(e) Heavy taxation during the war enables the country, in considerable part, to pay for the war while it is in progress, and thus avoid the crushing burden of taxation which has always come at the close of wars just when industry has had its war market cut off and is seeking to adjust itself anew to peace conditions.

These principles may be sound enough but it is not possible, over-night, on the declaration of war, to enhance taxation to the extent of being able to meet all obligations out of revenue. It always takes a year or more, after a new tax is imposed, before funds begin to flow into the treasury, at the permanent rate. Furthermore, the administrative problem of organizing the collection of a new tax is enormous, and to undertake the task during the first hectic weeks of a war would be impossible. Little can be done at that time beyond enhancing existing tax rates. Of course, not all taxes lend themselves to this treatment. It may well be that any increase in revenue could only, in certain instances, be secured by lowering rates, especially in certain protective tariffs, and that others would experience reduced returns if either enhanced or lowered. In some instances, too, to alter the rates would only result in striking a blow at industries already tottering under the shock of war. It is thus evident that not every item in the tax schedule can be made to yield additional revenue. This may be illustrated from the British revenue system during the war. From Table VI^e it will be

Table VI^e
British Tax Revenue Classified
(in thousands of Pounds)

	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19
Customs	35,450	38,662	59,606	70,561	71,261	102,780
Excise	39,590	42,303	61,210	56,380	38,772	59,440
Estate Duties	27,359	28,382	31,035	31,232	31,674	30,262
Stamps	9,966	7,577	6,764	7,878	8,300	12,438
Land Tax	700	630	660	640	665	630
House Duty	2,000	1,930	1,990	1,940	1,960	1,850
Income Tax	47,250	62,400	128,321	205,033	239,510	291,186
Excess Profits . . . . .	....	....	140	139,920	220,214	285,028
Land Values Duty	715	412	363	521	685	664
	163,029	189,305	290,088	514,105	613,040	784,278

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seen that Britain derived her enhanced revenue as follows: £285,000,000 from Excess Profits Tax, £243,000,000 from Income Tax, £67,000,000 from Customs Duties, and £20,000,000 from Excise Duties. It is thus evident that Britain was dependent mainly on Excess Profits and Income Taxes, and that had the war ended at the beginning of 1917 the former would have played but a trifling role. The Excess Profits Tax was a new one, introduced in 1915 but not fully effective for *two years* thereafter, that is, not until the war had been in progress for three years. Britain's experience therefore serves to emphasize the moral that it is useless to wait until the beginning of a war to improvise new forms of taxation as they only yield substantial revenues after the lapse of at least two years. On the other hand, her income tax was of long standing. During the last four months of the fiscal year 1914-15 the tax was doubled and the response was immediate, the increase in revenue from this source being, as compared with the previous year, from £47,000,000 to £62,000,000. In the meantime enhanced Customs Duties had yielded only a bare six millions. In the first full fiscal year of war, 1915-16, revenues rose by £101,000,000, of which £62,000,000 came from Income Tax, and the balance in about equal amounts from Customs and Excise Duties. Had it been necessary to improvise the Income Tax during the war, nothing can be more certain than that the machinery could not have been put in operation sooner than in the case of the Excess Profits Tax, and Britain's financial strength, in the eyes of her allies, her enemies, and the world at large, would have been correspondingly impaired. It is true that Britain could look to her Customs and Excise Duties to an exceptional extent because her free trade policy had resulted in her imposing duties for revenue only, and therefore low in amount, and on only a few selected commodities like tea, coffee, sugar, rum, wines and other luxuries. This meant that, even though her trade with all of Europe save France, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Scandinavia was largely cut off, she was able, by widening and heightening her tariff wall, to increase revenues from this source from the very beginning of the war. As to the other sources of revenue only this need be said, that though they are not large in amounts, they diversify the sys-

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tem of taxation and render it more just in its incidence than it would otherwise have been. They one and all illustrate the point already made that not every tax can be made to yield additional revenue in time of need.

Turning now to Canadian taxation we find a very different situation. The war descended upon us while we were struggling in the depths of an economic depression. Our imports were dropping off sharply because of the contraction of foreign investments in Canada; because of our financial stringency, and because our tariff was encouraging us to buy the products of our factories at home. The depression had been aggravated because of the over-expansion of our towns and cities, especially in the west—an over-expansion which had resulted in such grievous indebtedness that the war shook the financial fabric of most of our municipalities to their foundations. The additional population on which many of them had depended to assist in carrying the tax burdens could not now be looked for, and not a few were temporarily compelled to repudiate their obligations, especially in Saskatchewan and Alberta. In their effort to pay their creditors our municipalities, at the beginning of the war, were forced to impose very heavy taxes—so heavy as to give Canada, when added to Dominion levies, as Dr. Skelton pointed out in *Canadian Federal Finance I*, a per capita taxation, national, provincial and local combined, in 1913, of \$31.50 as compared with \$30.90 in the United States and \$24.63 in the British Isles. This combination of circumstances united to aggravate greatly the seriousness of the depression from which Canada was suffering when war broke out.

In view of the above figures of pre-war burden, it is interesting to note our actual tax legislation during the war. On the outbreak of hostilities the duties on coffee, tea, sugar, spirituous liquors and tobacco were all enhanced. In 1915 a further flat increase of 5% was made on all British Preference goods, and 7½% on all other classes, whether formerly free or not. In 1918 still further increases were imposed on tea, coffee, tobacco, matches, playing cards, automobiles, gramophones, player pianos, etc., and excise imposed on such as were produced in Canada. Since that date the only enhancement of the tariff was the quadrupling of the Customs and

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Excise duties on spirits. The government had, however, as early as 1919, begun to respond to western pressure and "get off the backs of the people." The 5% levy on British preference goods, and 7½% levy on other goods were repealed, and, in addition, from 2½ to 5% was removed from various agricultural implements. Thus the reduction on implements was from 27½% to 20% on some and to 17½% on others. The tariff on cement was also lowered, to assist the needed construction of houses, there having been few erected since 1914. The tax on coffee was also reduced by 5 cents under the general tariff and 3 cents under the preference. In 1922 the serious economic condition in the west, owing to heavy taxation, and loss of markets in poverty-stricken Europe, forced a further reduction on farm implements, sugar, boots and shoes. In 1923 a cut was made of 10% on all goods, save liquors, under the British preference, and a special reduction was made on the sugar duty in the general schedules. In 1924 there were further reductions in duties on implements and other instruments of production used in agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing. In 1925 the coal schedules were adjusted, some up and some down, in the interests of our mines. Definite cuts were also made in certain schedules of instruments of production overlooked the year before. Finally, in 1926 duties on certain foods, including coffee, and on automobiles were reduced. Thus, in the aggregate, there has been, on paper, a formidable reduction in our tariff wall. To what extent the critics are right in saying that our manufacturers have not suffered as the values at which various commodities have been admitted, have been scaled up, it is impossible to say.

Turning to the tax on sales, it should be noted that it partakes of the nature of a levy on consumption. It was imposed at the beginning of 1915, and remained unaltered until 1921 when it was increased, and the tax on the sale of foreign goods doubled. In 1923 the schedules were adjusted. But it was not until the sessions of 1924 and 1925 that the knife was finally applied and the tax seriously reduced.

Stamps on proprietary medicines, perfumes, money orders and postal notes, wines and liquors, imposed in 1915, were largely taxes on consumption. Taxes on railway and

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steamship tickets, berths, and pullman car seats, telegrams, etc., fell partly on consumption and partly on business, the former predominating. These were imposed in 1915 and enhanced in 1917, 1920 and 1921. Apart from the maximum tax on cheques, made in 1923, there had been no lightening of this burden up to the end of the period under review.

Turning now to taxes on production, it may be noted that the first were imposed at the beginning of the war. Early in 1915 a tax of $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1% was imposed on the average circulation of bank notes. As these might be expected to expand with prices, the tax was elastic. The rate has never been altered, and the effect of the tax may be summarized by saying that our total volume of note circulation was never so large, even in 1920, as to cause it to yield an appreciable revenue. From the standpoint of the banks the chief result was to cause the abandonment of many branches which had been established chiefly for the profit in the greater note circulation.

Trust and Loan Companies were at the same time taxed 1% on Canadian income, and Insurance Companies on Canadian premiums. These were definitely inelastic, as the companies' tariffs remained unaltered despite rising prices. They yielded trifling amounts and were therefore unimportant save from the standpoint of widening the basis of taxation.

The Business Profits tax was a new impost of decided significance in our revenue system. It was imposed at the end of 1915 when the levy was fixed at 25% of the amount by which the profits of an incorporated company exceeded 7% per annum, and the profits of an unincorporated concern exceeded 10%. Businesses with a capital of less than \$50,000 were exempt. In 1917 the tax was graduated so as to provide a tax of 50% on profits of between 15% and 20% per annum, and one of 75% on greater profits. In 1918 the exemption limit was reduced from \$50,000 to \$25,000. In 1919 it was felt that such small companies were being unduly taxed and the rate on concerns with a capital of between \$25,000 and \$50,000 was fixed at 25% on the amount by which profits exceeded 10%, instead of 7%, per annum as before. In 1920 the tax schedules were reduced. Profits below 10% were no longer taxed in any case. Those from 10% to 14% were

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reduced from 25% to 20%, those from 15% to 19% from 50% to 30%. Those with profits of from 20% to 30% were reduced from 75% to 50%, and those over 30% from 75% to 60%. In 1924 the tax was withdrawn with retroactive effect as from December 31, 1920. Since then taxes under this head have related only to small sums due on profits made prior to 1921. The tax can only be justified as a war measure, and then only when, like the British tax, it is based on the amount by which war profits exceed pre-war profits. Such a levy would be a true war profits tax. This may, however, be said in favour of our tax as well as that of Britain. Both were elastic, expanding rapidly with prices and taking from concerns most of the profits which accrued from inflation. They did, therefore, respond to war-revenue needs as the consumption taxes did not.

There remains only the Income Tax to be noted. This was imposed in 1917 after great searchings of heart by the Dominion government, on the ground that, being a direct tax it should be left to the provinces. The original tax provided for a levy of 4% on incomes of unmarried persons or childless widowers or widows, of over \$2,000, and on those over \$3,000 of other persons. In addition there was a graduated supertax, rising from 2% on incomes of from \$6,000 to \$10,000, up to 25% on those over \$100,000. In 1918 the limit for unmarried persons, and childless widows and widowers was lowered to \$1,000, and for others to \$2,000, with an additional exemption of \$200 for each child under 16 years of age. The supertax was extended upward at the same time on incomes over \$200,000 so as to provide a scale rising to 50% on those over \$1,000,000. A surtax was at the same time provided, graduated from 5% of the combined tax and supertax on incomes of \$6,000 up to 25% of tax and supertax imposed on incomes over \$200,000. Corporations were to pay 6% on all incomes over \$3,000 but no supertax or surtax. In 1919 the surtax was increased so as to provide a scale extending up from 1% on incomes of \$5,000 to 65% on those over \$1,000,000. In 1920 all schedules on incomes over \$5,000 were increased by 5%. In 1922 the allowances for children were extended from the sixteenth up to the eighteenth year, and were increased from \$200 to \$300 for each child. In

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1924 these allowances were further raised to \$500. In 1926 the exemption limit was raised from \$2,000 to \$3,000 in the case of married persons, or those with dependents, and from \$1,000 to \$1,500 in the case of other persons. The schedules were also lowered by 10% throughout, save that the simple tax on incomes under \$5,000 was reduced from 4% to 2%. It will thus be seen that alterations downward, until 1925, were definitely in favour of those with small incomes.

Table VII⁷ summarizes the results of our war tax legislation in actual revenues. It will be seen from it that in 1914 the sole sources of tax revenues were Customs and Excise. Now as our Customs revenue had depended, to a not inconsiderable extent, on imports of capital, it followed that, with the declaration of war, our customs revenue was bound to decline. Various enhancements in the tariff were made but all to no effect. Not until 1917 did the actual cash return rise again to the old level, and then only after a sharp rise in prices. It fell from \$111,700,000 in 1912-13 to \$75,900,000 in 1914-15, then slowly rose to its peak, \$168,800,000, in 1919-20. From this point, with the collapse in prices, and in obedience to the sharp cut in the tariff, it fell 38% to \$105,700,000 in 1921-22. Further reductions in the Customs tariff since that date have been considerable, as we have noted, yet revenues have steadily risen to \$127,300,000 in 1925-26, and this despite the con-

Table VII⁷
Dominion Taxation Classified
(in thousands of dollars)

Year	Customs	Excise		Income Tax	Taxes on Business		Total
		Ordinary	Sales, etc.		Business Profits	Banks, Insur., Trust and Loan Co's.	
1913 . .	111,764	21,447	....	....	....	....	133,212
1914 . .	104,691	21,452	....	....	....	....	126,143
1915 . .	75,941	21,479	98	....	....	....	97,679
1916 . .	98,649	22,428	1,536	....	....	....	124,666
1917 . .	134,043	24,412	2,059	....	12,506	1,736	174,578
1918 . .	144,172	27,168	2,227	....	21,271	1,881	196,720
1919 . .	147,169	30,342	11,888	9,349	32,970	1,969	233,688
1920 . .	168,796	42,698	15,587	20,262	44,145	2,083	293,574
1921 . .	163,266	37,188	78,803	46,381	40,841	2,359	368,770
1922 . .	105,686	36,755	73,656	78,684	22,815	2,327	319,926
1923 . .	118,056	35,761	106,482	59,711	13,031	2,409	335,453
1924 . .	121,500	38,181	120,676	54,204	4,752	2,403	341,718
1925 . .	108,146	38,603	85,810	56,248	2,704	2,401	293,914
1926 . .	127,355	42,923	98,097	55,571	1,173	2,453	328,135

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stant decline in prices. When a reduction in the tariff results in increased revenue the presumption is that former schedules were higher than was justifiable, from a fiscal standpoint. It may be argued in reply that the returning prosperity was the cause of the increased revenues, and this is to a considerable extent true, but it is equally true that the prosperity was retarded by the heavy burden of taxation, and especially by its regressive character.

We have noted various enhancements to the excise revenues. The table shows that here too the taxes were disappointing. Revenues rose from \$21,447,000 in 1913-14 to \$30,342,000 in 1918-19, whereas prices had doubled. Since 1920 revenues have remained constant despite the decline of 36% in prices.

The Sales tax, standing as it did at \$11,900,000 in 1918-19, was of little merit as a war measure. The doubling of the tax on foreign goods in 1920 had the effect of increasing revenues, in the face of falling prices, until 1923-24, when the total reached the figure of \$120,600,000. Since then cuts in the tax have brought about a decline in the yield to \$98,100,000 in 1925-26.

So far we have concerned ourselves with revenue from taxes on consumption only. When we turn to Business taxes we find that taxes on Banks, Insurance and Trust and Loan Companies fluctuated between \$1,750,000, the figure for 1916-17, and \$2,450,000 in 1925-26. Such narrow fluctuations and such small figures indicate the inelasticity and unimportance of these sources of revenue.

Business Profits Revenue began with \$12,500,000 in 1916-17 and rose to \$44,100,000 in 1919-20. The tax has been withdrawn but its slowness of action is shown in the small collections still being made on profits earned before 1921.

There remains but the Income tax. It was imposed in 1917 but yielded revenue for the first time in 1918-19—a meagre \$9,350,000. There had been those who had forecasted the impossibility of collecting any revenue of sufficient size to be worth the expense involved. Great was therefore the general surprise and rejoicing when, in 1919-20 the figure jumped to \$20,250,000, but, it is safe to say that no one dreamed of its ever rising to its 1921-22 peak, \$78,600,000.

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Reductions in the schedules in that year caused a recession in subsequent years to \$55,600,000 in 1925-26. This tax has been the outstanding success of the war period, and, if it remains to broaden our tax system, our heirs may yet live to bless the Germans for giving it to them.

We have now examined the various taxes imposed and the revenues derived therefrom. In so doing we have had occasion to remark on the varying amount of elasticity possessed by different forms of taxation. We shall now enquire more fully into this very important aspect of war taxation.

Different taxes vary in their elasticity, that is, their responsiveness to enhanced schedules. A war tax, to be satisfactory, must rise more rapidly even than war prices, and that is asking a great deal. Turning to the tables we find that the British Customs and Excise Taxes were raised from the very beginning of the war. The reason was that their tariff was for revenue only, and so comparatively low, and on few commodities. It was therefore capable of being both widened and heightened before it could be compared with our tariff wall, though of course some of our schedules were beyond the point of maximum returns. During the war efforts were made to stiffen the tariff from time to time, but prices rose still more rapidly. The effect was that the large number of commodities entering under specific duties proved a drag on receipts. Thus the nominal rise in revenue was from £35,450,000 to £102,780,000, but the rise in prices had been 210.8%, so that the real rise was to not more than £49,000,000. Our Customs record was infinitely worse. Our revenue rose from \$111,764,000 to \$147,169,000, while our prices rose 209%, leaving us far worse off than before, that is with no enhancement of revenue out of which to meet war costs. British Excise revenues rose from £39,590,000 to £59,440,000, or less than 60%. Like all other British taxes save Income and Excess Profits Taxes, it therefore was worse than useless for war purposes. Our Excise revenue meantime rose from \$21,447,000 to \$30,342,000, an even worse showing than that of Britain, and so leaving one to infer that it is useless to expect this tax to respond to exceptional need. Our Sales Tax had, by 1919, only yielded \$11,900,000, though it has since risen to \$120,700,000. As it

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had been established in 1915 it is clearly not a tax to be depended on in an emergency unless it is already in operation. This tax is on an *ad valorem* basis and so does adjust itself, with considerable speed to changes in prices. If it did not appear to do so after 1920 it was due to the enhancement of it in 1921. The effect of this, in the face of falling prices, was that revenue from this source rose from \$38,100,000 in 1920-21 to \$100,990,000 in 1923-24. Cuts in the tax in that year reduced the figure for 1925-26 to \$74,000,000.

Stamp taxes are more largely specific than *ad valorem* and so do not readily follow the movements of prices. In war time they are at best but subsidiary means of securing revenue. Enhancements to them are almost certainly bound to be more than cancelled by rises in prices.

To sum up, then, Britain's consumption taxes yielded her an increase from £89,547,000 to £175,547,000, or a rise of 197%, as against a rise of 210.8% in the index number. Meantime Canada's consumption taxes had increased from \$126,143,00 to \$189,400,000 or by 150%, whereas the index number had risen by 202%. That is, our real revenue from these sources had fallen in purchasing power 25%. The conclusion therefore seems to be that if consumption taxes are to be depended on in an emergency they must include the Sales Tax, and that this tax must be kept in operation so as to be ready when the occasion arises.

We have already suggested one reason why consumption taxes as a whole fail. The nation had to provide *all* the gigantic quantities of munitions of war, and pay the wages, upkeep, etc., of the army, as well as provide for the dependents, out of cash found somehow at home, whether by taxation or borrowing, and this while large numbers of former producers were serving in the defence forces of the Empire. Clearly those left behind could only provide these sums by consuming less, and equally clearly, only by workers being released from the luxury trades, could the war workers be found. Thus it is evident that, however satisfactory consumption taxes may have been in former wars (and Income taxes have been imposed by Britain in all big wars from the Commonwealth period), they are wholly inadequate to meet the needs of modern conflicts, since consumption must sharply

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decline and revenues based upon it correspondingly dry up.

Even more, in the years following a modern war there must be arrears of needed consumption to be made up somehow. At first prices may be depended upon to rise so that the burden of consumption taxes will not be felt, but when prices begin to fall their weight becomes absolutely crushing. Thus, at the close of the recent war, prices passed their peak in May, 1920, in Canada and in October of that year in Britain. Meantime consumption taxes rose from \$189,400,000 in 1918-19 to \$279,199,000 in 1920-21 in Canada, and from £175,547,000 to £368,131,000 in Britain. The following years brought a collapse in prices. In Britain, between 1920 and 1924 they fell 46% but consumption taxes fell only 17%, that is from £368,131,000 to £278,251,000. Meantime the decline in prices in Canada had been 36% while taxes had fallen only from \$279,199,000 to \$232,561,000, or 16%.

Turning to business taxes, we need only note in passing that the Bank tax on note circulation is elastic, since all price fluctuations work themselves out in alterations to note circulation. On the other hand, taxes on Trust and Loan, and Insurance Companies, are based on their net profits, and premiums paid, and these are subject to long term contracts, and so are highly inelastic. The Business Profits Tax is very sensitive to price fluctuations and prosperity. From this angle it is as satisfactory a tax, no better and no worse than the Sales Tax. But there are other arguments against it which will be considered later.

The Income Tax has proven itself exceptionally elastic. In Britain, where it is old, it responded instantly to enhancement on the outbreak of war. Our limited experience completely corroborates theirs, that it is an absolutely indispensable tax for a national government to possess. The country should retain the Stamp and Sales taxes, but above all it must insist on retention of the Income Tax for the same reason as we keep our militia—preparedness for whatever the future may bring forth. Those who would have us go back to Excise and Customs as the sole sources of Dominion revenue are more interested in reducing their own burden than in any desire that Canada should be prepared with an adequate tax system.

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But there is another reason why we must insist on retaining the Income Tax. Our Customs, Excise and Sales Taxes are largely regressive in incidence, that is they bear most heavily on those least able to bear them. Consumption is no adequate basis for judging of ability to pay taxes, even in the case of a sales tax on expensive clothing. A man with an income of a million dollars a year does not consume a thousand times as much as a man with one of a thousand, although his capacity to pay is more than a thousand times as great. Furthermore, if two men have an equal income but one has a wife and six children while the other is single, the former will consume more, and so, although already the more heavily burdened, will have to bear the larger tax. A system of taxation which places the heaviest burdens, proportionately, on the poor, and those already most heavily burdened is most obviously both unjust and unsatisfactory.

From the national standpoint our dependence on Customs and Excise taxes has been a curse to us. No small share of the responsibility for the era of extravagance which preceded the war is due to the fact that these taxes were concealed in the prices people paid for commodities. It is always a wholesome check on extravagance for the taxpayers to be aware of the exact size of the sums they are paying into the exchequer; and it leads to an enlightened citizenship.

A further reason why it would be unwise to place sole reliance on Customs and Excise revenues once more is that they are, in considerable part, made up of specific and not *ad valorem* rates. The merit of specific levies is that they are easily calculated, and cheaply collected. They are, therefore, especially adapted to the taxation of commodities like liquors, wines, beers, medicines, perfumes, matches, cement, sugar, coffee, tea, tobacco, etc., where the weight or volume is a satisfactory basis of determining value. But the demerit of such a tax is that it remains constant in the face of rising prices, such as borrowing during a war inevitably produces. This merit the Income Tax possesses to an especial degree.

Why, then, in the face of these reasons, should a return to dependence on Customs and Excise taxes be advocated by anyone? The answer is to be found in the nature of the Income Tax. This tax is unpopular with the business world

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because it is progressive, that is, unlike Customs and Excise taxes, it presses most heavily on those best able to bear taxation. No one likes to be taxed, or, what amounts to the same thing, to know he is being taxed. Consequently, it is natural that they should lift up their voices in protest, and try to have the system altered. What is even more serious, they use their powerful influence at Ottawa to have it abolished. It is doubly unfortunate that this is so since parliamentary government means that the ministry depends for its existence on its popularity, and the rich and the business community dominate the press and are able to align even the poor, in their ignorance of the real situation, in opposition to their own interests.

It is argued, in opposition to the Income Taxes, that their abolition would result in greater prosperity for our industries, and so more employment. The implication is that the government is in a position to cut the tax burden and that it is better to do so in this way than to reduce the tax on tea, coffee, sugar, clothing, farm implements, etc., used largely by the whole community. To see whither this policy is leading one must retrace his steps to the years before the war when we had no Income Tax. Our standard of living then necessitated the buying of many heavily taxed articles. We have shown that our *per capita* taxation was greater than that of the United States or Great Britain. It was unquestionably far more regressive than that of the latter, and probably somewhat more so than the former, thus making our poorer population perhaps the most heavily taxed in the world. Now all this goes to show that the industrialists' "make work" argument for the abolition of the Income Tax is unimpressive, if the burden is to be shifted from industry onto the backs of those who are already so heavily burdened, yet who would have to buy the additional goods produced.

The Business Profits Tax was of a different character. Like the American tax it was based on capital and was graduated. It was radically different from the British tax in which the amount taken was the amount by which the war profits exceeded those of preceding years. The merits of the British system were that the tax was based on pre-war profits, and not on capital; that it was definitely a war tax and

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only collected during the war when firms were expecting to be heavily taxed; and that it was not otherwise graduated. The Canadian tax tended to encourage deception and the building up of reserves. It also encouraged needless expansion. Finally, it was the most fruitful cause of the post-war orgy of advertising, as propaganda of this kind could be carried on out of funds that would otherwise go into the government's coffers, and so at the expense of the state. Furthermore, excess profits are no criterion of ability to pay since the ownership of stock is likely to be scattered among all ranks of society. This tax is, therefore, definitely unsatisfactory. There is no reason, however, why we should not copy the British Excess Profits Tax during any subsequent war, if the world should prove mad enough to precipitate one.

Having reviewed the various taxes on consumption, production and business, and noted their merits and demerits, it may be well to examine the relative importance of consumption taxes, as a whole, during the period. In Britain, in 1913, these constituted 52% of the whole, declining to 18% in 1918. (there was a drop of £18,000,000 in Excise duties on liquors and beers in 1917-18), after which they rose to 36% in 1920-21 and to 43% in 1924-25. Similarly, in Canada they declined from 100% in 1914-15 to 92% in 1916-17, to 81% in 1918-19 and to 68% in 1921-22, after which they began to rise again, until, as already noted, they reached 82% in 1925-26. The explanation of the British figures is that, apart from the brief Labour government, there have been steady enhancements of the Customs tariff and equally constant reductions in the Income tax. We have seen that in Canada the cause of the rise in consumption taxes since 1920 has been the abolition of the Business Profits tax and the great increase in the Sales tax, which have combined to far more than offset any advantage gained by the consumer, relatively speaking, by reductions in the Customs tariff. But even to-day, the Customs remains by far the most important single item in the revenue system, with the Sales Tax, since 1922, regularly standing second in importance. Our lowest point in consumption taxes was in that year, when the figure stood at 68% of our tax revenues. In Britain, on the other hand, consumption taxes were highest in 1913-14 (as far as our period

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is concerned), at 52%, and lowest in 1917-18 at 18%. It will be seen, therefore, that when allowance is made for the luxury taxes in our consumption tax schedules, and the taxes on production and industry, under Customs (small in amount because of the drawbacks allowed), Canada's system is infinitely more regressive than that of Britain. Consequently, when our provincial premiers and industrialists and others urge the abolition of the Dominion tax on income they are asking for our enormously heavy tax burden to be entirely borne by consumption taxes, with all their regressiveness and all the evils that regressive taxes bring in their train.

We made reference to the weight of taxation especially since 1920. Table VIII^s indicates clearly the way in which, prices considered, our per capita taxation contracted during the war. Despite all our tax legislation the rise in the index number of prices, and the necessity of contracting purchases to release money and men for war effort, resulted in our adjusted per capita taxation dropping from \$17.70 in 1912-13 to \$11.89 in 1917-18. Then the Business Profits and Income Taxes began to take effect, and, *in the last year of the war*, our per capita taxation commenced, at long last, to rise, but still, at \$13.13 it was only 74% of the 1912-13 figure. Thus, at the armistice we were still a more lightly taxed people than before the war. But, with the fall in prices in 1920, and the considerable enhancements to the Sales and Income taxes, we

Table VIII^s
Dominion Taxation Reduced to 1913 Price Level

In thousands of Dollars						
	Index	Actual	Taxation	Estimated	Unadjusted	Adjusted
	Number	Taxation	Adjusted to 1913 level	Population (thousands)	Per Capita Taxation	Per Capita Taxation
1913	100	133,212	133,212	7,527	17.70	17.70
1914	102.3	126,143	123,307	7,693	16.40	16.03
1915	109.9	97,519	88,735	7,862	12.40	11.29
1916	131.6	124,666	94,731	8,035	15.51	11.87
1917	178.5	174,758	97,903	8,180	21.36	11.98
1918	199.0	190,720	98,352	8,328	23.62	11.89
1919	209.2	233,688	111,227	8,478	27.56	13.13
1920	243.5	293,574	120,564	8,631	34.01	13.97
1921	171.8	368,770	214,651	8,788	41.96	24.42
1922	152.0	319,926	210,477	8,940	35.78	23.54
1923	153.0	335,453	219,257	9,082	36.93	24.14
1924	155.2	341,718	220,179	9,226	37.04	23.89
1925	160.3	293,914	183,352	9,364	31.42	19.60
1926	156.2	327,575	209,715	9,508	34.45	23.06

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experienced the tremendous increase from \$13.97 to \$24.42 in the one year 1920-21, or a rise of 74%. It was the weight of these Dominion taxes on the backs of a people already the most heavily burdened when war was declared that left us struggling in the depths of a business depression for four long years. Furthermore, it must be remembered that our taxes were, as has been shown, heavily and increasingly regressive during this period, a further reason for our factories and shops finding few to buy their goods. Moreover, in the meantime, our provincial and municipal taxation, especially the former, had been greatly increased, and, though the figures are not available for the period the combined weight of all, especially from 1920 to 1924, must have been very heavy indeed.

So far we have spoken only of our tax revenues since we wished to stress the weight of our fiscal burden. But it should be borne in mind that our non-tax revenues amounted to the not-inconsiderable figures of \$35,554,000 in 1914-15, \$79,258,000 in 1918-19, and \$53,170,000 in 1925-26. The chief items were the Post Office and Public Works, the former yielding \$13,046,000 in 1914-15, \$21,603,000 in 1918-19, and \$30,334,000 in 1925-26, and the latter \$12,953,000 (chiefly railway revenue, in 1914-15, \$38,751,000 (owing to the taking over of the Canadian Northern), in 1918-19, and a paltry \$495,000 in 1925-26 (due to the separation of railway finances). As war revenues these sources are of little importance. Enhancements did not keep pace with prices, and therefore absorbed part of the war taxation instead of increasing revenues available for war purposes.

Dominion Debt

We have considered Dominion expenditures and revenues at length. Space does not permit of more than the briefest summary of the growth of the Debt and of the floating of the various loans. On March 31, 1914, the net debt was \$385,333,000. In 1914-15 \$146,961,000 was added, in 1915-16 \$166,322,000, in 1916-17 \$290,046,000, in 1917-18 \$381,403,000, and in 1918-19 \$408,552,000. Thus, during the war years our actual war outlay was \$1,548,000,000 and we added to our debt \$1,393,000,000, showing that \$155,000,000, or 10%,

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was paid out of revenue, as against Britain's 25%. Down to the end of 1925-26 our Debt and War expenditure for the whole period was \$3,233,000,000, and our debt, meantime, mounted by \$2,004,000,000, thus indicating that not less than \$1,229,000,000 had been paid out of revenue. The war years after 1915 were prosperous ones for Canada owing to war orders and war prices for agricultural products, yet, out of our prosperity we paid but 10% of our debt. During the seven lean years we made heroic efforts to correct our fiscal follies with the result already stressed and still further evidenced by the figures just quoted.

We can only note one very important change in Canadian finance during the period. Out of a debt of \$385,000,000 in 1914 only \$792,000 was held in Canada. But if Canadians did not put their hands into their pockets deeply during the war to pay taxes they did so to buy bonds. In 1915 they absorbed the first bond flotation in the history of the country, and this for \$100,000,000. For subsequent years the figures were: 1916-17 \$240,000,000, 1917-18 \$540,000,000, 1918-19 \$594,000,000, and in 1919-20 \$590,000,000. Meantime the debt held in London had risen by but \$34,000,000, but we had appeared in the New York market and borrowed \$135,000,000. Thus, at the peak of our indebtedness, \$2,066,000,000 was held in Canada, \$336,000,000 in London, and \$135,000,000 in New York. Out of our debt of two and a half billions we owed ourselves not less than 77%, a really wonderful feat for a country that had purchased almost no bonds of any kind before the war. If the Germans have taught us our wealth and the value of investment the war has not been fought in vain.

Only one other point can be touched on. It has been suggested that the floating of loans inflates the currency. This is brought about by the creating of bank credits, out of which men buy government bonds, and also by pledging these bonds later for the purpose of securing bank advances for business, or even passing them from hand to hand as money. By lending ourselves money we inflated our currency and made our war costs that much the greater. But lending showed that we had the surplus cash, and that, therefore, we could have borne far heavier taxation than was actually imposed during

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the war. This debt which was so aggravated by the inflation of prices has since become even more onerous by the deflation of our currency, as the war bonds have to be met with the dollar purchasing but 64% of what it did in 1920.

J. S. PRENTICE.

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British Emigration to British North America, 1783-1837, by Helen I. Cowan, pp. 275. Published by the Librarian, University of Toronto, 1928.

The migration of peoples is an economic and social phenomenon which is itself the result of many and divergent social and economic movements. Most studies of the problems of migration fail through neglecting to divide the field and through attempting to treat so great a problem in all its aspects. They are likely to present a varying amount of quantitative data on the movement in general and then lapse into specious explanations for social phenomena whose causes become apparent only after the most searching analysis. The movement of people from Great Britain to British North America in the period from 1783 to 1837 is but one current in the flow of migration which characterized that period and yet that one current is itself complex enough to absorb the energies of a competent worker. The suitability of Canada for settlement, the competitive drawing-power of the United States, the considered policies of Canadian and British Governments, the physical provisions for handling the emigrant trade, the mingling of old and new settlers, the attitude of French Canada, the economic and social disturbances in Great Britain which sent forth successive waves of emigrants,—an adequate discussion of these subjects would entail an economic history of two continents with some attention given to the remainder of the world.

Miss Cowan's monograph is successful because it divides. She has limited her study of the British background of the emigrant movement. She has discussed causes and theories of migration and has endeavoured to check the theories against the causes. Most of the material which she uses is familiar to students in other fields, but she has also had access to some papers of the Colonial and Foreign Offices, which have not hitherto been used. She has drawn discriminatingly on the papers of the Highland Society and other organizations interested in emigration, as well as on the con-

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temporary newspapers of those regions which contributed most to the emigration movement. British investigators have in some cases been prone to use the metropolitan papers such as *The Times* and neglect the papers of the provinces, which are less useful in disclosing the attitude of the Government but much more useful when dealing with local conditions. This rich material has been used with an intelligence and good judgment, without which much industry and painstaking accuracy go for naught.

The study begins with those early Scottish emigrations which were in part the aftermath of the Jacobite Rebellion, and contributed a Highland population first to the United States and later to Nova Scotia and Upper Canada. There has been much dispute as to the causes giving rise to this emigration. By some writers it has been laid to the door of sheep-farming. Undoubtedly economic circumstances in the Highlands were somewhat similar to those obtaining in Tudor England, of which Sir Thomas More complained when he wrote that in his country "The sheep do eat up men"; but there was in addition a redundancy of population occasioned by the change from the old tribal system to a new system of agriculture and lander aristocracy. The Highland chieftain of the old days kept men on his estates as the lumber king of seventy-five years ago kept lumbermen on his timber limits, not for what they produced but because of their strength in defence. With the "pacification" of the Highlands following "the Forty-five," and the introduction of new methods of farming, the redundant population found itself unemployed and landless, or faced with a rise in rents which the inefficient agriculture of the Highland clansmen would not support. That the problem of population was well known is evidenced by Adam Smith's reference in 1776 to the "half-starved Highland woman" who "frequently bears more than twenty children." Out of these causes and the tales of the returned Highland soldiers who had gone to America during the Seven Years War, rose a substantial migration which, after 1783, was turned in the direction of Canada and produced the Scottish settlements in Nova Scotia and later the Glengarry settlements in Ontario.

The importance of this movement, for Miss Cowan's

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study, is less in its volume than in the discussions to which it gave rise, running counter as it did to the mercantilist views of population current at the time. It is a curious comment on the mental attitude of the British parliament that the Passenger Act of 1803 enforcing higher standards on emigrant ships was passed, not out of consideration for the emigrants but in order to make migration costly, if not impossible. After 1815 a new set of conditions was faced, which stimulated emigration from England, from Scotland, and from Ireland. The aftermath of the Napoleonic War was severe depression both in agriculture and in industry, and as after the war of 1914-18, the country faced problems of redundant and dislodged population. The economic development of the next half century was to absorb all the redundant population, but there was much of the dislodged population for which the new organization had no room. The hand-weavers of Lanarkshire, the disbanded soldiers, the paupers of both England and Ireland, as well as a large number who were able to migrate unassisted, found readjustment easier in a new than in an old land.

During this period there were two important movements of assisted emigrants. The attention that had already been attracted to the possibilities of the Rideau Canal, brought about the military settlements ranging from Brockville to Richmond, while Peter Robinson was engaged to establish certain settlements of Irish paupers, some of whom he located in Lanark and some on Rice Lake in the vicinity of the present Peterborough. In both these cases the British Government paid the passage of the emigrants and supplied rations for a period.

During the same period there was a large unassisted emigration amounting, in Miss Cowan's opinion, to ten times the assisted emigration. It was made up in large part of Scottish Highlanders who followed their kinsfolk "from the lone shieling and the misty island," and of the Lanarkshire weavers whom Robert Owen's factory at New Lanark had dislodged from their accustomed occupations. The history of Canada has been profoundly affected by the fact that Scottish migration to a marked extent preferred British North America to the United States.

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From 1822 to 1828 attention was attracted to the plans of Wilmot Horton, under-secretary of the Colonial Office, for removing redundant labour to the colonies. Horton worked with the energy of an enthusiast against opposition in three quarters: The lesser economists who filled the interlude between Ricardo and John Stuart Mill opposed him on the basis that mere emigration was no relief and that the inexorable working of the Malthusian Law would fill up the gap. Cobbett and his followers protested that poverty was no crime to be punished by transportation, and Edward Gibbon Wakefield, preaching systematic colonization, wanted land sold at a fixed price, a plan which would make impossible the migration of the paupers and children whom Horton wished to send out.

The years 1825 to 1832 marked the great period of migration. From eight thousand in 1824 the total rose to a high figure of sixty-six thousand emigrants in 1832. These were years of disturbance and restlessness in Britain, years when former emigrants gave great publicity to British North America, when the interruption of United States trade with the West Indies gave a larger cash value to Canadian crops, and the initiation of works such as the Rideau and the Welland canals provided seasonal labor for the settlers. Talbot, of the Talbot Settlement, reported that at this period he had no difficulty about payments for land as his settlers were now getting cash for their crops.

Perhaps most important were the favorable reports that came back from the earlier settlers. Miss Cowan quotes from the *Caledonian Mercury* (page 91), in 1820: "It is nothing uncommon to see a poor Glasgow weaver who came..... with scarce a stitch to cover his nakedness, strutting between the stumps of his trees as pompous as an Edinburgh magistrate." Pioneer conditions were hard, but there was a rude plenty which immigrants from Scotland and Ireland had never before experienced. In particular the absence of the landlord seemed to appeal to the newcomers, as the following excerpt (not quoted by Miss Cowan), from a series of letters which she has used too sparingly, indicates:

"One great subject of congratulation with them was that they had no rents nor taxes to pay. 'We never hear of a term day,' said one of them. 'An' can sleep as soun' in May as in

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any month o' the year', an expression which in my opinion speaks volumes with regard to the extent to which that month, so much lauded by pcets, was formerly dreaded by them, from the reflection that it brought the unwished-for visit of landlord whom they were unable to satisfy."

In the same series of interesting letters the writer says that he found no cases of want in the country, and but one discontented person.

"A woman who when I alluded to the deplorable conditions of tradespeople in Britain, cried 'dinna say that—dinna pretend to tell me that this is better than hame! I wad sooner soop the causey in Scotlan' than stay here.' . . . An Irishman present said: 'By my faith, Misthress, I don' know well what you would be at, an' saving your presence, I am not very sure if you know yourself. By all accounts the people at home can't get meat to eat. Now if we may judge by your appearance you don't seem to have been at any loss in that respect.' The woman against whom this had raised a laugh acknowledged this, but added it was impossible to get clothes "to look decent in." To this the Irishman, with more candour than gallantry, replied that the people at home were as hard up for clothes as for meat, 'as to her he thought her clothes were as decent as herself.'"

The part of Miss Cowan's study which traverses ground more frequently treated is that which deals with the emigrant trade and the emigrant ship. Much can be said here of the appalling conditions under which the earlier pioneers came to this country. The best of conditions, at a time when the average length of voyage was a month, were poor enough in comparison with present-day transportation, but the actual conditions outstripped even the imagination. The regulations permitted a passenger to every one and a half tons of shipping, a regulation which the following explanation by the North American Colonial Association (not quoted by Miss Cowan), shows to be far from idealistic: A ship of 340 tons would have a clear space, it is said, of 72 feet by 24 feet in which twelve lengths of berths in double tiers on two sides would make forty-eight berths 6 feet by 6 feet, "in each of which *five* persons might *with propriety* be stowed, giving a total of 240" (my italics). These were conditions which more or less conformed to the regulations, but in other cases the regulations were over-stepped. Miss Cowan quotes figures from 1831 showing ships of 357 tons carrying 370 immigrants; of 229 tons carrying 300 immigrants; 115 tons with 196 im-

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migrants; 334 tons carrying 505 immigrants, and so on. The inevitable result was the cholera epidemic of 1832. In Quebec in less than a month more than 1,500 persons died of this dread disease. From Quebec it spread to Montreal, and from the 10th to the 25th of June, 1832, 3,384 new cases appeared in that then small city. From Montreal the plague spread up the river, but fortunately as it spread westward it became less virulent and mortality was lighter. Terror, however, seized the settlements, the boatmen on the St. Lawrence fled affrighted to the woods and the whole emigrant trade was disorganized. Only by heroic work on the part of the Boards of Health and the people of Quebec and Montreal was the plague finally stemmed, but not before emigration to Canada had acquired ill repute.

Miss Cowan's book is an excellent treatment of an interesting subject. One is constantly wishing that she had pursued her settlers further into the country and utilized some of the rich material which exists on the economic problems of the early settlers. But the strength of her study is in the limitations which she has imposed on it, and it remains for some one else to treat the economic aspects of migration from the point of view of the new settlements rather than from that of the old regions from which the emigrants came.

The book is well printed on good paper and is singularly free from typographical error. "Napean" for Nepean (p. 17), is the only significant error the reviewer has noted. For the use of "preventative" (p. 215), the author and the editor may divide the responsibility.

W. A. MACKINTOSH.

Psychology and Education, by Robert Morris Ogden. Harcourt Brace and Company, 1926.

Every good educator of small children is at heart a poet. His is the same problem as the poet's, to see synthetically into the heart of things and to tell directly what he sees. That is why so many men of learning are such dull teachers; they follow the logical method of presentation, which dissects the dead parts, rather than, shall we say, the lyrical method, which sees directly into the living whole. But the poet that

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is in the teacher has been of late dangerously close to suffocation. We have seen in our lifetime the child mind dissected and tested, standardized and labelled. Admirable work has been done, remarkable for its clarity and fearlessness, work which gives us the most minutely detailed information about certain aspects of childish life and thought. And yet we feel that the child is missing. It is a difficult dilemma for those who believe in thought. Either, it seems, one must refuse to take too seriously the work of able men whose industrious and penetrating results seem to command respect, or one must surrender, for a page of tabular compilations, the lyrical reality that is the child. And confusion is really worse confounded, for most of those who have spirited away the child yet love him.

It may be that the dilemma is unnecessary. There is, perhaps a method of dealing scientifically with the child which shall at the same time preserve for us the child we know. Such an attempt is made by Dean Ogden in his book, *Psychology and Education*. Starting from the point of view of the "Gestalt" or "Configuration" psychologists, he has developed the conception of behaviour as a "total dynamic pattern," a pattern which cannot be analysed into a number of discretely meaningless parts. "Just how well or ill the child takes nourishment is determined by the total 'situation-response' and not by sucking, tasting, swallowing, etc., as if these were so many separate acts which, when added together, constitute nursing." Here we have a programme for child psychology which, if it can be carried through, will show the baby as the mother knows him, rather than a series of separable responses to stimuli, which, after all, do not add up to make the child taking his food. A poet could write of a suckling infant, but hardly of an infant responding to a number of separate stimuli in the manner described as a chain reflex, where each action serves as a stimulus for the next. For it is the baby taking his food that interests the poet, and this is exactly what the "chain-reflex" description does not describe. From the same standpoint Professor Ogden is able to give us a picture of the child as behaving instinctively, as perceiving, as remembering, as learning, thinking and reasoning. Analysis, to be sure, is employed, but an analysis that

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preserves the subject in recognizable meaningful activity, not one which exhibits that chilling psychological changeling, the reflex baby. Thus is the child of the poet and the mother handed back again to the teacher.

Professor Ogden's book is not easy reading, but nobody humanely interested in the problem of the developing human being should fail to become acquainted with the view it presents. . . ,

GEORGE HUMPHREY.

Selected Poems of Robert Browning, edited with Introduction and Notes. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1927.

For Browning, by so many labelled as obscure, in any case the poet for thoughtful men and women, probably the best introduction is a selection. And for that selection to be satisfactory it must be made by one who loves Browning, without being blind to his imperfections; it should contain an account of his life, and the evolution of his thought, such as will prepare for the better and more sympathetic reading of his poetry, and be accompanied by the minimum of notes necessary for the appreciation and full understanding of each individual poem, together with an elucidation of the more difficult points which not infrequently emerge.

Professor G. H. Clarke has edited in "The Riverside College Classics" a most interesting selection along these lines. In his Introduction he gives a clear and sympathetic account of Browning's life, and of the development of his poetic ideals. Professor Clarke is not a blind devotee of the poet, however; he does not hesitate to point out faults or weaknesses, as when he speaks of "some doubtful concessions to stage conventions" and "a touch of melodrama at times" in *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*, or when he says of *A Soul's Tragedy*, "It is frankly a closet drama. The First Bystander, to be sure, is better informed than dramatic propriety would warrant, and Luitolfo's long aside in the second Act is stagey and unfortunate."

He is particularly happy in discussing the so-called

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obscurity of Browning. "Even capable and conscientious critics are sometimes tempted to be lazy-minded, and to deny Browning's alleged obscurity with much the same traditionalism as that, for example, which has crystallized the essence of Thomas Hardy's genius into the term 'pessimism.' Really obscure writing, however, is that which is difficult to understand on account of either slovenliness of expression or confusion of thought. If the subject treated is itself confessedly difficult, the language of the author may be admirably clear, and yet, on account of the complication of the theme, may incur the charge of obscurity," and he goes on to quote a scathing sentence from a letter of Browning himself: "I never pretended to offer such literature as should be a substitute for a cigar, or a game of dominoes, to an idle man." The whole of the Introduction will indeed be found full of meat both for those who love their Browning, and for those who are beginning to dip into him.

One is tempted to say that the *Notes* which conclude this volume will appeal to both these classes of readers. It is not uncommon to meet with those superior people who turn up their noses at notes: they know not what they miss. Their superiority, one is tempted to assert, is that of the lazy man who shelters behind La Bruyère's half-truth, "Quand une lecture vous élève l'esprit, et qu'elle vous inspire des sentiments nobles et courageux, ne cherchez pas une autre règle pour juger de l'ouvrage: il est bon et fait de main d'ouvrier." True, it depends in a great measure on the notes, which should not be masses of erudition in a case like this, but rather contribute to the better grasping of the poet's thought. Professor Clarke is to be congratulated on the very real assistance he has contrived to give the reader in these notes. One might show this by a number of quotations, but two examples must suffice. In *My Last Duchess* the Duke says,

. . . . Oh sir, she smiled, no doubt,
Whene'er I passed her; but who passed without
Much the same smile? This grew; I gave commands;
Then all smiles stopped together.

The last line has puzzled many and Professor Clarke records the fact that Browning himself refused to say whether it means that the Duke had his bride directly assassinated, or

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whether he gave orders to immure her until she died, and he adds, "Neither of these explanations is really necessary. All that the poet wishes the reader to understand is that the Duke treated his wife with such contempt and cruelty as to cause her death. *It is not the business of a poem to convey exact information, but rather to interpret and inspire.*" There, it seems to us, is the true answer to much of the criticism passed on Browning.

The other quotation refers to what is possibly the best known, if not the most characteristic poem of Browning, "How they brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix." Here is part of the note:

"Browning himself said that there was no sort of historical foundation for this poem. 'I wrote it under the bulwark of a vessel, off the African coast, after I had been at sea long enough to appreciate even the fancy of a gallop on the back of a certain good horse, York, then in my stable at home.' Nevertheless, such a ride as is here described might have occurred at the time of the '*Pacification of Ghent in 1576* . . . the total distance covered by Roland and his rider is well over ninety miles."

P. G. C. C.

THE LATE PROFESSOR WILLIAM MORGAN

The sudden death on January 16, 1928, of Professor William Morgan, D.D., has removed from Queen's University one of its most distinguished teachers, a scholar and author of international reputation. He was one of the many great gifts made by the United Free Church of Scotland to the religious and intellectual life of this country. Born in Aberdeenshire in 1862, Professor Morgan had a distinguished career in the Universities of Scotland and of the Continent, and after finishing his theological course, became minister of the congregation of Tarbolton in Ayrshire. In this quiet country parish he remained for nineteen years. Many a Scottish scholar has begun a notable career in that way. Leisure to read and think does not come to the minister immersed in the thousand and one cares of the city. Young ministers will all be well advised to choose the quiet of the country for the first years of their ministry. Articles on philosophical and theological subjects began to come steadily from the minister's study in Tarbolton. Dr. James Hastings who, like Robertson Nicoll, had a sure instinct for a scholar when he saw one, encouraged Morgan to write, and many of the latter's articles have appeared in Hastings' journal, "The Expository Times." At Dundonald, near by Tarbolton, was a young minister named James Moffatt, and at Prestwick another named Ernest Scott. The latter came to Queen's University as a Professor in the Theological Faculty in the year 1908, and four years later the minister of Tarbolton came as his colleague. The two have all through the years been most intimate friends. It was most fitting that Dr. Scott should have spoken the last words by the grave of his lifelong friend. "He was the oldest and best friend I had in this world. It has been my good fortune to meet most of the greatest theological scholars of the present day and I have always found myself measuring them by Dr. Morgan."

Dr. Morgan was a man of vast knowledge but carried it all so lightly that few suspected its weight. He was much more than a theological scholar. Indeed there were few departments of human thinking in which he was not very much at home. His whole character was marked by a fine simplicity

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and genuineness which endeared him to all who knew him. He did not suffer fools gladly but was patient and considerate to those who were looking for truth. Generations of students in Queen's will look back upon his lectures as models of lucidity in expression and clarity in thinking, and his two books will long be read as permanent contributions to theological scholarship.

When he died he had been fifteen years away from that little country parish in Ayrshire. But it was from simple people in Tarbolton who remembered and loved the minister of years ago that his wife received most affecting messages of sympathy after his death. To be a great scholar and also to be loved and remembered by simple people is something not achieved by all. Dr. Morgan rests from his labours but his works do follow him. Below is a list of various articles and the notable books which have come from his pen. His most mature work and that by which he will be chiefly known is "The Nature and Right of Religion," published in 1926.

Papers contributed by Dr. W. Morgan:

Faith and Revelation and Ritschl, *Expository Times*, vol. 9, 1898.

Garvie on Ritschlian Theology, *Expository Times*, vol. 11, 1899.

Fischer's Schleiermacher, *Expository Times*, vol. 11, 1900.

Harnack's "What is Christianity?" *Expository Times*, vol. 12, 1900.

Schleiermacher's Doctrine of Redemption, *Expository Times*, vol. 13, 1902.

Fairbairn's Philosophy of Christian Religion, *Expository Times*, vol. 14, 1902.

Denney's Death of Christ, *Expository Times*, vol. 14, 1902.

Denney's Death of Christ, *Expository Times*, vol. 14, 1902.

Jesus-Paul Controversy, *Expository Times*, vol. 20, 1908.

Religion and Philosophy, *Expositor*, vol. 7, 1914.

Carlyle and German Thought, *Queen's Quarterly*, vol. 23, 1916.

Religion and Evolution, *Queen's Quarterly*, 1926.

Books:

The Religion and Theology of Paul, 1917.

The Nature and Right of Religion, 1926.

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Lord Oxford and Asquith.

It was appropriate that these two names should be linked together, but the great statesman who has just passed from the scene will be remembered by his great work in the House of Commons under the name of H. H. Asquith. One was, at the time of his death, struck by the note of sincerity and unanimity in the tributes paid to his memory by men of all parties. This is recognized in the following statement: "We remember no comments on a dead man that in their depth and breadth and patent sincerity have ever equalled the universal tributes paid this week in the Press of all parties, and almost of all countries, to the memory of Mr. Asquith. It is the custom of civilization to be kindly to the dead. But here was no need for kindliness. The respect and admiration of all those who knew anything, whether as colleagues or opponents, of his personality and his career found entirely spontaneous and unanimous expression. Everybody remembers of him that when there was credit to be gained he habitually retired into the background, and that when there was trouble to be faced he was always in the forefront exhibiting a sheer power which astounded his friends as well as his foes" (*The New Statesman*, Feb. 18). And the words of the late C. F. G. Masterman are quoted with approval: "He seemed to me to possess no jealousy at all. Perhaps that was in part due to the security of his intellectual supremacy. . . . Disloyalty was to him not so much despicable as inexplicable. It was outside the range of his universe."

The Spectator and *The Saturday* adopt the same tone. The writer of the notes on Parliament in the latter says: "He prepared us for the shock of losing him by leaving the Commons for the comparative peace of the Lords. But despite his title, Lord Oxford will always be Asquith of the Commons. The Commons will have among its future leaders many a luckier man, more creative, more decisive, but it will never know a purer, more honest soul or a sounder patriot. From Parnell to Chamberlain, from Chamberlain to Lloyd George,

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from Kruger to Hindenberg—what a stormy, star-crossed career! No one ever knew how great a Liberal and how greater an Englishman Asquith was until he had him for an antagonist. How few politicians can stand that, the severest of all tests.” The leading article, in the same journal, is splendidly written; it regards Lord Oxford as the last of the old Whigs, and estimates highly his legal capability, his scholarship and mastery of English prose. “But most of all are we grateful for his moral qualities of steadfastness and loyalty. We may find faults in his political character, but no mean or unworthy personal motive, no pettiness, and never the slightest deviation from the highest ideal of duty and public service.” The references to his position in the war and after seem to be quite fair though they may be slightly influenced by their feeling towards Mr. Lloyd George. “But it must not be forgotten that he was Prime Minister for the larger half of the war and that the true origins of victory lay in courses on which neither he nor his successor had much influence. It would be unreasonable in any event to expect a man whose genius was almost wholly parliamentary to excel in the brutal realism which war demands from its directors. But even in war the moral factors are vastly more important than the material; and to these imponderables of victory Lord Oxford contributed potentially.” And after the great crisis: “Men’s minds reverted to his steadfastness, his patience, his complete absence of self-seeking; his dignity in ill-fortune has impressed them. His complete separation of public duty as he conceived it from personal and private feeling becomes more admirable as the exciting junctures recede in time. In death he seems a greater man than he did at the summit of his power, and the rejected leader of a poor remnant seems a nobler figure than the old-time master of Parliament.”

The following passage from the *Spectator* (Feb. 18) makes reference to the question of “Imperialism” and to Mr. Asquith’s wisdom and breadth of view. “The British public, as befits a democracy, is always ready to welcome a man of ability, whatever his upbringing. But it is pleasant to remember that Lord Oxford was one of the many British statesmen who have risen from a humble position to the highest by

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sheer ability and industry. His brilliant career at the City of London School and at Balliol led naturally to a career of equal brilliancy at the Bar, and from thence to politics was an easy step. The *Spectator* recalls with pride the fact that Mr. Asquith in the late 'seventies and early 'eighties supplemented his scanty earnings at the Bar by regular contributions to its columns under the editorship of R. H. Hutton and Meredith Townsend. As a member of the staff, he left the reputation of being both accurate and punctual—qualities which served him well in his legal and political life. We know that Mr. Asquith commended himself to Hutton and Townsend by his keen interest in Imperial affairs, which he was afterwards to display in the almost forgotten but by no means unimportant disputes, within the Liberal party, between the Imperialists and the Little Englanders. Mr. Asquith in these differences took the larger and wiser view, and he lived to see the British Empire developing constitutionally on the broad and liberal lines that he always advocated. Among the makers of the British Commonwealth Lord Oxford and Asquith must always occupy a distinguished place."

If Mr. Asquith's earnings forty years ago were 'scanty', he might have made a large income at the Bar but preferred to devote his great talents to the service of his country and the making of money played no great part in that. Personal tributes might be added but these given represent the different shades of party opinion, combining to bear witness to his intellectual and moral greatness. Once only I had the privilege of seeing him at the Convocation of Durham University when the Duke of Northumberland was installed as Chancellor, but it was a disappointment that no speeches were given. At the age of 75 he passed away, after a short illness, and there was general recognition of the great loss sustained. And so in Milton's words, that have been applied to those who gave their lives when in the fullness of their strength, the death though not tragic is 'noble.'

"Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or knock the breast; no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise or blame; nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble."

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Anglo-Catholicism.

This statement does not profess to deal with the revised Prayer-Book but simply to glance at one phase of the subject. Forty years ago the writer of this note was better acquainted with the Prayer Book than he is now, and it seems to him that the condition of affairs in the Church of England was simpler than it is now. It was in large measure a National Church though Dissent was vigorous and militant. The Oxford Movement had exerted a powerful influence and the Church could claim to be comprehensive and catholic, though in the course of its history, since the Reformation, it had suffered great disasters and missed great opportunities. The fact that the lesson of toleration was learned so slowly cannot be laid to the charge of any one particular party or sect. All desired uniformity which was not possible under the circumstances. "Fortunately the great severance of St. Bartholomew's Day drove out the Presbyterians from the Church to which they clung, and forced them into a general union with sects which they had hated till then almost as bitterly as the bishops themselves. Persecution broke down before the numbers, the wealth, the political weight of the new sectarians; and the Church, for the first time in history, found itself confronted with an organized body of Dissenters without its pale." (J. R. Green). Step by step a larger increase of religious equality was gained and the feeling of Nonconformists towards the Church of England is kinder than it was fifty years ago because the disabilities in connection with politics and the universities have disappeared. In the last generation there was a strong feeling for disestablishment; the names of Chamberlain, Bright, Mial, Dale and Rogers will recall this. To-day the question of disestablishment and disendowment would be more complicated than ever and would be regarded as inconvenient by all political parties. Some, however, who discuss the subject seem to forget that there is a real difference between a State Church and The Free Churches.

It may be a mistake but it seems to me that it was possible to draw the lines more clearly between High, Low, and Broad. It is easy to place Liddon and Pusey; Ryle, Bishop of Liverpool and other evangelicals; Dean Stanley, Kingsley,

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Farrar, Maurice and others as Broad Churchmen. Lightfoot and Westcott were great scholars holding a moderate position, Robertson of Brighton wielded a great influence intellectual and spiritual, but he refused all labels. Now we are often puzzled if we attempt to apply the older names. Bishop Barnes is clearly a Broad Churchman repudiating both "Rome and Tennessee." We would need to set Dean Inge in the same category unless we had a division for "the critics" pure and simple. But where would we place Bishop Gore? The Dean devotes the whole of one outspoken essay to him. The change has been caused by three currents, The Evolutionary Theory, The Higher Criticism, and the Socialistic trend in politics.¹

It is clear then that no rigid definition of Anglo-Catholicism can be given. In the November issue of the *Expository Times* (Edinburgh) an interesting statement on the point was given by Dr. Williams, an Oxford Professor of Theology. This exposition of Anglo-Catholicism was not apologetic or controversial, it was meant merely to supply such information as an individual member of that section of the Church felt justified in giving. The substance of it was: (1) That there is no one in a position to speak authoritatively for Anglo-Catholics, as they have no Pope. (2) There are things in the creed and practice of the Roman Church that they cannot accept. To discuss them in detail and the criterion by which they are recognized would take too much space. (3) That the function of Anglo-Catholicism is to unite modern culture and criticism with a noble Church tradition and a mystical view of the sacraments. These few words cannot do justice to a very careful and beautiful piece of work, but this is the gist of it. He admits that there are "Latinists," that is, those who look longingly towards Rome, but he apparently does not regard these as the true "Anglo-Catholics." What used to puzzle me in connection with the extreme "Ritualists" was the belief in authority combined with their refusal to bow to the authority of their own bishops. Dean Inge touches this in his usual style: "I am conscious that I have spoken with too little respect in one or two of these essays about the Ritualist party. I was more afraid of it a few years ago than

¹See note at the end of this article.

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I am now. The Oxford Movement began as a late wave of the Romantic Movement, with wistful eyes bent upon the past. But Romanticism, while it dotes on ruins, shrinks from real restoration. Medievalism is attractive only when seen from a short distance. So the movement is ceasing to be either medieval or Catholic or Anglican; it is becoming definitely Latin. But a Latin Church in England which disowns the Pope is an absurdity."

We hear a different tone when we turn to "The Way of of Modernism," by J. F. Bethune-Baker, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Cambridge; here an attempt is made boldly "to offer a way of approach for our own generation to that synthesis of old ideas and new knowledge which has been the aim of modernism in all ages." With regard to the Prayer Book he says: "It is extraordinarily hard to devise an ethical *rationale* of the sacrament of Baptism in the case of infants. This is the only instance of outspoken reformation that has caught my eye, and in it (the change from "regenerate" to "born again") Modernism loses heavily by the change—as I imagine its opponents must have realized with some amusement, if membership of such learned assemblies does not atrophy the sense of humour." "As regards the new Order for Holy Communion, we are assured that no change of doctrine is intended, yet the new Order will have in future the same authority as the old one. Where the teaching of the Church of England is in question the old Order will have to be interpreted by the new one. It will be a question of the legal interpretations of the two documents, the older in the light of the newer; and I can not but believe that doctrine deliberately neglected at the Reformation, because it was neither moral nor rational, now becomes inferentially permissible, and therefore sanctioned as it was not before" (p. 143). The general conclusion on that point is that the time has not come for reformations and that changes now made leave less liberty of interpretation than the old terms.

After giving a sketch of the Modernist movement in the Roman Church, he says: "I suppose that what was needed on behalf of the Roman modernists was that they should be al-

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lowed to continue their efforts to create within the Church itself a public opinion favorable to their new point of view without interference from the high officials of the Church. This was not to be. They were condemned and banished from the Church." Anyone who wishes a more elaborate statement of why "it was not to be", can find it in one of Dean Inge's "Outspoken Essays." He shows clearly that the Criticism of Loisy, the philosophy of Le Roy, and Tyrrell's views on "authority" could not possibly be tolerated in the Roman Church.

But this thoroughgoing representative of Modernism claims that it can find a home, if not at present quite congenial and comfortable in the Church of England. "In England, in all the churches, I suppose, there are some who would like to mete out the same measure to the exponents of new views. But the English tradition of liberty and freedom of discussion is too strong; the hold on Doctrine is too uncertain; the belief that Conduct is more important than Creed is too widespread; and, I must add, the 'established' Church of England, whose ideal of Catholicity has always implied the existence within it of different schools of thought, is too effective a barrier against theological narrowness for the policy of official suppression to prevail." Some would seize on this word "established" and ask how far this liberty and comprehension could be maintained without the external unity of State connection. However, our present business is not to comment or controvert but merely to report. It is not possible to make a summary of this closely compacted statement, but these brief quotations may indicate its spirit and trend.

"Far more generally than even ten years ago men and women, having ceased to treat the Bible as a storehouse of information about God and the world and man, and have come to regard it rather, New Testament as well as Old, as a picture-book of Religion, in which the religious experience portrayed is the revealed and revealing fact, and the picture of it only a picture of the fact in the fashion of the time."

"We have to treat our doctrines as the product of picture-thinking of a similar kind, pictorial expression of religious

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realities, and seek to construct pictures in the fashion of our own times. That method will give us, not the legal, but the religious construction of our own formulae." He admits that the position is too advanced for general comprehension, but says: "We shall keep those of our legends and pictures, which are suggestive of what is true, to stimulate our children's and refresh our own imagination. We shall keep them in our own richly furnished Church of England for those who are still at the level of thought and belief to which they correspond." Sufficient has been said to show that the situation in the Church of England is by no means a simple one. There are various shades of Modernists and Anglo-Catholics.

According to Archdeacon Scott, who writes to the *London Times* (see *Montreal Star*, March 8), the Anglican Church in Canada has solved the problem: "Maybe our freedom from State control and the fact that in numbers and wealth we rank only third among the religious bodies of our land, have intensified the sense of unity in our spiritual home, but in any case we have learned the lesson of living and letting live."

"We have churches in Canada where the Blessed Sacrament is reserved continually with the permission of the dioceses. In Ontario and the West we are outnumbered by Presbyterians and United Churches and in Quebec by the huge Roman Catholic population. I think I may say that with all of them we live on terms of mutual respect." The Anglican Church in Canada is then to be congratulated on its freedom to pursue its proper work free from fierce discussions and sharp divisions. Meanwhile the progress of events in England will be watched with interest and sympathy by those who work to see the Church find a peaceable solution of its problems.

W. G. J.

The following paragraph, from Dean Inge's essay on Bishop Gore, shows that there were lively times about fifty years ago; these dates may be useful in this connection, the years being the time of death of Charles Darwin, 1882; Bishop Colenso, 1883; Canon Liddon, 1890:

"In the Tractarians the Non-jurors seemed to have come to life again, and one might easily find enthusiastic Jacobites among them. Unlike their successors they showed no sympathy with political Radicalisms. Their love for and loyalty to the English Church, which found melodious ex-

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pression in Keble's poetry, were intense. They were not hostile to Evangelicism within the Church, until the ultra-Protestant party declared war against them; but they viewed Dissent with scorn and abhorrence. They would gladly have excluded Nonconformists from any status in the Universities, and opposed any measures intended to conciliate their prejudices or remove their disabilities. Archdeacon Denison, in his sturdy opposition to 'the conscience clause' in Church schools, was a typical representative of the old High Church party. But still more bitter was their animosity against religious Liberalism. Even after the feud with the Evangelicals had developed into open war, Pusey was ready to join with Lord Shaftesbury and his party in united anathemas against the authors of 'Essays and Reviews.' The beginnings of Old Testament criticism evoked an outburst of fury almost unparalleled. When Bishop Gray, of Cape Town, solemnly 'excommunicated' Bishop Colenso, of Natal, and enjoined the faithful 'to treat him as a heathen man and a publican' for exposing the unhistorical character of portions of the Pentateuch, he became a hero with the whole High Church party, and even the more liberal among the bishops were cowed by the tempest of feeling which the case aroused. In the same period, many Oxford men can remember Bishop Wilberforce's attack upon Darwinism, and somewhat later Dean Burgon's University sermon which ended with the stirring peroration, 'Leave me my ancestors in Paradise, and I leave you yours in the Zoological Gardens.' From the same pulpit Liddon, a little before his death, uttered a pathetic remonstrance against the course which the younger disciples were taking about inspiration and tradition."

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THE LATER STAGES IN GREEK RELIGION

IN the last number of the *Queen's Quarterly* an attempt was made to indicate the origin and the character of the Olympian religion, and to point out its defects as a final formulation of the religious consciousness. Yet viewed as a stage in the progressive definition of religion, it is full of interest and suggestion. It really implies that the ultimate principle of the universe must be a self-conscious reason, and must differ from all finite creatures in being absolutely self-determined. The vague feeling of this truth is one of the things that makes the religious speculations of the Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics instructive even now. At the same time these schools had no proper conception of the progressive character of religion. They had practically ceased to believe in the gods of Olympus, and it seemed to them that religious truth could be reached only by starting absolutely *de novo*. But the underlying assumption that in the past men had no consciousness of God whatever, if it were true, would be equally fatal to their own imperfect attempts to build up a theology. We cannot understand the history of religion, if we conceive of it as a series of discontinuous leaps, each obliterating its predecessor.

Why the thinkers of the fourth century should have fallen into this fallacy may be partly understood when we consider the history of the Greek City-state. The Polis was a wonderful advance on the older forms of organization. No longer were the sympathies of men bounded by the immediate ties of family or kinship. This narrow point of view was seen to be untenable when the successive invasions of the Aegean resulted in a union of peoples of different social and religious ideas. By the inevitable combination of these peoples as time progressed, it came to be felt that all Greeks were kindred.

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This syncretism resulted in the free life of the Polis. In the city-state, it was felt, justice was assured, under a system which admitted of the free identification of the individual citizen with the good of the whole politeia. The very circumscription of interest evoked in the breast of the good citizen an intense loyalty. If any member of the State showed a lack of belief in its institutions he must be expelled. Nothing can be allowed to interfere with the unity of the Polis. An Anaxagoras, who dares to insinuate that the gods of the State are but fictions of a credulous imagination, must be put to death or expelled. Hence in the fifth century Pericles found it hard to preserve the life of his friend, and could only prevent the summary execution of Aphasias, his life-partner, when arraigned for sedition, by his impassioned and tearful appeal to the sympathies of his fellow-citizens.

The very character of the Greek state in its balmy days, with its wonderful products of art and its high culture, gave the citizen an exaggerated idea of his own superiority. He was absolutely convinced that it was his special function to rule, and the function of the "Barbarian" to obey. The latter was only fitted by nature to be a "hewer of wood and drawer of water." So Agesilaus, the humane and proud ruler of Sparta, had nothing but hatred for his barbarian prisoners. While he showed a half-contemptuous pity for their helpless children, he treated themselves in the most shameless way, sending them to the slave-market in a state of nudity, regardless of their shrinking modesty, because the spectacle cheered his rude soldiers by the sight of their white and fat bodies.*

With the bankruptcy of the city-state and the prevalent doubt or disbelief in the gods of Olympus, the best minds of Greece came to see that all this contempt for other peoples was based upon the grossest prejudice and superstition. Still believing that the Polis was the only perfect form of polity, Plato projected a revised and glorified Polis, in which real freedom, perfect equality, and absolute justice should reign, and all superstition be overcome. But Plato, like all great original thinkers, was far beyond the comprehension of even the best thinkers of the Hellenistic Age; and it was only in

*Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, p. 112.

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later times that Plotinus partially comprehended his greatness, and set forth a modified form of his doctrine, which was to prove suggestive to the genius of St. Augustine. Meantime, what was clear to the best minds of the Hellenistic period was that the true form of society must be one that recognizes Barbarian not less than Greek, as in his essence a rational being, akin in his inner and true nature to the divine Principle, the Principle that determines the existence of all beings in the world and is capable of being comprehended and willed by man. This is the conception which unites the philosophy of the Stoics, the Epicureans, and the Sceptics.

Two cognate ideas lie at the centre of all Stoical speculation: the idea that man in his essence is rational, and the idea that reason is embodied in the constitution of the whole universe. The universal reason, it is true, is not generated by man as a finite being, but he is capable of seeing that he can only realize himself by voluntary submission to it. Should he rebelliously imagine that his acts proceed from his own immediate impulses, the reason of the universe will none the less achieve its purpose. With his inner gaze fixed upon the eternal the Stoic belittles all investigation of the constitution of the material world, and concentrates his soul upon his own rational self. In the consciousness of his own ego he finds the secret of life; for self-consciousness is at bottom not a principle of division, but a principle of union. Reason is that which distinguishes man from all other beings, and every man is in his essential nature rational. The wise man will therefore regard his own fate as of no more importance than the fate of others. Thus the Stoic is led to set up the ideal of a "city of men and gods." Indifferent to the solicitations of passion, he seeks to live the pure impartial life of reason.

But if man's real nature is to live the life dictated by reason, how does it come, it was objected, that we find men apparently acting, not from reason, but from impulse? The answer of the Stoic is that they "know not what they do." They seem to themselves to pass their lives in the pursuit of health or riches, of honour or fame, and to find in these the happiness they desire. In truth the pursuit of such objects

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can never bring happiness. A rational being cannot be untrue to reason, because it constitutes his real self. When he is said to be acted upon by the passions, it is really reason that is at work. What man really wills is the perfection of himself. Intellect and Will are individual forms in which the one rational self displays its nature. Man always wills the Good, although by confusion of judgment he is led to identify the Good with that which is not Good. True judgments belong to the reason, although they come before the mind only on occasion of particular experiences. Man seems to be determined by particular desires, but in his deepest self he knows that he ought to obey the law of reason, irrespective of the pain or pleasure that accompanies his action. Does he lose a wife, or child, or friend? Let him remember that the loss is in accord with the law of the universe, and then he will cease to be disturbed by it. And so in all cases. Nothing can destroy the self-centred calm of the man who perceives that pain and suffering are in harmony with the law of the universe.

While the Stoic ideal suggests a higher mode of life than even Plato, whose ideal State was but a unified Polis, had projected, it was marred by certain defects that were fatal to its self-consistency. First of all, its psychology is based upon a false conception of the relation of the subject to the object. The mind is conceived as completely external to all the objects that it is affirmed to know. Stoicism is therefore forced to say that objects are known to us only through the 'images' which arise in our minds in the reception of impressions of sense. How then can we know that ideas which are only copies of things correspond to the real nature of the objects they are held to represent? The answer of the Stoic is that images vary according as we exert greater or less energy of mind. If an image is perfectly clear and definite, we are entitled to say that it is a true representation of the external thing. We must therefore conclude that the images which fail in this respect do not truly indicate what the object is in itself. This explanation, as the Academics were quick to see, is untenable. What lies entirely beyond the mind and is in itself unknown, cannot be compared with the images held

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to be representative of real things; and there is besides the danger of our misinterpreting the process by which the various images are formed out of the data of sense.

Even if we discount the fundamental weakness of their psychology, the Stoics had a manifestly imperfect conception of human life. The criterion by which action is to be judged as good or bad is that of self-consistency; and this, they say, can only be attained by acting in consistency with the law of reason, which is always in harmony with itself. But what is this "law of reason"? It is the law, answers Cleanthes, which demands consistency with the nature of the universe. And that, adds Chrysippus, is the same as saying that we must act in consistency with our own rational nature. It does not seem to have occurred to the Stoic that these formulae do not supply any reason for acting in one way rather than another. We are to act entirely irrespective of any desire, for desire is in its nature contrary to reason. But this exclusion of all desire makes it impossible that we should act at all. Only by rationalizing the desires is goodness attainable. Action from love of mankind is the principle of all right conduct; but it cannot be realized if we are to exclude love of kindred and fellow-citizen and nation. Unless these enter as constituents of our whole view of life, the ideal of action from universal ends becomes unmeaning.

There is a similar defect in the Stoic conception of the Divine, viewed in its relation to the world. All things are declared to be a manifestation of the Divine, but the Stoic cannot show that any particular thing, or any definite human interest, is an expression of the universal Reason declared to be immanent in the world. Evil he conceives as a pure negation of good, and the abstractness of the Stoic conception of good makes it impossible to explain how there can be any antagonism of evil and good, or how good can overcome evil.

This pathetic failure to construct a self-consistent system must not be regarded as a mere beating of the air. Man learns by such abortive attempts to avoid the paths that lead nowhere. The Stoical attempt to construct a religious philosophy on the basis of indifference to all the ordinary ties of society could not permanently satisfy a being who is nothing

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if not social; nor could men find rest in a faith which was content to affirm that somehow, we know not how, man is part of a rational universe. What was required was the formation of a higher form of society than the old Greek city-state, with its narrowness and its perpetual tendency to internecine conflicts. Nothing short of a world-wide community can bring permanent satisfaction to man's inextinguishable desire for truth and goodness; and the Stoics at least prepared the way for the future realization of this noble ideal.

Like the best of the Stoics the Epicureans could see nothing in the old religion but a mass of superstition. Epicurus will not positively deny the existence of gods, but he makes no use of them in the construction of his philosophy. The gods, as Lucretius, his late follower, conceived them, are they who

"Haunt
The lucid interspace of world and world,
Where never creeps a cloud, or moves a wind,
Nor ever falls the least faint star of snow,
Nor ever lowest roll of thunder moans,
Nor sound of human sorrow mounts to mar
Their everlasting calm." *

Nor will Epicurus yield one jot to the Stoical conception of Fate or Destiny. "I had rather," he exclaims, "be a slave to the old gods of the vulgar than to the Fate or Destiny of the philosophers." When certain Stoics appealed to the principle *ex consensu gentium*, Epicurus called a halt. What is the good of having destroyed the old superstition, if people will go on deifying the Earth, the Moon, and the Stars, and filling the sky with seven times seven as many objects of worship as had been there before? There is nothing divine about the stars, nor are they directed by gods. They are just conglomerations of ordinary atoms of air or fire. The times in which we live are no doubt bad, but there is nothing to hinder a wise man from living a sane and humane life. Let the individual avoid all excess, living temperately and helping his neighbour, and he will reach the *ἀταραξία* that the Stoics are always prating about. He will not then be misled by immoderate passion, but will live a life of self-centred calm, which no outward circumstances can destroy. It is Epicurus, not any

*Tennyson's *Lucretius*.

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Stoic, who says that "the wise man can be happy even on the rack!"

With Epicurus thought begins to turn away from religion, and with the Sceptics philosophy becomes distinctly anti-theological. In the absence of any definite religious faith, all the philosophers of the Hellenistic Age sought to make the individual man strong in himself and independent of changing circumstances. Now this attitude implies, according to the Stoics and Epicureans, that man can know, by means of the images that arise in his mind, what the real nature of the objective world is. This assumption, argued the Sceptics, is unjustifiable. We know, and can know, nothing of the actual nature of the objective world, being confined, as both Stoics and Epicureans admit, to our own ideas. Nor is there, argued the Sceptics, any need for us to disturb ourselves about this inevitable limitation. Peace can be obtained by one grand act of renunciation. We have only to refrain from making any assertion about the nature of things, and peace will fall upon our souls.

This sceptical attitude is at once self-contradictory, and, if it were true, unfitted to secure the end at which it aims. We cannot have any knowledge even of our own ideas, if we are absolutely shut out from the object, because it is in relation to the object that we come to have a knowledge of ourselves. The affirmation of our inability to know reality is no legitimate scepticism, but the worst of all dogmatisms. It introduces doubt into the very centre of our being, and therefore precludes that peace which we are supposed to obtain through it. The truth is that the consciousness of Self, of the World, and of God, are inseparable elements in any rational view of the universe, and to isolate any of these elements is the worst possible way of securing peace. Without the consciousness of God, both the world and man become unmeaning.

It was therefore by no accident, but in the inevitable development of thought, that Plotinus, in the middle of the third century of our era, made a new attempt to formulate a self-consistent theory of the religious consciousness. It is true that previous to the rise of Neo-Platonism, there were Gnostic

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sects which sought to satisfy man's religious instincts by going entirely beyond the boundaries of knowledge, and attempting to find satisfaction in an immediate mystical intuition of the divine; but the only philosophy that afforded temporary relief to thinking men was that of Plotinus. In support of their claim to special means of revelation, the Gnostics employed the method of allegory. By this thoroughly unscientific procedure, they made Homer yield support to their doctrine that man may have direct communion with God. By *ecstasy*, they claimed, the soul is freed from the trammels of its sensible existence, and by *enthusiasm* the God enters into the soul of the worshipper. Plotinus, on the other hand, sought to construct a theology based upon reason and understanding. The philosophy of this successor to Plato had a powerful influence upon the theology of the Fathers of the Church, more especially of St. Augustine, and the creed of the Christian Church bears the distinct impress of Neo-Platonism even in our own day.

In order to understand the philosophy of Plotinus, it is of importance to realize the distinction between Pantheism and Mysticism. For the pantheist finite things have no reality in themselves: their sole reality lies in their relation to the divine. Matter and mind are indeed distinct, but they agree in being an equal manifestation of the divine. The divine, on the other hand, has no existence apart from the world, but is immanent in it. Very different is the view of the mystic. God is not, he maintains, immersed in finite things, thus raising them above their finitude, but is in relation to them absolutely transcendent. He is no doubt the source or cause of the finite, but He is not expressed in it, or at least not directly. The Absolute One, according to Plotinus, is complete in itself altogether apart from the natural and even the spiritual world. In the universe we find a hierarchy of Powers. Lowest of all is pure "matter"; which, however, receives "form" by turning to the higher grade of being that has produced it. And even "formless matter" owes its existence to the Absolute One. At this lowest grade of being there is no soul. Next in the ascent towards the Absolute appears the World-soul, which is the lowest stage of the ideal or

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spiritual world. Higher still is the active Intelligence, which turns itself towards the Divine, and contemplates the Intelligible World. Above all these grades of being stands the Absolute One, the Unity which cannot be defined, because definition would destroy its absoluteness, but which is nevertheless presupposed in all that is, and preeminently in the self-consciousness of man. Man is capable of rising above all the divisions of the phenomenal world, and even above interest in his own self as a particular being. It is because in this life man is immersed in the body that he is obliged to conceive things as externally related in space and time, and is subject to the influence of passion. But "when the soul has an intuition of God, it abandons everything else, and thus reaches that simple Unity of Being which is the perfect satisfaction of the soul" (Plotinus II. 7, 35). "We come to ourselves only as we lose ourselves in God" (VI. 9, 7). But while this "upward" way is open to man, he may also choose the "downward" path, and gradually lose the consciousness of his true self. Following the allure of passion, the soul may immerse itself more and more in the material body, till the light of reason dies out, and it becomes subject to the sensations and instincts of the animal, and even to the unconscious movements of the nutritive and reproductive life of the plant.

This hurried summary of the philosophy of Plotinus will give some idea of the doctrine set forth by Plotinus in his earlier writings. In his later years he was much disturbed by the attacks of the Christian Gnostics. Adopting the allegorical method, which had also been practised by the pre-Christian Gnostics, they claimed that the sacred writings must not be interpreted literally. The God of the Jews, they maintained, was not the true God. The sensible and material world is really the product of an evil Demiurgus, and the spirits of men, in so far as they belong to that world, are subject to its darkening and polluting influences. Only the "elect" among themselves can be delivered from its evil power by a Redeemer, emanating from the higher spiritual world, who descends into the world of sense to break the chains by which they are bound.

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The idea of the Gnostics that the material world is essentially evil was abhorrent to Plotinus. The material world, he stoutly contends, provides the first stepping-stone by means of which man may ascend to a higher world of being. No doubt this world is only a "reflexion" or "copy" of the higher world; but what more beautiful image of that world could there be? (II. 3. 4). He who despises this beauty must be one in whom it does not awake the reminiscence of the higher beauty from which it is derived (II. 9. 16). Man can by experience of evil learn to choose the good, for the way upward is open to him. Evil comes only from the free choice of the individual. There is no external Necessity or Fate that prevents him from following his higher self. Though undoubtedly there is evil in the world, it is continually subordinated to good. The character of individuals, and not an external necessity, determines their fate. If it is objected that in point of fact we often find the wicked triumphing and the good depressed, Plotinus answer that this is irrelevant, for to an immortal being suffering and death are but little things. And we must not forget that spiritual life, by its very nature, is the source of greater division and strife than exists among creatures who do not partake in reason. It is because man is higher than the animal that he is led into evil.

The value of Neo-Platonism, imperfect as it is as a final rendering of man's religious consciousness, lies in its unexampled power of expressing the character of the mystical form of religion. It emphasizes the truth, that underlying man's ordinary divisive consciousness there is an inextinguishable desire for union with the Divine. In the ordinary secular consciousness this principle is rather an obscure and undefined feeling than a reasoned belief, and it is the true purpose of a self-consistent philosophy of religion to show the relation of this principle to the life of man. The defect of Plotinus is that he has not grasped this principle in its concrete totality; with the result that he has to fall back upon a divisive system which, taken at its face value, is full of contradictions. Seeking to avoid the Pantheism of the Stoics, and the superstition and exclusiveness of the Gnostics, he refuses to admit that God can possibly be defined; not seeing

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that, by emptying the Divine of all determination, he has reduced it logically to blank Nothingness. The Infinite cannot be thought at all if it is devoid of all determination. Plotinus, it is true, did not mean to assert that the One is devoid of all determination, but only that it is so absolutely beyond our faculty of thought that we can assign no adequate predicates to it. He conceives the One as so complete and perfect in itself that it can have no direct contact with anything else; and therefore, he argues, it is entirely separated from the human mind and from the world. Yet he is not prepared to admit that God has no relation whatever to the phenomenal world; and to avoid this conclusion, he interposes between the One and pure Matter, first, the Intelligence with its object the Intelligible; secondly, the World-soul; and, thirdly, lifeless things. Each of these grades of being he conceives as showing less and less of the divine nature—as if a contradiction were avoided by being reduced to smaller dimensions! In truth there is no escape from these contradictions but by the path of Christianity, which affirms that the whole Universe, including man, is a self-revelation of the nature of God.

JOHN WATSON.

AERO-ICE*

IN the remarkable development of aerial navigation there are many new problems arising from day to day. With the introduction of the air mail, with the subsequent necessity for night flying in all weathers, a very serious menace has arisen in the formation of ice on the struts and wings and propellor of the aeroplane. It is generally acknowledged that very little is known of this phenomenon and that the pilot is often brought down by the serious interference, both in stream-line flow and weight, when this formation occurs on the plane. As a result of enquiries sent out to pilots all over Canada and the United States, it appears that the problem is a serious one and deserving of the most careful study.

Major Victor W. Page, of the Air Corps of the United States, in his book on *Modern Aircraft*, page 785, says:

“The greatest of all our problems is ice. When the temperature ranges from the freezing point down to about 10 degrees above zero Fahrenheit, moisture in the clouds will freeze on the airplane, first upon the wires, then upon the struts and the fabric, loading the airplane and increasing its resistance until it is forced down. When this happens the landing-speed is usually 20 or 30 m.p.h. higher than normal, due to the increased load. When the temperature is below plus 10 degree Fahrenheit, the clouds are apparently composed of minute ice crystals that cannot and do not freeze on the ship.”

In this brief survey of the problem of aero-ice I will discuss the possible existence of ice in its various forms, as we know it occurs in the air. These forms are 1, snow; 2, hoar frost; 3, hail; 4, sleet; 5, sand. All these forms are produced and occasioned by the temperature, humidity, and velocity of the air currents, and are profoundly influenced by nocturnal or terrestrial radiation.

Let us examine how these different air conditions affect the formation of ice:

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Temperature

The temperature of the air determines the temperature of the water vapor purely by mechanical action, or contact proximity of the molecules. When water evaporates the water molecules are independent of the air molecules and behave the same as in a vacuum. The air being the greater in amount determines the temperature of the space occupied by the air molecules and only in this way affects the water vapor. The temperature of the air in winter and in summer controls the temperature of the water vapor.

Humidity

This is given as absolute or relative when finding the amount of water vapor in any given volume of air. The phrase "*a saturated atmosphere*" is often misleading. In no sense are the water molecules dissolved in the atmosphere. Absolute humidity refers to the weight of water vapor in a given unit volume of space. Relative humidity refers to the per cent. of possible maximum water content in the unit space, divided into the amount of water which is present at any time. In a cold space the absolute humidity may be very small with a high relative humidity, while the reverse may be the case at a higher temperature. Thus in the winter with subzero temperatures the relative humidity may be 100% when the absolute humidity is vanishingly small. When a unit space has 100% relative humidity and a maximum absolute humidity, it means the vapor pressure of the water in that space is the maximum possible corresponding to that temperature. When condensation is delayed, any amount of water vapor over and above the maximum referred to above may be forced into the space. Thus any given space may easily become supercharged with vapor.

Velocity of air currents

Moving air currents may produce pockets in which the relative humidity or absolute humidity is different to the surrounding space: when flowing past fixed bodies or surfaces, conditions along the boundary may be very different to that in the free air. Thus there is a pressure difference along the boundary which may induce condensation on the surface or

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evaporation as the circumstances of flow may determine. Moving currents of air induce greater evaporation and cause temperature effects which fundamentally determine the percentage of water vapor carried through the space.

Terrestrial Radiation

Into free space through a clear atmosphere heat is lost from the earth at a fixed rate. This is made evident when the sun is not shining by the rapid cooling of any surface exposed to the sky either in summer or winter. The mean temperature of the earth is fixed by the balance between the incoming radiation from the sun and sky, and the outgoing radiation to the cold of space. Were the sun to cease shining the earth would rapidly cool down to liquid air temperature. Radiation from the earth is absorbed by water vapor in the air. Clouds and high humidity cut off the radiation from the earth and reflect it back again. Very cold winter weather with clear sky is conducive to high radiation.

Snow

Snow is formed high up in the cold air by nuclei of colloidal water or ice of microscopic dimensions. These are probably the trihydrol molecules or triple molecules of water which form the true ice formation. These molecules evaporate from water surfaces in which they are present at all temperatures up to the boiling point. These trihydrols start the building up of the crystal form, which grows in proportion to the relative humidity of the space through which they pass. Very beautiful snow flakes have been photographed and nearly all forms have visible the nuclear centre about which the crystal is built. Small snow flakes are usually formed in a cold space with high wind velocity. Large snow flakes are formed in a humid still air. Double and triple snow flakes are formed readily in a still atmosphere.

Hoar Frost

Water vapor coming from an exposed surface and evaporated into a cold space becomes supersaturated and may be carried a long way by currents of air. When coming in contact with a rigid body or fixed object the vapor sublimates directly on the object, which need not be colder than the

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space. The frost builds rapidly and forms a flowery structure of light texture. It is the product of a supersaturated atmosphere, or a relative humidity of over 100%.

Hail

This form of aero-ice is formed by large rain drops being carried up through the colder atmosphere by ascending currents of air. In the process they become frozen and rapidly grow by attaching vapor particles and smaller rain drops. They may become very large and in texture are seen to be composed of a soft frozen core and a crust of clear ice very much like Spanish cream in appearance.

Sleet

This form of liquid ice usually comes from rain at or just below the freezing point coming in contact with a body cooled well below the freezing point. The supercooled liquid is frozen directly to the exposed surface.

Ice Sand

This is the best name to describe the fine hard particles of ice which form in the air and are almost invisible. It consists probably of precipitated colloidal particles from a supercharged atmosphere. These particles while perfect disks at first soon take on an irregular shape with angular edges and sharp crystal points which produce irritation when impinging on the skin. The so-called "black death" recognized by the Black Foot Indians is probably this form of atmospheric ice.

Comparison with Ice in Water

In many ways the ice of the atmosphere resembles water formed ice, and the study of the latter will help in gaining a knowledge of the former. Thus *frazil* resembles the hail, snow and sand of the atmosphere, while *anchor ice* resembles the hoar frost and sleet.

Ice formation on an aeroplane may be brought about by direct deposition of water vapor on the cooled surfaces or by passing through a sleet storm or supersaturated air pocket. The surface of the plane is cooled by virtue of its great speed through the air when it has on it a deposit of dew or thin ice just as the wet bulb thermometer is cooled in the sling by the

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hygrometer. The surface of the plane may be cooled by radiation. This cooling is very rapid and may lower the surface of the plane several degrees in as many minutes. When so cooled and the plane passes through a cloud or super-humid space, a deposit of dew at once gathers. Evaporation follows in a space of low humidity with further cooling of the surface. Thus it is possible in an otherwise clear air to have a rapid deposit of ice when the air temperature is above freezing. When the velocity is highest such as around the propeller blades ice tends to deposit more rapidly just as anchor ice in water grows on objects over which the water currents are the swiftest.

Studies Should be Made of Aero-Ice

Before suggestions can be made in an intelligent way of methods to minimize the effects of ice on aeroplanes it is essential to obtain more scientific information of the action of ice in the atmosphere.

1. Temperature determinations should be made in actual flights of the amount of cooling of the surface of a plane for different degrees of atmosphere humidity and speed.

2. The effect of radiation in the upper air should be found on the cooling of the plane.

3. Surfaces should be studied for the adhesion of ice. For instance, it has been found from studies of the growth of anchor ice on various surfaces that these differ very much in their power of holding the ice. The nature of the actual mechanical contact of ice on any surface is not known. This should be studied. For instance, ice will adhere to a porous surface like concrete with its full crushing strength. On a chromium surface, however, or on a cast iron surface ice only poorly attaches itself. Hence such a surface grows anchor ice with difficulty.

4. A study should be made of instruments which may be installed on a plane for detecting the critical zones where ice may be expected. Such an instrument might be a combination of a surface thermometer with a hygrometer by which the relation of temperature and humidity on the border line of possible ice formation may be determined. These critical

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zones should be studied by competent pilots with a trained scientific observer.

5. The more important quantitative work should be done in a wind tunnel where conditions can be regulated and maintained constant over a known interval of time. *But before such experiments are done qualitative measurements should be obtained by actual flight.*

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“FAUST” AND “PEER GYNT”

I.

IN that long-wrought masterpiece of Goethe Faust makes a compact with the devil, steeps himself in the most bestial of pleasures, and seduces a pure, innocent girl, who goes mad out of shame and murders her illegitimate child. He suggests a fake economic remedy to a foolish emperor who has brought his empire to the verge of bankruptcy through his folly, a remedy which only hurries on the ruin of the empire. When there is anything tangible to be done for the benefit of humanity, it is Mephistopheles who does it—Mephistopheles with his minions, not Faust himself. Finally, to crown his life's activity, as it were, Faust repeats the Biblical tragedy of Naboth's vineyard, himself playing the leading role; he causes an old couple to perish in flames in order to make way for his own extraordinary ambition. Then Goethe sends him to Heaven, where he finds salvation through Gretchen's intercession before the Virgin Mary—the Gretchen whom he had once seduced!

Peer Gynt, too, has a career which is filled with unwholesome activity. He ruins a wedding by carrying off the bride, and then abandons her. He engages in the slave trade, the Bible trade, whiskey trade, and missionary trade. He is a braggart, a liar, a false prophet. To avoid death, Peer pushes a drowning man from a plank to which he is clinging in a shipwreck, since he fears that the plank will not hold them both. And Ibsen leaves him to spend his last days in avoiding the assiduous pursuit of a certain button-moulder, who seeks to melt down Peer's ideals in his crucible together with a heap of other button material. Faust goes to Heaven, and Peer Gynt is left to dodge the button-moulder. Yet their ways of life have apparently been very similar in kind!

II.

Goethe came to consider evolutionism, or the gradual development of all phases of both physical and mental life

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from one form to another, as the basic principle of the universe, and thus formulated, in his quiet, matter-of-fact, almost unconscious way, a concept which divided the whole nineteenth century into two hostile camps—evolutionists and anti-evolutionists, or as Goethe names them symbolically in “Faust”, Neptunists and Vulcanists. But, fundamental though evolutionism is in Goethe’s attitude to life, it is not the only great principle by which he guided his life and taught others to guide their lives. The main teaching of “Faust”, in so far as the poem has any doctrine, and if we may single out one of its manifold treasures from among all the rest, is the philosophy which swept Europe during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and which is still being preached to-day by many of the foremost leaders of thought, the philosophy of self-development or self-realization.

We must resist the temptation to find such facile keys to “Faust” as the explanation that the poem teaches a gospel of activity, of constant striving, of idealism. In the first place Faust is not an idealist. Moreover, it stands to reason that activity, or constant striving, in itself has no value whatsoever as a philosophy of life. A man who picks pockets all his life is very active; but few of us would feel inclined to approve his activity. True, there are many lines in “Faust” in which constant activity is advocated as the salvation for humanity, particularly the famous couplet:

Wer immer strebend sich bemüht,
Den können wir erlösen.

But long, long before it there occurs the equally celebrated couplet:

Ein guter Mensch, in seinem dunkeln Drange,
Ist sich des rechten Weges wohl bewusst.

which lays down the condition under which activity can work out successfully as a philosophy of life; and this is the point which we shall develop here.

Faust is a good man, or what was the same thing for Goethe, a great man. Hence the Lord, in the Prologue in Heaven, has no fear of exposing Faust to temptation; for when a character like Faust is led through the many phases

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of life and allowed to react both instinctively and intellectually to them, he is certain to emerge triumphant, and to gain by his very mistakes and faults. Goethe himself underwent in the course of his life most of the crises which he depicts in the career of Faust. As a young lad at Frankfurt, he led a gay life in a company of youths of doubtful respectability; as a student at Leipzig, he lived so well that his health broke down—experiences which may be compared with Faust's visit to Auerbachs Keller. The love affairs which Goethe had early in life in such rapid succession, particularly the love affair with Friederike von Sesenheim, are symbolized in "Faust" by the Gretchen episode. Finally, if Faust leads the emperor astray by his fake remedy of paper money, and thus brings the empire to the verge of ruin, Goethe himself, when he undertook the management of the duchy of Weimar, almost reduced that little State to bankruptcy, by leading the young duke into a life of licentiousness, and causing him to neglect his affairs of State. Yet we never hold these serious misdemeanours against Goethe, because we realize that his was a great soul, a soul which was bound to benefit from experience, a soul moreover, which does not commit faults as other human beings do, and which cannot therefore be judged by those narrow and somewhat mechanical criteria of morality by which the conduct of average human beings must be measured.

This last point merits considerable elaboration, because to our democratic ears it sounds so treasonous that the crimes of great men should be judged by other standards than the crimes of little men. The Gretchen tragedy, as Gundolf points out with profound penetration, differs fundamentally from the many "Kindermörderin" tragedies, after which it is modelled. The latter always represent a heartless rascal who seduces an innocent girl, and then abandons her with her illegitimate child, and leaves her to the severe disapproval of a morally outraged society. The Gretchen episode, on the other hand, depicts the story of a man who is not a villain and a vile seducer of women, but who has loved the girl with a love whose purity is worthy of her innocence. But when the first intoxication of the idyll has worn off, the man realizes that

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the two are eminently unsuited to each other. The discovery causes him infinite pain, because he is aware that if he abandons the girl he will bring grief and disgrace upon her; and yet he feels himself impelled by some unknown inner force, by his ‘demon,’ to cease his relations with her, however idyllic they have been in the past and might continue to be in the future. This was exactly Goethe’s feeling in his relations toward Friederike von Sesenheim, who is the life portrait of the Gretchen of “Faust.” Goethe abandoned her, not because he was a cur, but because some mysterious force within him told him that this girl would act as a check upon his genius and prevent him from giving to the world the eternal monuments which he has left it. Shelley, too, in leaving Harriet Westbrook, did so only after a profound and painful struggle, after he had been convinced by plentiful evidence that they were unfitted to each other, and that she would prevent him from realizing his genius. We more than excuse the indisputably faulty conduct which Goethe showed towards Friederike, because he suffered from the crime as much as Friederike herself, but felt himself impelled to renounce the love which he so much desired.

The same thing is true in the case of Faust. Faust makes mistake after mistake during his long life. But we feel all along what the Lord has announced in the Prologue in Heaven, that here is a great soul, which is fully conscious of what is right, and which is bound to benefit by its very mistakes. We see Faust following his natural impulses, realizing himself. True, many times he comes to grief; but we must remember that he learns from experience. The noisy and drunken atmosphere of Auerbachs Keller disgusts him, so he does not repeat the experience. The remedy of paper money is a swindle; hence, during his subsequent contact with the emperor, he cultivates the piece of submerged land and thus bestows a lasting benefit upon humanity. Finally, we must remember that just as Goethe’s mistakes yielded his poetical works, so Faust’s tragic experience with Gretchen elevates him to a pursuit of the ideal of beauty symbolized by Helen of Troy, and to the cultivation of the ideal of poetry symbolized by Euphorion. That is why Faust’s salvation

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comes through the intercession of the very Gretchen who suffered such a tragic fate at his hands. She realizes now that her tragic experience was only a factor in the production of a greater good, and is therefore contented not only to forgive Faust's conduct but to sanction it. And if Faust resorts to Mephistopheles for the practical realization of all his desires, it is because he is one of those souls which are born to plan the work more common mortals must execute.* It is not activity as such which brings Faust into Heaven, but the activity of a great or good man, the realization or development of a soul which possesses latent qualities of the highest order.

We thus see Goethe's "Faust" heralding the philosophy of self-realization which was later on taken up by Hebbel, Ibsen, Butler and Nietzsche, and which is to-day dominating the writings of Bernard Shaw, D. H. Lawrence, Arzibascheff and the foremost psychologists of the Freudian school.

III.

Ibsen was fully conscious of the very important condition which Goethe attached to the self-realization philosophy of life. He had himself preached self-development in his "Brand", but, like Goethe, he saw that the gospel of self-realization is exposed to a grave danger, and this danger he points out in his next work "Peer Gynt". Whether or not Ibsen even thought of Goethe's "Faust" in this connection is of little importance. In either case, "Peer Gynt" is a fitting sequel to "Faust", a kind of "caveat" to Goethe's drama.

Peer Gynt, too, is a character who seeks to realize himself. "Peer Gynt, Emperor of Himself", is the legend which he inscribes as a motto above his cottage door. But Peer fails to fulfil the condition which alone makes a philosophy of self-realization successful; he is not "ein guter Mensch." He has not the noble qualities and instincts of Faust, but the impulses of a braggart, a liar, a fool and a rotter. Faust's strayings lead to his worship of Helen of Troy, the ideal of beauty, and to the birth of Euphorion, the spirit of poetry.

*Dass sich das grösste Werk vollende,
Genügt *ein* Geist für tausend Hände.

“FAUST” AND “PEER GYNT”

Peer's seduction and abandonment of Ingrid does not teach him to pursue a higher ideal; for directly after he falls in love with the Trolld king's daughter, and he ends by hailing a fickle dancing girl as the Eternal-Feminine of Goethe—an interesting contrast to Faust's worship of Helen. His occupation with the slave trade, the Bible trade, the whiskey trade and the missionary trade end by his being marooned on the African coast due to the treachery of the men he believed to be his worshippers. But this misfortune is of no advantage whatever to him; for the next moment he is ready to become a false prophet. And it is a master stroke of Ibsen's that Peer lands in the asylum at Cairo. How similar in nature have been the careers of both Faust and Peer Gynt, and yet how different the results which they produced! And the reason for these different results is that Faust is a noble soul which has everything to gain from being given free rein to realize itself, whereas Peer Gynt is nothing but a bounder at heart, and as such a person who is sure to abuse so dangerous a philosophy as the gospel of self-realization.

See what happens, says Goethe, when a great man is given the liberty to follow his natural impulses. Yes, says Ibsen, but see what happens when a small and petty man follows out *his* natural impulses. It is with equal justice that Goethe admits Faust to Heaven, and that Ibsen consigns Peer Gynt to the button-moulder. Both have been equally active; but what a vast gulf there lies between the fruits of these activities!

H. STEINHAUER.

THE EDUCATION OF THE BRILLIANT CHILD*

TO-DAY I intend to be extremely critical of our achievements in education in Ontario. It is the privilege of a Canadian speaking to Canadians. There was a time when we in Canada needed above all things to be heartened. In the days when as a colony we looked up to the mother-country; when we were but a struggling fringe on the borders of an opulent neighbour, it was meet that men such as my own father should bid us to lift up our hearts, should tell us of the great heritage that was ours. Even now we must never forget either these men or their message; but we have now begun to enter into our heritage and it is time for those of us who love Canada to show our love by our criticism. I shall never forget the saying of that great educator, Principal Hutton: "To Megara," he said, "Socrates gave his facile, fluent praise; to Athens his criticism and his love." I am no Socrates, but in this at least I can imitate him; I shall not cease to give to Canada and to Canadian education my criticism and my love.

Where shall I begin? There is an old story of an Oxford lecturer who began in October a course of lectures on the French Revolution. In the following February a friend met one of his pupils and asked how the lecturer was progressing. "Splendidly," was the reply, "he has reached the seventeenth dynasty of the Pharaohs already." Similarly, in discussing this subject I feel that I cannot do so adequately without going on to discuss our whole educational system; from that I shall be led on to our social, economic and political system, which our education influences and by which it is influenced; that will lead me on to a discussion of the three great nations which have so profoundly influenced our history, Great Britain, France, the United States; and my paper will be incomplete if I stop even there. Such treatment of the subject being

*A paper read before the Supervising and Training Department of the Ontario Education Association, April, 1928.

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happily impossible, let me strike in at once at a point chosen arbitrarily, even if thereby I admit a loss of perspective.

You no doubt have read the report by Mr. W. S. Learned upon "The Quality of the Educational Process in the United States and in Europe," given in the 20th and 21st Annual Reports of the Carnegie Foundation for the advancement of teaching in 1925 and 1926.¹ We have been accustomed to think of our American cousins as given somewhat to self-praise, but we find that the report of Mr. Learned is as frankly critical as were previous reports of the Foundation on other sides of the educational process, such as that on medical education, which wrought such great improvement both in the United States and Canada. We find Mr. Learned saying that "an education is normally, and we believe rightfully, conceived to be for those who can learn and who desire to learn. Such a function is in the highest degree selective"; (1925, p. 84). He goes on to tell us that the Secondary Schools of the U.S.A., far from practicing this selective function, are deliberately made non-selective in the much abused name of democracy. "The schools are non-selective and undifferentiated with respect to the quality of the pupil. A low average level of operations is the result." Our education has become "sentimentally inclusive," instead of being, as in England and to a still greater degree in France and Germany, "rigidly selective"; (1925, p. 87). Education, which should be an aristocratic process in the sense of being a careful selection of the best, has become a democratic process in the sense of an endeavour to give an equal smear of it to everyone. "Doubtless the most potent element of all in the contrast between the European schools and ours is the fact that, although our High School classes, and even some College classes, are not far above the average ability of the youthful population, we are nevertheless theoretically seeking from them intellectual results that can only reasonably be expected of a selected portion of that population. Every older nation has long since discovered that such results can be secured only through

¹Mr. Learned's report has been published separately and may be had on application to the Carnegie Foundation for Teaching at 522 Fifth Avenue, New York.

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segregation for instruction according to intellectual capacity; (1926, p. 88). And he bluntly comes to the conclusion "that we have hitherto made no provision in our High Schools for a secondary curriculum of first quality in the European sense; (1926, p. 81). For this lack he gives a number of causes; among the chief are that in American secondary education subjects are worked up for a year or two, or perhaps only for half a year until the requisite credit has been gained, the requisite unit fulfilled, and then are dropped forthwith. The result is a smattering which results in intellectual thinness and mediocrity. With this he contrasts British and Continental education wherein subjects grow steadily and are steadily developed; "it is a nine year progress wherein nothing is ever dropped. Once a subject is started, it grows from its point of departure to the end of the course. This continuity of the warp of education is a matter of singular importance; indeed it is the *essential* fact of European schooling; it makes possible that background of mastered ideas that is the necessary basis of all clear and individual thinking." (1925, p. 89.)

The result of this badly knit secondary education is to give "the American student a serious handicap in comparison with the European. This is variously estimated as from one to three years in time, but the difference in quality is one that the average American student probably never recovers"; (1926, p. 119).

He speaks elsewhere of "the utter disorganization that has overtaken the American secondary curriculum," and says that under her system of unlimited disconnected options, nominal "enrichment" becomes actual impoverishment; (1925, p. 90). There is of course, as he admits, one great department of American education to which these criticisms do not apply; one to which the American gift of administration and efficiency has been applied with such results that they are leading the world; it is athletics.

How far should this criticism of American secondary education be taken to heart by us in Canada, and how far may we after reading it thank God that we are not as other men are, or even as these Americans? I make bold to say that, while certain parts of it are inapplicable, other parts

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should give us furiously to think. More especially do I regard it as true—and I recognize the seriousness of what I say—that the Canadian boy or girl of fourteen of a good type is at least a year behind his opposite number in Great Britain and France in intellectual development; that the average good Canadian young man or woman of eighteen is about two years behind; and that I can see no counterbalancing superiority which can be put to the credit of our schools. Counterbalancing superiorities there are indeed, but they spring from other branches of our social system than our schools, and would remain after the slack in the school had been taken up.

It is then a question of suiting the education to the child, and of devising a brilliant education for the brilliant child. Unfortunately such an idea runs foul of our deep-seated sentimentality. Recently a conference met in Toronto to discuss “the education of the exceptional child.” Almost its whole discussion concerned the Moron and the sub-normal; that there was an exceptional child at the other end came far less into the discussion. That the Moron and the sub-normal constitute a problem, I am not fool enough to deny. Prevention is better than cure, and schools for the underprivileged may do not a little to lessen the number of our criminals; but this surely we must do and not leave the other undone. We have an even greater duty to the super-normal than to the sub-normal.

Of course, it will be said that “the wind bloweth where it listeth; and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth; so is everyone that is born of the Spirit.” The brilliant boy will come to the top anyhow. Shakespeare left school at about 14; it is possible that further education might have hampered his genius. Milton was one of the greatest scholars of his age. It looks as if in these higher realms of the spirit formal instruction or the lack of it matters little. All this is true; it is unlikely that any improvements in our educational system will give us great poets or great scientists who would otherwise have been mute and inglorious; but the fact remains that below these few rare gifts of God there is a large class amounting to anywhere from ten to thirty per cent. of the population,

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with gifts decidedly above the average, and that we are not making the most of these; that between the ages of eleven and fourteen we lose with most of these pupils about one year, and that without any compensating advantage. It is the function of education to develop sub-conscious gifts of leadership, and it is a commonplace that we are to-day deficient in such leaders. Ask any American educationist wherein lies the chief weakness of their universities and he will say that it is in the lack of Presidential timber. There are a few distinguished personalities in Canadian life at present, but all too few; the conversation at the average club or dinner table is too often dull and lacking in distinction. We have no such class in the community as that from which the British Civil Service is drawn; and in spite of one or two recent scandals the British and the Indian Civil Services are two of the great glories of the nineteenth century.

May I take an example from Upper Canada College of what can be done. In 1920 we instituted as our War Memorial a system of entrance scholarships, open to boys of fourteen years of age and under. These are open equally to the son of the millionaire or the son of the pauper; by them five boys a year are enabled to come at a greatly reduced fee to our Upper School, the class-room work in which corresponds in character to the work of a Collegiate Institute. From 1913 to 1923 our boys had won only four matriculation scholarships into Canadian universities. From 1923 on, the year in which our entrance scholarships first began to show their effects, we have won 21, of which 16 were won by the holders of our Entrance Memorial Scholarships. There is an example of what a little judicious selection of brilliant boys will do.

From the day that Governor Simcoe gathered together his homespun legislators at Newark, Ontario has thought nobly of education; and has not spared expense. I have figures here which show that since 1902 the amount spent on Primary and Secondary education has increased more than seven-fold; yet to-day our whole system seems to me to need reorganization and reorientation. Democracy surely does not mean that equality of achievement is necessary; that whatever our natural differences of capacity we must all proceed

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at the same pace; it does mean equality of opportunity, but not even that in the sense that initial differences of capacity are denied, or that vessels of very different capacity must each be filled with the same modicum. Democracy in education surely means what it did for Napoleon — "*la carrière ouverte aux talents*," an open road for men of talent; it means a Society in which each man and woman gets and gives that which he is best fitted to receive and to give, not a horrible Communism in which each gives and gets the same thing, independent of capacity.

I make bold to say that our present educational system does not sufficiently aid the production of intellectual distinction, but rather tends to cramp and to standardize. Recently at Oxford the Secretary of the Rhodes Scholarships has been compiling the results of the first twenty-one years of that great experiment, from 1905 to 1926. He finds that in the final honour examinations at Oxford 13.11 per cent. of Canadians won first class honours; 59.84 per cent. second class; 21.31 per cent. third class; 2.46 per cent. fourth class; and 3.28 per cent. failed. On the other hand, Australia had 30.86 per cent. in the first class, and 53.09 per cent. in the second. New Zealand obtained 41.18 per cent. in the first class, and had none below third class.

There are, of course, certain excuses to be made for us, but even of the American Rhodes Scholars, trained in the system which Mr. Learned so savagely criticizes, 14.89 per cent. attained first class (though only 48.39 per cent. attained second class, so that in firsts and seconds combined their record is below ours). Compare these results with those obtained by the "Scholars" and "Exhibitioners" of the Oxford Colleges, who were trained in English or Scotch schools, and who won their scholarships by examination before entering Oxford. These men have been selected on a more strictly intellectual basis than the Rhodes Scholars, but are usually from one to two years younger; so that the comparison is fair enough. The figures show that of these British-trained scholarship holders 27.82 per cent. won first class in Final Honours, and 45.46 per cent. second class. After all excuses have been made it is not pleasant to think that Australians

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and New Zealanders beat the English schools at their own game and that it is North America which has pulled down the record of the Rhodes Scholars. May I give my own experience. I entered Queen's University with a scholarship in Classics at the age of 16. I left it at 21 with the medals in Latin and Greek, and then went to Oxford. I found myself two years older than the best young Englishmen with whom I came into contact at Balliol, but distinctly behind them in Classics, and certainly not ahead of them in general reading, general intelligence, or power of thought and expression.

These instances seem to show, and my general experience confirms, that we are giving in Canada a very good second-rate education, but are failing to train intellectual distinction, are in danger of polishing pebbles and dimming diamonds.

When I consider our Public and High Schools I am tempted to become cynical and to say that our effort seems to be to train in mental diffusion, and to do all we can to render difficult the habit of concentration. With too few exceptions our pupils go through the Public Schools in a lock-step regardless of difference in capacity. Yet these differences in natural capacity are very great. I am not speaking of the genius on the one hand and the moron on the other; but of the differences in a Form in which all children are supposed to be normal. The investigation of such differences has been carried on much more systematically in the United States than in Canada. I find that in a recent Test set to pupils of the First Form in a High School (Ninth Grade) in Oaklands, California, in 125 pupils the Mental Age differed from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to $18\frac{1}{2}$; and while it is true that there was only one at one end of this limit and two at the other, there was a fair number all along the way from a Mental Age of 13 to one of 18. At Upper Canada College last September, a similar test of 90 supposedly normal boys of the average age of 14 revealed a Mental Age, for boys all of whom were supposed to be ready to go into the same Form, of 9 to 19; omitting the one exception at each end, there was a number all along the line from 11 to 17. Of these 44 were over one year in

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Mental Age above their chronological age. In the same school of which I have spoken at Oaklands, California, the number in the Eighth Grade, corresponding to our Senior Fourth Book, who were well in advance of their actual age, was 37%. From the report of the Chief Inspector of Toronto Schools for 1926 I have gathered the following figures. The course in the Public Schools of Toronto is one of seven years. Deducting the Kindergarten and Form 1, there is left five years' work, i.e., Form 2, and Forms 3 and 4, each of which has two divisions. The total number of pupils who were less than one year in any form, who were what is called "accelerated", was 1231 out of 48,833, or 2.52%.¹ The form of the Report does not allow one to gather the exact number who were well in advance of the normal age of the Form but it was at least 14,660, or rather more than 30%. Do not these figures prove how little we do in the largest city in Ontario to break the lock-step, to help along these special pupils, either by quicker promotion, or by enrichment of their course!²

It is easy to caricature the idea which I am expressing; to ask me if it is not better to have a high general level of education than to produce one or two stars, which may only stand out the brighter because of the surrounding blackness. I shall be given awful instances of brilliant pupils who were ruined by being over-forced, or saved by judicious retardation. The products imagined by Dean Swift in the Island of Laputa, or by Charles Kingsley in "The Water Babies" will be pressed into service as embodying my ideal for young Canada.

¹In 1927 it was 1250 out of 47,613, or 2.62%.

²May I say here how useful we have found Mental Tests in grading pupils. Of course, with us some such help in our preliminary grading is especially necessary. We have annually at our main school from 90 to 100 entrants. These comprise pupils from our own Preparatory School; pupils who have just passed their Entrance from the Public Schools of Ontario; and a sprinkling of others all the way from Yokohama to Peru. The Mental Tests have been of great service in enabling us to make a satisfactory preliminary grading; and every teacher knows how much help to him is a well-graded form. We have not yet introduced their use in making promotions, but I have it in mind. Of course, Tests must be used with caution; but as a help in grading I wish to bear emphatic testimony to their usefulness.

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Is it not true that no corps in the Great War showed a higher level of initiative and intelligence than the Canadian, that thousands of our privates rose in our own and the British Army from the ranks to high position? It is true; but we have now reached in Ontario a social, financial and educational status which will enable us, if we wish, to do the one without leaving the other undone.

What then are we to do in Ontario? First of all we must recognize that there is a problem. We must foreswear cant and false thinking done in the misused name of democracy. Solutions will come gradually, once the problem is clear. I have no Morrison's Pill for Ontario to swallow. However, it is only fair that I should endeavour to some extent at least to be definite. Mr. Richard LeGallienne once wrote a book entitled, "If I were God," which *Punch* reviewed under the heading of "happily impossible." Let me tell you a few of the things which I should endeavour to do if I were made Minister of Education in this Province. Perhaps at the end of them you will like *Punch* say "happily impossible."

If I were offered the Ministership, I would make certain stipulations. One of these would be that money should be found to give during my term of office as rapidly as the needs of the service would allow one year's leave of absence on full pay to all inspectors and principals of Normal Schools. This year they would be compelled to spend in travel in the United States, in Great Britain, or on the Continent, and on their return they would be promoted, demoted or dismissed according to the intelligence and open-mindedness of their report.

Next I would recognize that certain quite important portions of the world lie outside Ontario, and I would go beyond the province to a considerable extent for the men who would take their places during their leave of absence. I would cause to blow upon our system fresh winds from various quarters. Such a little breeze we had in 1925 from England in the visit of Mr. Savage, whose wise and kindly words in the report of the Minister of Education for 1926 are well worthy of study.¹ Some of these men I would try to persuade to remain in the

¹Mr. Savage's report has now (1928) been published in full by H. M. Stationery Office, under the title of "Secondary Education in Ontario" (price 1/6).

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Province. There is altogether too much of the trades union and the closed shop about our present Department of Education. Look over the preachers in Toronto. Of the six best not more than two are Ontario trained. Look over the great men who have directed and are directing our railways. Van-horne, Shaughnessy, Thornton were all importations. Even in our Faculty of Education we have brought in Professor Sandiford—greatly to our advantage. By this I do not mean for a moment that we should throw open the doors and let in a flood of British cheap labour to compete in our High Schools and Collegiate Institutes; or that most of the prizes of the profession should be given to the outsider; but I do mean that a wise Minister should now and then bring in from outside not merely to report but to remain, men who can do good service for the Province and add distinction to our education. Our Ontario educational system won a medal for efficiency at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, and since then it has tended to sit like Endymion wrapt in the contemplation of its own perfection.

Some of the men thus sent on leave I would set to investigate the question of the best age for beginning secondary education. In Great Britain and in practically every European country the age for beginning Secondary Education of various types is put at "Eleven plus."² In the United States the Junior High School movement is growing fast. The three years of life from eleven plus to fourteen plus are probably from the point of view of the teacher the best years of his pupil's life. The child has reached adolescence, but is seldom as yet obsessed by the urges of later adolescence. His mental curiosity is as keen as that of an infant, but he has begun to reason. What advantage do we take of this halcyon period? We go on to give him—or her—the same old Arithmetic, English, and History, which he has hitherto had. What a meagre diet for the intent little mind; we seem to be seeking for slackness of interest, not for keenness and concentration.

This movement for beginning Secondary—or Post-primary—Education at an earlier age has in the United States and in one or more of our sister provinces been linked up with

²See Mr. Learned's report, also "The Education of the Adolescent." (H. M. Stationery Office, 1926).

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what is called the Junior High School. All that I have read of this—and I have read not a little—makes me feel the greatness of its possibilities. What is the Junior High School? To many it suggests a vast increase of buildings with vast consequent added cost. This is not a necessary consequence of a Junior High School system. I am of opinion that we could introduce such a system into the city of Toronto, and into every other Ontario city of over 15,000 population, without any serious increase in our building programme, which must go on in any case. To introduce it into the counties might entail more dislocation and expense, but certainly involves no insuperable obstacle.

The Junior High School means that instead of having a rigid curriculum in the elementary schools, ending at the average age of 14, and then a four or five years' programme in the High Schools and Collegiate Institutes, with a good many rather disconnected options, we should have an elementary course ending with the present senior third book. There should then be several three year courses, each with a coherent curriculum with comparatively few options, but with opportunities for transferring pupils from one course to another. Of these courses there would be at least four, the general course, the academic course, the technical and the commercial. Then there would be another three years course in the Senior High School. Such an articulation and differentiation of our educational curricula may be brought about without more than a very gradual increase in our buildings. It is a matter of curricula and courses; in what building and under what roof those curricula are carried on is a matter of local convenience.

Let me give an example of how this works in practice. Nearly all our boys at Upper Canada College have Matriculation as their goal, either because they are going on to the University, or because of the practice of Toronto business men of regarding Matriculation—wrongly in my opinion, but that is another story—not as an University Entrance, but as a school leaving exam. This naturally simplifies our problem, and enables us to use the three years after about "Eleven

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plus" for Junior High School work of the academic type. By beginning Latin and French at 10, Algebra at 11, and Geometry at 12, we save at least half of these boys a full year. These boys and their teachers are good stuff, but not above the ordinary Ontario level—for the level of intelligence in this province is high—and yet in that one school we save thirty or forty boys a full year; and that without any loss whatever in mental development or in any other way. Indeed, and the same is the case in the American schools which have been investigated, these "accelerated" boys have much less need of cram, are kept much more mentally alert, and even more physically vigorous, than the boys who come to us from the Public Schools of the Province. I am told by the Headmaster of The University of Toronto Schools that a somewhat similar arrangement exists there with similarly happy results. Think of it, you who are parents! We add a year to the life of scores of boys; what would you give to the Eastern magician who would give you the precious gift of an added year of life? Yet our Education Department could do it for thousands—and does not. The pity of it!

I do not say that if I were the Minister I would proceed at once to introduce into Ontario a Junior High School system; but I would start with a strong prepossession in its favour; I would see that among those sent abroad to study some of my wisest had this problem given them upon which to report. Then, when at the end of four years I had my reports ready, I would appoint a small commission to reorganize and reorient our Ontario system.

That is the way to solve one of the chief educational problems of our Prime Minister, over which the University was agog last year. He is absolutely right in thinking that the whole first year of our university work is of the type which in Great Britain and Europe is done in secondary institutions; and that there would be both financial and educational advantage in having it—eventually—so carried on by us; but I am by no means sure that he is going the right way about solving the problem. Let us settle first this problem of the Junior High School; if the institution of such a

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change, and of an academic course within it, improves things as much as I think it will, we can then throw on the Senior High School the whole of the first year of the University, and leave that institution free to add somewhat at the other end. We could then have not only a three year B.A. course; we could shorten the Medical, and perhaps some other courses, by at least a year.

There are of course many other things which should be done. One of them is the reform advocated by the Prime Minister of putting the Rural Schools under Township Boards. This is long overdue; no further investigation is needed; it should be done at once. My own argument in its favour goes farther than that which Mr. Ferguson has so far put on record. When the Ontario Public School system was established, Ontario was geographically and economically a comparatively simple province. More especially there was a real local life. Such a school as that at Crown Hill, of which the Hon. Mr. Drury tells, and of which Professor Sissons has written, was a real genuine outcrop of the Crown Hill intellectual soil; around it the aspirations of the locality could entwine; Crown Hill was a real community which took a very real pride in its school; but to what geographical entity does school section 15 or 46 correspond? Ontario now has great distributing, manufacturing, agricultural, mining centres. We badly need a mechanism by which some authority in each of these can devise a plan of education, suited to the needs of the locality, which it can then discuss with the Department of Education, and eventually work out an intellectual garment better suited to their needs, more flexible than the present garment, woven all of a piece from Glengarry to Port Arthur, from Windsor to Cochrane. The creation of such areas, with power, under the supervision of the Department, to work out such amendments of the curriculum as will make it more adapted to their needs, would be a real step in advance. In the meantime, the plan of Township Boards is at least a very definite advance, and should be adopted.

Many more such things I would strive to do, if I were Minister. In the meantime I have at least endeavoured to

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outline to you a problem, and some of the measures which would help toward a solution. I think nobly of my country, and not least nobly of the great province in which I live. I think nobly of the young men and women of Ontario! I believe them to have fine capacities alike in war and peace. Let us go on to give the best of them the chance which we are not giving them at present.

W. L. GRANT.

ON MY DOG'S DEATH

MY FRIEND has gone
Through the door of darkness;
Wearily waiting,
He fainted and fell
Upon its threshold,
And ghostly fingers
Out of the silence
Laid hold upon him
And drew him through.

He did not know
The subtle secrets
Of Death the wary;
Deeply he loved me,
My little comrade,—
His eyes were shining
With lights of worship,
Of modest wonder,
When I caressed him.
Even at the last,
Before the darkness,
He never doubted:
He thought his lord
Was tired or troubled,
But would surely save him.

Thy lord? Ah, comrade,
Futile thy faith!
And futile my will
To heal and keep thee!
We dwelt together
As midges merely,
Afloat in the fathomless
Dust of the ages.

POETRY

Drifted we near
Unto each other,
Enjoying the sunlight
Playing upon us;
And then, on a sudden,
Came the chill glooming,
The separation.

And yet . . . I feel . . .
There are strange things about love:
Love is so loving,
So patient, enduring,
Through the doom of defeat
And utter sorrow!
There are strange things about love . . .
I feel their strangeness.

Love may be somehow
More than the motes are
That flutter to feel it,
Older than ages,
Deeper than heartbreak
And death and distance,—
Greater perhaps
Than It that orders
The swing of the planets,
Than all things else
That are or shall be.

The love I bear thee,
My little dead comrade,
Forever is trying
To tell me something.

I am learning to listen.

GEORGE HERBERT CLARKE.

JOHN STRACHAN

1778-1867

WHEN John Strachan was born, one hundred and fifty years ago to-day, the first civil war in America had been in progress for almost four years. When he died, exactly four months had elapsed since the celebration of the first Dominion Day, which was Canada's and Great Britain's answer to President Grant's design to make the denunciation of the Reciprocity Treaty the means of forcing the British Provinces into the Union. This policy was doubtless formulated because of the irritation induced by the sympathy with the South which had been manifested by the inhabitants of the British Provinces notwithstanding the large numbers of them who had enlisted in the armies of the North.

In 1778, as a consequence of General Burgoyne's signal defeat at Saratoga in the preceding year, those Loyalists among whom Strachan's lot was ultimately to be cast were crossing the borders into Nova Scotia and Canada. That he should one day become their leader and the instructor of their children nobody could have foretold, not even the eager mother or ministers such as the Revd. Balwhidder, of John Galt's "Annals of the Parish."

The latter noted that, because of the large number of male children brought to him for baptism, the war was not to end that year. According to this popular superstition, which is not yet dead, the child was to grow up to be a fighter.

Mrs. Strachan remembered always that her third son, and youngest surviving child, had been born at the twelfth hour of the twelfth day of the month; that the day had been Sunday; that the Sacrament had been dispensing; and that the tide had been at the flood. Therefore she concluded that he was destined to be a minister, and a successful one.

At the age of fifty years, and for a long time after that, Strachan was frequently accused of being a renegade to the Presbyterian faith and ministry, one who had deserted the

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Church of his fathers for the sake of the monetary advantage to be reaped by taking Holy Orders in the Church of England. It so happened, however, that his father, whom he lost just before he completed his sixteenth year, belonged to the Non-jurant Episcopalian Church, whose members, because of their adherence to the Stuart cause, would not swear allegiance to the House of Hanover. They laboured, therefore, under civil disabilities and they were subject to heavy penalties if they went outside of their own houses to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences.

Mrs. Strachan also was a dissenter from the Established Church of Scotland, having joined herself to the then new denomination which was called the Relief Church or the Scottish Methodists. The founders of this Church declared that they were taking this step for the relief of all Christians who were oppressed in their religious privileges and that they would hold communion with all who believed in the Lord Jesus Christ—even with Episcopalians. That was an easy creed for Aberdonians, for people in southwestern Scotland aver to this day, shaking their heads sadly the while, that Aberdeen was never thoroughly reformed.

When practical steps had to be taken toward beginning to make possible for her son John the future which she had planned for him, Mrs. Strachan, in spite of her husband's objections, had him entered at the Latin, or Grammar, School of the town at about ten years of age. Thence he matriculated at fifteen at King's College, Old Aberdeen, preferring that to Marischal College, the University in the new town, because there were there more open bursaries for competition. One of these it was absolutely necessary for him to win because of his father's continued reluctance to having him educated for the ministry.

Financial conditions becoming irksome because of the father's death, in March, 1794, John had to provide for all of his own expenses and to do also all that he could in order to help meet those of his mother and of his two sisters. This he accomplished by means of private coaching throughout the three remaining sessions of his course and during the intervening vacations, which extended from April 1st to October 31st.

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To his first school, in the county of Angus, the boy walked fifty miles rather than spend money for coach or carriage. Discipline was not easy for a lad of seventeen, some of whose pupils were older than himself, but he maintained it in spite of the objections of some of his employers. The latter professing to have had an understanding of the terms of agreement different from that of the young student, he brought them to time by insisting that they should assure him of a certain sum or he would immediately depart. Whereupon he wrote that "people talk of the honest former, but I have yet to meet him."

In his last long vacation, that of 1796, he came into contact with three men who were to have a very deep influence upon him. These were the Revd. James Brown, minister of the parish of Dunino, of which he became the schoolmaster, Mr. Thomas Duncan, and Mr. Thomas Chalmers, the future leader of the Disruption in the Established Church of Scotland and, accordingly, one of the founders of the Free Church. To Dr. Brown and Mr. Duncan, who afterwards became the distinguished Professor of Mathematics at the University of St. Andrew's, he was grateful for their teaching him to think. Thanks to Mr. Chalmers's refusal he owed the chance to go to Canada.

So highly did Dr. Brown think of Strachan that he wanted to take him to Glasgow, where he had just been appointed to a professorial chair, in order to assist him with his experiments. That plan turning out to be impracticable, Strachan returned to Aberdeen after Christmas and took his degree in the spring.

Once more settled in Dunino, which is about five miles from St. Andrews, he entered himself as a "partial attender" in the Faculty of Divinity. That meant that, on performing satisfactorily the various exercises required of him, he would have been qualified at the end of six years, instead of the customary three appointed for those in actual attendance, to apply to a Presbytery for license. By the time the six years had elapsed he had been more than three years in Canada, was just beginning his ministry as a missionary at Cornwall on a stipend of £100, and, in order to supplement that small

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income, was opening his school, which was to become justly famous.

In Dunino, where he was to remain for two years in all, Strachan had fancied, as many a youth of twenty has done, that he was in love; and, again like many a youth of twenty, he had become engaged to be married. The girl in the case not being so much concerned as he thought she ought to have been when his life was in danger by reason of the disturbance caused by the issuance of an order that the schoolmasters should give in the names of all young men eligible for enrolment as militiamen, Strachan's ardour cooled. A quarrel ensued and put an end to the engagement.

Prospect of promotion to the School at Kettle, also in Fifeshire, but farther from St. Andrews than Dunino was, presented itself. He applied for that, but, though reported favourably by the examiners, he did not receive the appointment because the heritors had heard that he was a democrat, if not something worse.

The candidate of the heritors' preference declining their offer, one was made to Strachan with a request for a two years' contract. That did not meet his views, so he was allowed to accept on making a promise to give a month's notice in case an opportunity of something better should occur.

In the spring of 1799 the Revd. George Hamilton was seeking, at the request of his brother, the Hon. Robert Hamilton, M.L.C., of Queenston, a tutor for the children of the latter's quondam partner in business, the Hon. Richard Cartwright, M.L.C., of Kingston. With the tutorship was to be combined the mastership of the town school, for which a government salary was expected. As a further inducement to "a lad o' pairs," was held out the hope of becoming a professor in the proposed University, if not the president.

These allurements appealed strongly to Strachan when the matter was broached to him on the suggestion of Chalmers, who, like their mutual friend, Duncan, had turned a deaf ear to them. To Strachan there seemed to be no possibility of an academic or of a ministerial career in Scotland. As to the latter, moreover, his own mind was not sufficiently

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settled to warrant him in embarking upon it; yet he did not want to disappoint his mother, if that could be avoided.

In August, he set out for New York, to which his ship sailed under convoy. So slow was the progress made that it was the middle of December before he reached Montreal, to which he had driven, under great difficulties, from Albany. Declining invitations to spend Christmas in Montreal, he pushed on to Kingston, which he reached on the last day of the year.

In Kingston he found another disappointment awaiting him, the first of many with which he was to meet in Canada. Under the new Lieutenant-Governor, Lieutenant-General Hunter, there was no provision for the expected salary for his school. Still less was there any hope of the establishment of the University. If he had had the necessary money, he would have started instantly for home. Having none, he had to make the best of the situation.

Mr. Cartwright was kindness itself in spite of a somewhat grim exterior and a reserved, diffident manner. He took the disappointed, homesick youth into his home, an arrangement which had, apparently, not been contemplated at first. He and Strachan who, during the three years of his sojourn in Kingston owed very much to him as guide, adviser, and patron, became warm friends. Eventually Mr. Cartwright, who found the young man as trustworthy as had his masters at the Latin School of Aberdeen and Professor Brown, his mentor in this last three years in Scotland, showed how profound his confidence in him was by naming him, in 1815, executor of his will and guardian of his infant children.

Acting, probably, on Mr. Cartwright's advice, Strachan continued to read theology under that good scholar and great gentleman, Dr. John Stuart, who stands at the very beginning of the history of the Loyalists, of education, and of the Church of England in this Province. Dr. Stuart Strachan ever regarded as his friend; and of him he always spoke as "my spiritual father."

Acting certainly on Mr. Cartwright's advice, Strachan made inquiries of a personal friend in Montreal as to the possibility of being called to the charge of St. Gabriel's, the

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old Scots Church in that city, which happened to be vacant. That proved to be impracticable because a schoolmaster from Quebec had received the call; but the familiar friend kept the letter for twenty-five years and, in spite of its being confidential, he Judas-like, made it public at what he regarded as an opportune moment in the controversy over the Clergy Reserves.

During that controversy, no story, however improbable, was too absurd to tell, provided that it enabled the narrator to score a point. Thus *The Canadian Miscellany*, a Presbyterian publication begun in the year 1928, ventured to say in its June issue that Strachan "for some time after his arrival in Canada could not prevail on his conscience . . . to listen to that ill-mumbled mass, as King James used to call it, the Liturgy of the Church of England"; and, further, that "he made a point, we have been informed, not to enter the Church until the Rev. Dr. Stuart, having finished the reading of the prayers, had got up into the pulpit to preach the sermon."

As a matter of fact, Strachan, who was not given to lying, said in the speech before the Legislative Council, of which this diatribe professes to be a review, that he used to be taken by his father to the services held by Bishop Skinner in St. Andrew's Chapel, Aberdeen. In the account of his journey to Kingston in 1799 he made an entry to the effect that he had attended the Episcopal Church in Montreal. That Church several of his acquaintances, notably the Hon. James McGill, frequented; and even his Judas-friend, Thomas Blackwood, had a pew in it as well as in the Scots Church.

Acting once more on Mr. Cartwright's advice, Strachan sought ordination at the hands of the first Bishop of Quebec, who appeared at the time to be glad to receive him. To his fitness for the ministry strong testimony was borne by Mr. Cartwright himself, by Dr. Stuart, and by Mr. Chief Justice Elmsley.

Lieutenant-Governor Hunter appointed him to Cornwall and the S.P.G. adopted him as their missionary; but the combined emoluments at first amounted apparently to only £100, no sum to tempt a man to commit sacrilege, especially when he possessed the ability to earn one much larger. Of the £100,

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it is important to remember, the Government's share was at the outset only £50, exactly the same as it would have paid him if he had become Scots minister in Montreal.

Another story which emphasized Strachan's alleged cupidity has recently appeared in print. Being engaged, it is said, to a Miss Wood of Cornwall, he was not making haste to be married. One day the lady went to him and said: "John, dear, Mr. McGill (who is described as very rich and very old, albeit he was only forty-six years of age) wants me to marry him." "Weel, my dear," the young deacon is said to have replied, "You had better take him, I'll wait." In two years time she was a widow with a life annuity of \$1200; and in two years more she became Mrs. Strachan.

Contemporary legal documents, letters, and verses disprove the story. On the other hand, there was another lady, who jilted him in the self-same summer in order to marry a man whom she had formerly despised, "for a little, and only a little money." Concerning the so-called life annuity, too, there is much to be said, for which I have not space here.

In his home, his school, and his church at Cornwall, Strachan was very happy. When he was offered by Major-General Brock the Church and the school at York, he declined them because their combined salaries did not equal the income which he enjoyed at Cornwall. The Chaplaincy to the Legislative Council and the Chaplaincy to the troops being added, he was able to accept.

Over the translation to York he had a brush with his Bishop, who, after having offered to make him his Official, or Commissary, changed his mind and conferred the office on George Okill Stuart, the son of the late Official. This *contre-temps*, and an earlier one for which the egregious Bishop was responsible, did not increase Strachan's respect for him.

In York and Toronto Strachan lived for the very long period of fifty-five years, being, as many people supposed, the one permanent governing force amid the comings and goings of successive administrators, Lieutenant-Governors, and Governors-General. Necessarily he was open to criticism, some of it just, some of it unjust, for no man can always do the thing that is pleasing to everybody or even the thing that he ought.

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Petty purveyors of ancient scandals, slanders, and lies, which were perpetrated by John Strachan's contemporaries, have in these latter days warmed up the old stories again and have served them anew, minus their several refutations and denials, to an unsuspecting public as an authentic history of the Archdeacon's remarkable political career. To embroider their tale and to enliven their narrative, essayists and historians alike have quoted verdicts passed upon Strachan by men such as Sir John Colborne, Sir John Macdonald, and others of lesser note, without suggesting that, regarding these men, Strachan expressed in terms equally vigorous, opinions just as true as, if not truer than, their own. Although Sir John Colborne may have held the view that the Archdeacon, who was his pastor while he lived in Toronto, was meddling too much with politics, yet those who cite his statements to that effect fail to say that, in the year 1850, Strachan received his active countenance and support when seeking subscriptions for the establishment of Trinity College. Associating himself with his old chief, the first Duke of Wellington, Lord Seaton, an old adversary of Strachan, became a member of the committee that backed the Bishop's appeal for funds.

If one trusted to these latter-day writers, one would be led to believe that Strachan stubbornly refused to bow the knee to their chosen god, Responsible Government. As a matter of fact, he made representations in favour of its introduction as early as January, 1831, a very few months after the election consequent upon the demise of King George IV and shortly before the first draft of the English Reform Bill was prepared.

His correspondent was Mr. (later Sir James) Stephen, then permanent Counsel to the Colonial Office and the Board of Trade, who became successively Assistant Under-Secretary and Under-Secretary, and who, because of his great power and influence in the Office, was subsequently called "King Stephen." Addressing him informally as "My dear Stephen," Strachan rallied him upon having a Whig ministry in office, and then he proceeded to refer to Lord Grey's proposal to send out civilians rather than military men as Colonial Governors.

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"I would humbly suggest," he says, "that two additional steps be taken to make it official, 1st, That it be imperative for the Governor of a Colony to consult on all occasions with his Executive Council. 2nd, That the members of the Executive Council be like the King's Ministers, responsible for their advice. In the present state of things the Governor of a Colony adopts measure after measure without information and to the great detriment of the Country without the knowledge of the Executive Council or any reference to them; but the Country, supposing that they are consulted, blame them and not the Governor. Were it otherwise, the Governor, being obliged to refer everything beyond the common routine, would have the most complete knowledge which could be obtained on the subject and the Members, being aware that they might be called to account, would be more careful in the advice they offered. At present they feel it a sort of compliment to be consulted at all; and, as they are not responsible, they are apt to advise according to the Governor's wish or inclination. Moreover, Military Men are seldom the most fit to transact civil business or to treat with civilians. They are in general arrogant, self-sufficient and supercilious, unaccustomed to the details of business and [have] little regard of rank, etc., of those with whom they are obliged to have daily intercourse. In truth Military Governors are apt to prefer the lowest officer from the army to the highest civil function in the colony and they are by no means scrupulous in respect to civil rights. To all this there may be exceptions; I could name one or two, but not more in all my experience. Civil Governors with responsible Executive Councils would do more for the Colonies than all your other Measures put together."

The letter was written at a time when Strachan's anger was hot because Sir John, as Lieutenant-Governor, had recently forced the resignation from the Executive Council of Strachan's most distinguished pupil, John Beverley Robinson, to whom he time and again referred as "my adopted son." It contains also an unmistakably plain, pointed expression of opinion as to the unwisdom and the unconstitutionality of the proposal to merge into one King's and McGill Colleges, which both owed their origin to Strachan—a proposal which had

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been seriously put forward by Sir George Murray, another military man who had once held office in Canada.

In the face of the declaration contained in this letter, little further needs to be said by way of exculpation of Strachan. Good citizen that he was, he did not believe that, in the difficult years which followed the Napoleonic wars, disturbers of the peace like Robert Fleming Gourlay should be countenanced. Nor was he more favourable to William Lyon Mackenzie, some twenty years later, when he himself had ceased, through the instrumentality of his great opponent, Sir John Colborne, to be a member of the Executive Council of the Province.

Far from apologizing for his conduct in the matter of Gourlay, Strachan always prided himself upon it, as he did also upon the behaviour of his former pupils toward the Scottish radical. To a man they withstood him, as their old master informed the Revd. Professor Brown when giving him a contemporary account of the affair. As late as June 7th, 1824, he expressed the same views, when writing to the Bishop of London, who, as Archbishop of Canterbury, was, in 1839, to consecrate him as the first Bishop of Toronto.

“During twenty-one years,” he wrote, “I have conscientiously discharged my duty as a Parish Priest in Upper Canada—assisted in building almost all the Churches that have been erected in the Province, and for twenty-five years I have directed the moral and religious and scientific Education of all the principal youth—inspiring hundreds of them with pious and Loyal principles, by which they are attached most strongly to the Parent State. Almost all the young men of eminence in Upper Canada and many in Lower Canada have been my Pupils, and have for me this day the attachment of Children. I have promoted the establishment of Schools, drafted the bills for that purpose, and assisted in their enactment.

“Of Thirty Barristers in Upper Canada eleven are my Scholars, among whom are the Attorney and Solicitor Generals. In Lower Canada three of the very few English Lawyers and these eminent are indebted to me for their education.

“In the House of Assembly more than 1/7 of the Mem-

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bers and these the most able are my pupils. More than 1/5 of the Clergy of Upper Canada I have brought up and educated, besides many others now ready or preparing for Holy Orders.

"At the commencement of the late war my Scholars were the first in every quarter to volunteer their services, and their Sentiments gave a vigorous tone to the whole Province. They and their Friends volunteered to accompany General Brock to Detroit, by which he was enabled to take General Hull and his Army, and at the battle of Queenston, when the gallant Brock fell, they were combating at his side and assisted in avenging his death.

"I was employed by the House of Assembly to draw up their address to their Constituents at the breaking out of the war, which produced the most beneficial results, and united the Province as one man in resisting the enemy. When the Institution called the Loyal and Patriotic Society was suggested, the arrangements and management fell chiefly on me, and by my exertions and those of my Personal Friends, who are numerous in both the Canadas, I more than doubled its Funds, by which we were enabled largely to relieve distress, and to soften the miseries of war, carrying comfort to the wounded, the Fatherless, and Widow in every part of the Province.

"My labours in the Hospitals during the war, where I in a manner lived for a long time, have been publicly acknowledged by Lord Palmerston and the Chaplain General.

"It was my determined stand, aided by my Friends and Pupils, that gave the first check to Mr. Gourlay's seditious, and levelling plans, by which time was given for the arrival of our Present Excellent Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, to control them by his energy and wisdom."

Such in part is the letter of 1824 which was meant to bespeak, and, apparently, did secure, the Bishop's good offices in trying to procure for him the bishopric of Upper Canada. This appointment he was at the same time soliciting in vain from the Colonial Office, which finally let him go home with expressions of regret and with the promise of the consolation of an archdeaconry. This promise, however, was left unredeemed till 1827.

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"Bishop of Toronto" as at this period he was, nevertheless, styled by Thomas Carlyle, whom he met one day in 1824 at Edward Irving's house. Before the title Carlyle placed the adjective "insolent," doubtless in recollection of the defeat which he suffered at Strachan's hands in the disputation in which they engaged. To show how keen the great romancer's chagrin was, even forty-three years later, when the *Reminiscences* were being written, it is worth while quoting the passage in full:

"There were other disastrous or unpleasant figures whom I met at Irving's; a Danish fanatic of Calvinistic species (frequently, and had to keep him off), a good many fanatics of different kinds—one insolent "Bishop of Toronto," triumphant Canadian but Aberdeen by dialect (once only, from whom Irving defended me.)"

"Aberdeen by dialect" Strachan was not ashamed to be, even though Carlyle, a native of southwestern Scotland and an Edinburgh University man, seems always to have had his sneer ready to hurl at men who came from the city on the east coast. To show Strachan's regard for his native modes of speech, which he never laid aside, a remark that he made to Sir Sandford Fleming, when he presented a letter of introduction at the "Palace", may be recalled. "Young man," the Bishop is reported to have said, "if you want to succeed in this country, you must get rid o' yon accent."

"Triumphant Canadian" Strachan had good reason to be, considering that twenty-five years before he had emigrated from Scotland, a penniless, friendless lad of twenty-one. Now he had come home on public business, the accredited representative of the Lieutenant-Governor and, to some extent likewise, of the Church authorities of his adopted country. At the request of the Colonial Office, he was expressing his views upon the question of the reunion of Lower and Upper Canada, which was even then being considered.

Upon his own record in the war of 1812 and upon the influence which he exerted through his pupils was based the power which enabled Strachan for twenty years to lead the so-called Family Compact, whose real history has yet to be written; to obtain self-government for the Church of England

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in his diocese and, as a consequence, throughout the Empire; to raise huge sums for missions, erection of churches, and endowments of the three dioceses into which he saw to it that his own should be divided; to save from the wreckage of the Clergy Reserves the *Clergy Commutation Fund*; and, finally, when the University of King's College had at length been converted into the secular University of Toronto, to found Trinity College to be a Church of England University wholly independent of political control.

Power and influence so strong and so far-reaching as Strachan's are not built upon fear and terror, as a recent writer would have his readers believe that they were. Rather must they be founded on admiration, respect, trust, confidence and affection.

"The punishments most in use," says Strachan himself in writing to Bishop Bethune, another of his distinguished pupils, about his school at Cornwall, "were to commit lines to memory—double tasks—confinement (but not in the dark), when it could be enforced. For great perverseness—habitual negligence of school business or immoral acts—swearing, lying or pilfering, corporal punishment was sometimes inflicted. This being the most painful duty of the Teacher, and it having been long his opinion that under favourable circumstances such punishments might be laid aside, every precaution was taken to avoid them or lessen their number. The most effectual remedy was found in the institution of regular trials.

"When a boy was accused of any offence not apparent to the Master, a minute investigation took place in the face of the whole school—a Jury was sometimes formed, and no punishment followed till after the clearest conviction. To punish arbitrarily is not only frequently unjust on the part of the Master, but is attended with the most pernicious effects on the pupil.

"Sometimes security for good behaviour was exacted, and if a boy happened to be very much addicted to the fault of which he had been convicted, he found great difficulty in procuring securities, because his subsequent default would bring upon them a punishment of tasks, lines, &c., and frequently none of his schoolfellows would risk themselves in his favour.

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This commonly produced a most salutary effect. Boys were seen going round the School begging their Schoolfellows to become security for their good behaviour, and when refused, pleading for this once and promising never again to be guilty, such a process could not fail of being useful, and had far more influence than any thing the master could say, as they heard from their fellows in the plainest language the opinion entertained of them by the whole school.

"In extraordinary cases, but of rare occurrence, and when the fault was aggravated, the guilty boy was put in coventry for a few days—never longer than a week. During this time, no boy was to speak to, or play with him, or have any communication with him during the play hours. This punishment never failed of having the desired effect.

"By having recourse in this manner to the boys themselves in the regulation and government of the School, the Master was relieved from much painful responsibility—the patient investigation of facts interested all the boys and brought them to the same conclusion—the culprit was satisfied by the fairness of his trial, of the justice of his sentence, and the pain which he experienced during the inquiry was very often considered a sufficient punishment.

"To punish a boy without hearing him and examining carefully into the matter ought never to be admitted; and a little experience will satisfy every Teacher that by associating his pupils as much as possible with him in the discipline of the School, his praise or censure will be confirmed by the public voice, because there can exist no suspicion of partiality. The punishment awarded is likewise rendered much more impressive, and the boys acquire some idea of jurisprudence, and a knowledge of the principles of justice."

Thus were anticipated the modern ideas embodied in student-government, boy scouts, big brother and big sister movements, about which we hear a great deal to-day. Tale-bearing was not allowed; nor was bullying. Censors helped in the maintenance of order and sometimes in the instruction of the junior boys. They also kept the daily and the weekly record of the class performances, which proved the basis upon which the monthly records were made up. On the showing of

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the latter a committee of the boys themselves determined by consultation at the end of the year who were deserving of prizes.

Co-operation on the part of the boys was of the essence of the system of teaching no less than of the administration of discipline. The Master, having a profound knowledge of human nature and loving boys, was able to interest them and, by means of his illustrations, he related to their every day life, as far as that was possible, the subjects of instruction. Thus he awakened the intelligence, roused the dullards, and gave to all some idea of the usefulness of knowledge and of the interrelation of the various branches of their studies.

Only "one annual exhibition" did he hold, "when the friends of the pupils were invited." Oral examinations, classics, mathematics occupied the first day; civil and natural history, geography, debates, recitations, and performances of one of Milman's or Miss More's Sacred Dramas, with the opening of the Book of Merit and the presentation of the prizes, filled the greater part of the second day. Then came a grand dinner to the parents, a dance for young and old, concluding the proceedings, as the "Diary of my Dinners," kept by the great Nor'West Company Merchant, Mr. Joseph Frobisher of Beaver Hall, Montreal, records.

"The great object of the whole system," runs the concluding part of the letter, "was to make the Scholars good as well as wise; to lead them to the habitual exercise of that practical virtue which is founded upon the Divine principles of Christianity. To this all other attainments ought to be subordinate, and the Teacher should never forget that his instruction should not be merely for time, but also for Eternity. Much patience, and much perseverance, will be required in the fulfilment of his duties towards his scholars, and he will succeed, not so much by the vehemence, as the constancy and regularity of his exertions."

Such were the views and such was the practice of the man whom Robert Fleming Gourlay called "a monstrous little fool of a parson." Of the views and the practice, Dr. Scadding, who was himself a product of it, says in his "Review and Study," the best of all the books on Strachan:

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“The system pursued in the School at Cornwall, and afterwards at York, exhibited features that would have gratified the advanced educationists of the present age. In that system the practical and the useful were by no means sacrificed to the ornamental or the merely conventional. Things were regarded as well as words.”

As early as 1805, when for the moment an attempt which Strachan was making to obtain an Act of the Legislature to authorize the purchase of some scientific instruments for use in his school at Cornwall had failed to pass, he prophesied that presently his pupils would be in the Legislature and that then results would be different. In 1816, when the war was over and he was himself an honorary member of the Executive Council of the Province, he hinted to Colonel Clifford that he hoped some day to be Prime Minister. About the same time he declared to John Robinson, as he usually called his adopted son, the future Attorney-General and Chief Justice, then twenty-five years of age, “if Prime Minister, then Bishop.”

Whether Strachan at that time desired the bishopric because of the additional prestige which it would give him or because of the greater authority which it would bestow upon him when contending for the rights of the Church as he and his predecessors conceived them to have been conferred by the King's Instructions and by the Canada Act of 1791, it is not possible now to state. For more than twenty years after the first hint of his ambition was disclosed he had to wait for the dignity. Happily, it came to him only when his political career as such was practically over.

The question of the bishopric was again in agitation in the year 1835, the year before Strachan had to resign from the Executive Council of the Province. Then his personal friend and fellow-Scotsman, the Right Reverend the Honourable Alexander Macdonell, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Kingston, who also is quoted against him by our present-day historians, showed himself to be very much his friend, even though he was his official and ecclesiastical adversary. He wrote to the Colonial Office to say that, if an Anglican Diocese of Upper Canada was to be erected, his friend, Dr. Strachan

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was the only man in the country fit to receive the appointment.

For the third time Strachan's hopes remained unfulfilled. Only after the presentation of Lord Durham's Report did the Government decide to take action in the matter. The condition was laid down, however, that Strachan should himself pay the heavy fees of office and that he should look elsewhere than to Government for a salary.

Being much more than a politician, Strachan saw clearly what the reunion of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada recommended by Lord Durham was going to mean to the Church. Therefore in 1840, the year following his consecration, he had his protest against what he regarded as the unnatural, unholy reunion, entered in the Journals. Thus ended his official connection with the Legislative Council, of which,

As Bishop, he proved to be a statesman, as the achievements already mentioned indicate. He was also an able, diligent administrator. He travelled time and again throughout the length and breadth of his large diocese before any division of it was effected. In these frequent visitations of the parishes he showed himself to be a very kindly, human Father in God to his clergy and to the people, whom he regarded as his family.

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It was only toward the end of his long episcopate of twenty-eight years that the opportunity of making these journeys by train was presented to him. The very first journey, undertaken when he was already sixty-two years of age, was made in a common, springless farm-waggon, for he scorned to travel in comfort, the like of which his presbyters could not afford.

Even when increasing years compelled him to be more mindful of his ease, the serviceable travelling coach that he caused to be built for himself could not save him from the inconveniences, the discomforts, and the obstacles of mud, pitch-holes, and roads blocked by fallen trees. In spite of such, he seldom was late for an appointment; and he almost never missed one.

On such occasions, it was customary for the clergy to

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escort their Bishop some distance on his way from the place which he was leaving and for those in the neighbourhood of the town to which he was going to ride out to meet him. Necessarily the progress of the travelling coach was slow, especially when the roads were heavy.

The riders' horses and the riders themselves tried not infrequently to quicken the pace, which one day led to unexpected consequences. The escort rode on ahead and soon reached the town. Time passed and they began to grow apprehensive, since dusk was beginning to fall and no Bishop had yet arrived. They had almost decided to ride back to meet him, when the coach came into view, drove up to the inn, and the little Bishop, who had invited them to dine with him at the inn, alighted.

Paying no heed to the presbyters, he greeted the landlady warmly and courteously and asked if dinner was ready. Being told that it was, he bade her in a clear-cut, incisive tone to "set on for one."

Like a band of naughty school-boys, the presbyters made their appearance the next morning to tender their apology. Forestalling their spokesman, the Bishop said: "Never mind, never mind. You left me in the lurch in the afternoon; and I left you in the lurch in the evening. Now we are quits, so let us have breakfast together."

One other story could be told that had not quite so happy an ending. In general, however, it can be truthfully said that, discipline his clergy though he might and did, whenever he thought that they required it, they commonly took it in good part. They knew that against all others he would defend them and that in all their difficulties he would help them. Illustrations of that fact are afforded by the two well-known stories of the deputations who came to complain that their respective incumbents were buying whiskey by the bottle and had preached the same sermon three times.

"Sit down, man, you are talking havers," was the measure meted out to one who was wandering from the point and wasting the time of the Synod. "But, my Lord, I protest,—"
"Sit down, man," commanded the Bishop again. "But, my Lord, I am in the hands of the Synod." "Nonsense, man,"

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came the final reply, "You are not in the hands of the Synod, you are in my hands. I tell you, sit down."

A young cleric who had jilted his fiancée in order to contract an alliance which promised to be financially more profitable, wanted to have the Bishop perform the marriage ceremony for him. When he was shown into the study at the "Palace," the Bishop, who remembered from experience what it felt like to be jilted, paid not the slightest attention to the footman's announcement. When at length the young man, in spite of the Bishop's studied abstraction, proceeded to speak, he was cut short with—"Get out, man, I won't marry you."

By contrast with this may be cited the case of the clergyman of long standing upon whom his assistant informed when he had caught him in what is ordinarily described as a compromising situation. Recollecting the apostolic injunction to restore in a spirit of weakness one who is overtaken in a fault, the Bishop dealt tenderly, but not the less effectively, with the older man. The license of the younger he revoked; and he would not recommend him to any other Bishop.

Courage was required to deal with men in the ways just described; but courage with humanity, ambition, and love of personal independence, was perhaps the greatest of the Bishop's attributes. To all the disappointments, the chances, and the changes of his life, which would have discouraged a man of less rugged mould, he ever presented a bold front and a brave heart, from the time when, at eighteen years of age, he had accepted combat with two militia men at once, and had manfully withstood them.

An occasion which put to the test more than physical courage was presented by successive epidemics of cholera and of "emigrant fever." It is narrated in the charming book by the Revd. Isaac Fidler, who, during his brief sojourn in Upper Canada, received much kindness from Strachan, that, before a military funeral made necessary by the cholera, the soldiers had received orders on no account to touch the coffin. Other bearers not having been provided, Strachan and his son had to help the undertaker and his men to lift the coffin from the gun carriage and to lower it into the grave.

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Only in October, 1867, did the brave heart grow faint and the courage fail. Left alone in the closing days of the month, he himself opened the business letters, which for years past he had left to his eldest and only surviving son. From them he learned the unwelcome news that he was no longer so independent financially as he had supposed himself to be and as he had really been. This unpleasant fact was due in part to the failure of the Bank of Upper Canada and in part to the difficulty of the times consequent upon the cessation of the second civil war in the United States and upon the denunciation of the Reciprocity Treaty with that country.

No longer able, with his ninetieth birthday only five months distant, to grapple with financial and economic problems with the same vigour that he had formerly commanded, he was deeply concerned for the widowed daughters-in-law and for the granddaughters who were his care. Wounded in his pride at the thought of even the slightest suspicion of default attaching to his name, he turned his face to the wall, said not a word to anyone, and on All Saints' Day he was dead.

Four days later—Guy Fawkes's Day, they gave him a great funeral, which was more or less military in character, as befitted at once a former chaplain, a great patriot, and a prince of the Church. With representatives of University College as of Upper Canada College and of Trinity College in attendance, they laid him to rest beneath the chancel of his beautiful Cathedral Church, which, after the custom of sixty-one years ago, was heavily draped in black.

In that Cathedral, which, in itself, is a monument to him and to his successor in the rectory, the most recent memorial is a window, which is meant to remind all beholders of three of his outstanding achievements for the Church that for the space of nearly thirty years he governed ably, wisely, and beneficently. These are St. James's Cathedral, the College called by the name of the Most Blessed Trinity, and the Synod of the Diocese of Toronto, the first of its kind to be founded in all the British Empire.

Consequent upon the policy which Strachan had honestly pursued in regard to University education, Victoria, Queen's, Regiopolis, and Huron all came into existence. All have de-

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veloped types of teaching and of character that have greatly enriched the life of the country and that have prevented it from sinking into dull uniformity. Nor, perhaps, will it be deemed an undue stretching of the imagination, if it be added that it is probably true that, partly through the unhappy quarrel over the Clergy Reserves, which he inherited from his three Episcopal predecessors, that drawing together of Methodism and two branches of Presbyterianism took place which quite recently has brought forth fruit in the form of the United Church of Canada.

Of the correlation of the various dioceses of the Church of England in British North America, which, down to 1861, had no other bond of union but that of common obedience to the Primate of All England, he was a zealous supporter. With that desirable end in view he met in council with his brother bishops in September, 1851, four months subsequent to the assembling of his own conference, which developed into the Synod of Toronto.

Ten years more were to elapse before the erection of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada by Royal Letters Patent was accomplished. It contained at first the two Canadas, as they used to be called, and the Maritime Provinces, including Prince Edward Island. Thus it was more extensive than the original Dominion of Canada, over which, in point of time, it had a priority of six years.

The first Bishop to be consecrated under the new order (Lewis, of Ontario), was elected by his presbyters, just as in 1857, the first Bishop of Huron had been. Unlike Huron, however, Ontario was not required to repair to Lambeth for consecration, the Royal Mandate issuing to the Metropolitan at Montreal instead of to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

When Strachan, on the festival of the Conversion of St. Paul, next preceding his decease, took the leading part in consecrating his old pupil, Alexander Bethune, to be his coadjutor and successor, he did so under a mandate from the Metropolitan of Canada, not from Her Majesty the Queen. Thus, except for the formation of the General Synod, which was delayed till 1893, he saw attained by the Church that self-

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government, the first steps toward which he himself had taken.

Moses-like he had, because of his fourscore years and nine, to deny himself the pleasure and the profit of attending the first grand gathering of Bishops of the Anglican Communion at Lambeth in the summer of 1867. In begging His Grace of Canterbury to hold him excused, he sang as if it were his *nunc dimittis*, for, when his Coadjutor returned, the first Bishop of Toronto was no more.

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GEORGE TYRRELL—A CHARACTER STUDY

I HAVE read considerable biography and auto-biography in my time and have often wondered if any man, even St. Augustine or Rousseau, had candidly revealed his whole life to the world. Perhaps where the will is not wanting this is an impossibility even for the ablest and boldest of men, not excepting the subject of this paper. George Tyrrell was such a complex being, intellectually and morally, and his life such a perpetual struggle with himself and the world around him that it is impossible for another to understand him as he understood himself, even when he tries to plant his thoughts in your mind precisely as they lay in his own—a fact, I imagine, which no one can really accomplish.

The space at my disposal is so limited that I can only present a meagre summary of my personal judgment of his own revelations of himself in those writings of his, public and private, with which I am acquainted. Born in Dublin, February 6th, 1861, he learned in the course of time that his father's religion was summed up in the words—"Catholics believed a great deal too much and Protestants a great deal too little." As a time when religious controversy in Ireland was the order of the day, but not religious animosity as commonly supposed, the people of George Tyrrell on both sides had been more or less connected with Catholics by marriage.

George developed early in life some of the strange peculiarities which marked his father and brought sorrow into the life of his mother. A wild and rampant imagination supplied him with strange pictures of God, Christ, and heaven, about which he used to dream very often, frightening his mother with strange hallucinations. At no time in his life, early or late, was he ever influenced in his conduct by the desire of heaven or fear of hell, and, unlike almost all boys, his sympathies went out spontaneously to every living creature, however mean in the scale of organism, so that in his last years of life when he lifted a worm from his path, he used to say:

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“So may God deal with me.” But of the things in nature that affected him, the sea affected him most, and had he been in search of God, would have been worshipped by him.

Though his father’s and mother’s people had no objection to marry Catholics, they all had a horror of “popery”, a feeling with which the children of Mrs. Tyrrell were early imbued by herself and her sister. How strangely, it may be said, life begins and ends with many of us when it is remembered that Willie Tyrrell, George’s only brother, whose talents were almost universal, died in the hey-day of his fame, believing that the soul went after death where the flame of the candle goes after having been extinguished, and his mother and sister and George (?) died in the Roman Church.

At the age of 7 we find George Tyrrell beginning to discern the distinction between any particular lie, and the principle of lying, but his doctrine of veracity in later life was, that the teaching of Saints Augustine and Thomas Aquinas on truth-telling “was far too strict.” In his own words: “A purely verbal or literal veracity is at times so impracticable, so irreconcilable with the spirit of veracity, that refuge must be sought in the doctrine of equivocation, which really prejudices sincerity and honour very seriously.” His contention was that “veracity was the child of liberty and that lying is the refuge of the weak from their pursuers.” In Sunday School he was made acquainted with the books of Samuel and Kings and with what he describes at forty as their “very dubious morality.” A spirit of opposition to arbitrary authority early displayed itself side-by-side with a reckless daring and devil-may-care attitude. He was also given to satire and badinage and humbug of all sorts, and some of these qualities clung to him all his life. Gifted from boyhood with a profound sense of native humour and wit, he saw oddities in every person and thing, but he hated nothing at school more than cads. He was always the most popular boy in school and college, for he had a great capacity for making friends, which continued with him through life, and also an equal capacity for losing them. This was due to many bad hereditary elements in his nature, such as bad temper, and the spirit of combativeness, which he did his best to suppress,

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but which he never wholly brought under control, because of a weak constitution and a highly nervous temperament.

In early school days, that is from six to nine, young Tyrrell had read comparatively little, but some poems stirred his very vivid imagination and he could truly have said,

"While yet a child and all unknown to fame
I lisped in numbers for the numbers came."

There is little doubt that George Tyrrell was born a poet and that had he not steeped his whole nature in casuistry, philosophy, and theology, and withdrawn himself almost entirely from the Muses, he would have left us very much poetry after the manner of Swift, whose writings greatly influenced him. In the celebrated school of Rathmines, near Dublin, he failed twice to win a Hebrew Sizarship to Dublin University—a failure which probably influenced his whole future. Which of us can turn the stream of destiny or mark out our own career, with unfailing certainty?

Rev. Dr. Benson, Head Master of Rathmines School, was a man of profound religious convictions, and under him the character of young Tyrrell was fashioned on a singularly high moral plane. A few words from a public address delivered by the Head Master at the closing exercises, December 16, 1873, will give an idea of how the school was governed: "The great secret of our success . . . lies in the fact that we recognize the importance of temporal and eternal things and that our boys are treated as reasonable, and, above all, as immortal beings . . . Ora et labora, this is our motto. . ."

The neglected opportunities afforded him in this school, young Tyrrell regretted all his life. But here as elsewhere the perverse spirit of liberty which dwelt within him fought against coercion and advice, and notwithstanding the faith and exemplary life of his pious mother and of Dr. Benson, this intellectually indolent and wayward boy seemed to be possessed of a spirit of irreligion, so that even to his awakened reason the eternal facts—God, heaven, hell, sin—presented no reality whatever. He knew he was ignorant and unprepared for religious difficulties, but his proud and haughty self-conceits would be satisfied with no answers. In

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religion, as in other matters, the thing not possessed was the most precious and his restless mind and heart, ever dissatisfied, wandered always from one attachment to another until, between his eleventh and eighteenth year, he gradually came to cease to be a believer in Christianity altogether, or perhaps it is more true to say that he thought he did. During this interval, two Catholic ladies who never seemed to have a problem of any kind, even a temporal one, to solve, started a train of thought in young Tyrrell without preaching a word to him, so that he began to think, as he says, "long before he was capable of thinking and became a monstrosity in consequence." At the same time he became untruthful, violent, irreligious, idle, good for nothing, and temporarily a thief on a small scale. But in his "lowest degradation and by the lips of his worst companion the stray seed of future redemption was quietly sown;" commenting on which he remarks that "our fate is determined by straws one way or another."

Of book knowledge, Tyrrell, now in his fourteenth year, had acquired little, relatively to other boys at Rathmines, but says he: "I was miles ahead of them in reflection, in spite of my piggish ignorance." He had then as much knowledge of Butler's Analogy, he considered, 'as many a pass man gets his B.A. upon.' He got convinced from Butler that religion might be defended on a rational basis but his scepticism clung to him until he began attending worship in a high Anglican church, neither to pray nor to scoff, but to listen, observe, and think.

Now and all through life he was searching for the reality in things and dreaded nothing more than illusion and sham and pretence. In his system of religion and philosophy he always discerned some value in doubting, and found in his own daily life many selves, and in his sober moments often wondered which was the real self. But while his mind was in this state of mental conflict, stubbornly resisting all influence on his reason or will coming from others, he went on to play at religion and to pose in this church where he worshipped. He cared nothing about his soul, had no sense of sin, his highest aim being to be respectable in his own eyes, and he would be respectable, he thought, after the manner

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of men who give alms from ill-gotten goods and believe themselves religious on that account. But the conflict within him never ceased; sin pressed its weight of reality on his conscience; he longed to feel sorrow for it and not to commit it, not because he loved righteousness for its own sake and hated iniquity; he was sorry only because his sins had made him a failure in the congregation into which he had now drifted. He tried to pray but in every prayer his reason told him he was at heart an unbeliever and that he was only acting religion. But he longed ardently to believe, even to consecrate himself to the service of religion, longed for moral reformation of himself through natural motives of self-interest and respectability, for supernatural motives had no meaning for him. In this moral, chaotic condition, thirsting for reality and struggling to stifle his rebellious reason, he became a communicant in the Anglican Church.

Let us remember that all this time George Tyrrell was only a school boy, whose philosophical genius was already fast developing and who, through the independent working of his own brain, arrived at those fundamental facts of all existence which afterwards governed his whole life of thought and labour of love.

While thus studying and baffling himself with the problems of existence and moral evil, his brother Willie suddenly died. In his terrible desolation he struggled with his reason to know if there was not in the dark some Almighty Being who would break the silence and speak to his soul; for unlike Augustine and Newman he found no God in his conscience, but only the worm of remorse forever gnawing at the root of his being. In his madness he sought an escape, first, in a general confession of his whole life to an Anglican clergyman and, utterly dissatisfied with this because finding no peace to his conscience, he did the extraordinary thing of repeating this confession to a Roman priest without revealing himself as an Anglican. This unutterable condition of mind was due to a desire for personal sanctification, not because of the worth of his soul, for he did not ever at any time consider his own salvation as more than a mere probability. The way in which he expresses doubts about it either in time or eternity

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gives one a cold shudder, especially when we read those noble works of his written expressly for the guidance and salvation of others. "Sometimes," he says, "I think it must be that in the deepest depths of my self-consciousness I believe nothing at all, and am self-deceived in the matter; and the recognition of the manner in which I have all along allowed the wish to believe to play upon me, rather confirms this melancholy hypothesis." When reading this one sadly wishes that he had possessed the rugged faith of a Luther, or the simple, loving faith of a Saint Francis of Assisi, or a curé of Ars.

In his seventeenth year as he found no resting place in Anglicanism, his friend and confidant, Robert Dolling, advised him to seek a refuge for his soul in the Church of Rome, but the sequel shows that he found no peace even there.

Looking back in later life on this parting from his mother and sister and native land without letting them know his vague but secret intention of becoming a Jesuit, his sorrow is best expressed in his own touching words: "Well I remember my last day at home, my last day with these two now 'hid in death's dateless night,' who were my share of the world, the best this life has had for me; whom I forsook for what in the name of all that is sane and reasonable? For a craze, an idea, a fanaticism or for a love of and zeal for the truth, the Kingdom of God, the good of mankind?"

"Looking back on this crooked, selfish, untruthful past, is it more antecedently likely that my motive was interested or disinterested; pure or impure; truth or illusion? Can evil be the path of good? Had I been faithful to duty all along; had I worked hard at school and after; had I left aside problems that really did not concern me; had I stayed at home and supported my mother and sister, and made their sad, narrow lives a little wider and brighter, would not God have given me light had it been needful for my salvation? Would not my chances of salvation have been better than they are now? . . . These are the pleasant doubts that fill my mind and make me say: Surely I have lived in vain."

The load of remorseful sorrow that must have pressed him down while penning these bitter words of mingled grief and shame is beyond the writer's imagination to

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calculate. I can only say that I do not believe that any of these practical questions, the offspring of later sorrows and trials, which would have broken the heart of any man of less obstinate character and strength of will, were ever put to himself when leaving home. He was driven to do what he did by the same tormenting thought and doubts of his salvation and the problems of life which seize upon many reflecting young men of that age and which for the time being seem to leave them absolutely powerless to concentrate their thoughts upon anything else, or to see the future consequences of their present resolves. Who can tell how many such are found within convents and monasteries, or in the ministry of Protestant churches who feel that they have blundered in their choice of vocation?

While doubting whether the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Pope represented Christianity, a syllogism in a Catholic book carried him over the fence into Rome. The syllogism ran:

“Given that there must be a church on earth claiming infallibility, no body that disclaims it can be that church, and if only one body claims it, that must be the church.”

Father Tyrrell discovered what young George Tyrrell did not, that “every word of these premises is ambiguous and disputable,” but he admitted them then because he was willing to close his eyes and creep into the veriest fool’s paradise for shelter in his spiritual destitution. In matters spiritual as temporal does it not seem to be that the great majority of mankind will seek any port in a storm?

Space will not permit me to do more than make the briefest references to the twenty-six years of Jesuit life of George Tyrrell. It was a life filled with disappointments and labours but also sustained with very sincere friendships and unfailing loyalty on the part of a few friends both within and without the Society. He found himself a part of a system with which he had no sympathy. His ideas were not those of the heads of his order, nor of the rank and file, excepting only a few of the “intellectuals.” While living as a probationer and witnessing to some extent what his future life would be like, he put long after into the following words the

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feelings he then had: "As I went my aimless time-killing rambles along the shore or over the hills . . . I sank down under the sense of the gulf I had fixed between myself and my old friends and lovers—all for what? Had I found what I wanted? Truth whispered, No! Hope shouted, Yes!"

Unhappily this hope was never realized and one wonders whether in spite of all he may have said to the contrary, that his determining motive may really have been not the service of mankind, but some subconscious fear of hell or loss of heaven acquired imperceptibly during his novitiate which urged him to become a member of a religious society for which he found himself altogether unfitted by nature, if not by grace. He was struggling perpetually for intellectual and spiritual freedom in a system of absolute authority which was constraining his will and putting a remora or break to his intellect at every turn. George Tyrrell would recognize no higher law than the supremacy of his own conscience which to him was the voice of God within his soul, and in the words of Newman he could truly say: "I have never and shall never surrender my conscience to the keeping of anyone." But his conception of authority and that of Newman were not quite the same. Newman had not the militant spirit to make open war on constituted authority, but Tyrrell could not refrain from making war on it when he was convinced it was in the wrong; his conception of his duty to others impelling him to do this. Indeed there is no doubt in my mind that George Tyrrell was from first to last constitutionally unfitted by nature to be a member of the Jesuit order, and I have unwillingly a little suspicion even, that there was wanting in him that stuff of the soul which was pliable enough to be the typical, lay Roman Catholic. Nevertheless, had he been content with the position of Catholic layman he might possibly have found peace to his soul without obstruction from ecclesiastical authority, though when one thinks of some noted historical and contemporary facts, this also is not at all too certain. His spirit was always independent and indocile and was bound to assert itself sooner or later. He was pretty much, after he had become a professed Jesuit, what he had been before that time. There is an abundant evidence in his

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own writings to prove that he had little or no reverence for ecclesiastical authority *per se*. He could not stomach the notion of a papal court, nor "mitres of gold on bishops of wood." The Church and the Jesuit Society he believed in were figments of his own brain and not the actual Roman Church and Order of which he was a member. He was an incorrigible dreamer and visionary who found himself living in a world whose brains he believed had gone wrong and in a church whose ethical ideals were all corrupted by a love for power and gold. To bring back health and sanity to this mad world which was moulding the church to its own standards, by pointing out a solution for some of its intellectual and moral problems, was the impulse that drove him on and made him say he "would rather share in the palpitating life of the sinful majority than enjoy the peace of the saintly few."

Declaring himself a Roman Catholic by "ineradicable conviction" after suspension from the exercise of his priestly functions and being repelled from the sacraments, his mind, writhing in agony, was in a state of perpetual flux between Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism. "As you surmise," he wrote to a friend, "I have long considered the possibility of a return to the Church of England. . . I have no doubt of its being an integral part of the Church Catholic."

Let no reader be uncharitable or unjust, for who knows which of us would act differently when our brain is racked with pain, and our whole past presents itself to us as a dismal failure.

Be that as it may, the fame of George Tyrrell has gone out through that portion of the cultured world which interests itself in religion and the most important things of life. It was for that portion of mankind he wrote, and through them and by means of them, for the world beyond or beneath their circle. How he stands in that world to-day—condemned or approved—it is not easy to determine. Of his own powers and influence he appears at first to have no small estimate, but of his own sincerity he seems to have been always tortured with scruples and doubts. In some respects he was very much like Luther. Profoundly deeper and saner than that Reformer he was his equal in moral courage and bold-

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ness. Once convinced of the righteousness of his purpose, and urged on to act by his conscience, he never hesitated or swerved from the call of duty. Nor did he run blindly into action; no man ever foresaw with more clearness the consequences of his own acts. His mind worked rapidly, and as if by intuition, he saw the inwardness of things and their potential developments. The world outside the circle in which his life in the Order was spent presented to his vision the picture of a world of intellectual and moral chaos, whose sores were visible to all, but for which no one, least of all, he thought, his own Church of Society, had any healing balm. His deep, abiding sympathy caused him to exaggerate the ill of life, and a little intellectual vanity of which he does not appear to have been altogether unconscious, led him to depreciate too much the wisdom of the official Church and its capacity for a clearer and more far-reaching vision than his own. He lived in a world of dreams and hopes which gradually melted away and left him wondering whether there was anything real in life but its sorrows and illusions, stumbling even at the last line of the verse:

"This world is all a fleeting show
For man's illusion given,
The smiles of joy, the tears of woe,
Deceitful shine, deceitful flow,
There's nothing true but Heaven.

But to understand George Tyrrell and carry away a correct summary impression of him, one must remember the three divisions or sets of circumstances, altogether different, in which his life was spent. In the eighteen years before he became attached to the Jesuits he kept wandering in the mazes of doubt, striving with the hereditary, religious temperament with which he was endowed from his parents, turning over in his young but philosophic mind, strange and singular thoughts about God and sin and the problem of existence. This was a period in the making of the man Tyrrell and he managed somehow not to be fashioned by others, nor to fashion himself. For this unfinished product, his brother Willie, I think, whom he deeply loved, and who had an extraordinary influence over him, is largely to blame. Every one who has a knowledge of intellectual boys knows that they are all gen-

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erally stricken with some form of insanity between fourteen and twenty and will think and do many unexpected things. While they are thus striving with their conscience they try somehow to get rid of God, but they find that when they drive Him out by the front door, He comes in by the back door. Thus they become tormented with conflicting doubts and fears, aspirations and hopes, and long for nothing so much as to be able to resolve like the prodigal son to shake off fear and shame and to return in peace to their Father's home of love. But would anyone dare to say, notwithstanding his own account of himself, that George Tyrrell was not at bottom a religious lad? The fact is that the soul of young Tyrrell was always athirst for God and righteousness and he longed to come and live always in the presence of God. He tells us himself that he wanted ardently to believe and to free himself from the dominion of sin, and to be God-centred, not self-centred, and what does all this mean if it does not involve some of the better and finer elements of faith and repentance? How many will be bold enough to disagree with his own mature conception of repentance, wherein he says: "I am clear that no man can be in sympathy with the mind of God, can love right as right, truth as truth, can hate evil as evil, and not be implicitly but most really contrite in the full theological sense, though he never have heard of God."

The second period of his life was the twenty-six years he lived as a Jesuit. It was a time of sad and continual disappointment both with the Society and with the official Church. They not only did not come up to his expectation but he came to regard them as hopelessly corrupted by the world spirit. His conscience was persistently tormented by scruples of all kinds concerning his life and work, his past, and present, and future. His Novice Master, he tells us himself, had tried to instil into him the dominating principle of love for Christ, but he seems not to have been sufficiently stabilized even in that. For Jesuit books of devotion he had little or no respect; some of their principles were utterly repugnant to him, or in other words, as I conceive it, his Protestant spirit could not assimilate their substance. He found himself altogether out of place but also in circum-

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stances in which he is compelled to make the best of a bad job, as most people do in marriage. The Philistines, as he describes the heresy hunters, were pursuing him all through life and, like Newman, he was obliged to employ his highest literary skill in expressing himself and every possible expedient to try to dodge their cunning and their scent for their quarry. The words of Newman written of himself under similar circumstances might well be taken by Tyrrell and applied to his own case: "I know anyhow that however honest are my thoughts and earnest my endeavours to keep rigidly within the lines of Catholic doctrine, every word I publish will be malevolently scrutinized and every expression which can possibly be perverted sent straight to Rome—that I shall be fighting under the last which does not tend to produce vigorous efforts in the battle, or to inspire either courage or presence of mind."

Persecution strengthened Newman's character without souring his mind, but I am afraid that its influence upon Tyrrell's temper was very embittering. At any rate he seems to have been obsessed with the idea, not altogether without reason, that the Philistines were bent on ruining him, and it is a saddening thought for any good Catholic to entertain, that any priest, be he cultured or otherwise, should be so lost to all delicacy of conscience as to have less feeling and consideration for an immortal soul than for the tenability of a theological proposition.

The third and last period of poor Tyrrell's life was spent as a sort of outcast from society, suspected by ungrateful Catholics generally, and taunted by many unsympathetic Protestants for what they regarded as inconsistency of life and principles, until at last as I strongly suspect his mind became unbalanced and lost its poise through intensity of mental suffering. He still had some friends among Protestants and Catholics, priests and laymen, but there are natures, and his was one of them, which are so secretive, that, not even to a mother, can they wholly impart all the weight of their suffering, much less its secret causes, and I can conceive of no more excruciating pain than that induced upon a truly conscientious soul, by conflicting doubt and faith, and a war-

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fare of ideas concerning fundamental religious principles, upon which one's practical choice must be made for weal or for woe. Everything, whatever it was—pleasure, or pain, love, or faith, or hope, went to the depth of Tyrrell's plastic nature, longing for sympathy and friendship and loyalty, but he would have none of them by going a-begging for them.

What his end was we all know from the pen of Miss M. D. Petre, his friend faithful to the last, who conceived the right Christian idea of how he should be aided to pass from one stage of existence to the other. But no good Christian will rise from the perusal of these two bulky volumes without a shudder that the soul of a great and good man should have been brought into jeopardy by what seems to have been the harsh conduct of those whose duty it was to say after the manner of their gentle Master and with the same tenderness of speech and look: "Come unto me all you who labour and are heavy laden and I will give you rest." That there is no priest so stubborn who will not succumb to such treatment is the belief of all good people.

"Yon tonsured monk
Will face the flames obedient to a power
Which he deems highest but which you deem
Damned.
 Reflect on this,
Ye temporary darlings of the crowd.
To-day ye may have peace in your ears;
To-morrow ye lie rotten, if your work
Lack that true core which gives to Right and Might
One meaning in the end."

E. P. HURLEY.

JOHN HUNTER, THE FATHER OF SCIENTIFIC SURGERY

JOHN Hunter was born at the farm of Long Calderwood, eight miles from Glasgow, on February 14th, 1728, the youngest child of John and Agnes Hunter. John Hunter, senior, came of a very old Ayrshire family of Norman descent, dating from the thirteenth century, the Hunters of Hunters-ton. His nephew, Matthew Baillie, speaks of him as "a man of good understanding, of great integrity, and of an anxious temperament"; and of his wife as "a woman of great worth and of considerable talents."

There were ten children in the old home. Of these the three eldest died in childhood and four others in their early prime, most of them of tuberculosis. Three sons grew to manhood. The eldest, James, reputed the cleverest of the three, first studied law, but later joined William in London to become a doctor, and, sad to relate, quickly fell into a decline and came home to die at the age of twenty-nine.

The careers of William and John were for years closely linked, and every sketch of John's life includes much about the brother, the elder by ten years, who was left at the age of twenty-eight as the mainstay of his mother, two sisters and brother John.

The sister Dorothea married Rev. James Baillie, Presbyterian minister at Hamilton, and afterwards Professor of Divinity at Glasgow. Dorothea's son, Matthew Baillie, was the author of the first important British book on Pathology, and her daughter, Joanna, grew up to be a poetess and playwright, one of the intimates in the circle of which Sir Walter Scott was the centre.

William first studied for the ministry of the Church of Scotland, but scruples of conscience in regard to some of the doctrines to be subscribed to led him to step out and choose the profession of Medicine. He spent three apprentice years with Wm. Cullen, physician at Hamilton, with a widely scattered practice through the countryside. The terms of their

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partnership permitted post-graduate study by either of them during part of each winter. Cullen became professor of Chemistry and of Medicine in the Glasgow School, and then came to Edinburgh, where he took the chief part in organizing the system of bedside training upon which the credit of the Edinburgh Medical school was built. In so doing Cullen adopted the type of training which he had observed with admiration during his post-graduate studies under that great teacher, Hermann Boerhaave of Leyden.

William Hunter's growing ambition carried him in 1740 to London. Thus he unconsciously anticipated the dictum of the redoubtable Dr. Samuel Johnson, himself a devoted lover of doctors. When a certain Mr. Ogilvie, in defence of Scotland, remarked that it afforded a great many noble wild prospects, Johnson replied: "Depend upon it, Sir, the noblest prospect a Scotsman ever sees is the high road that leads him to England." The London into which Wm. Hunter came was the London of Johnson and Goldsmith, of Gay, Garrick and Siddons, of Hogarth, Gainsborough, Reynolds and "the young gentleman in Grafton Street," George Romney. In music George Frederick Haendel's star was at its zenith. His "Messiah" and "Israel in Egypt" were produced in 1741, and twelve more great oratorios were composed by him before his death in 1759. This last date recalls the fateful conquest of Canada by the genius of Wolfe, that great step towards the eighteenth century expansion of England. The years which followed, up till the death of the younger Hunter in 1793, brought the momentous Revolution in France.

Young William was gifted with brilliant parts and charming manners. He attracted everyone who came within his radius. The choice of William Smellie as his teacher, that other West Country Scot, now apothecary and accoucheur living in Pall Mall, probably suggested the field in which he ultimately was to win fame as a practitioner, for Dr. Herbert Spencer in his recent historical survey of British Midwifery, ranks Smellie as the greatest of British obstetricians.

After a year so spent, William joined another Scot, James Douglas, he of the "pouch", an obstetric physician and anatomist, as his assistant, and definitely decided upon obstetrics

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as his field of practice. In the meantime, however, he pursued his anatomical studies and in 1746 began his first course of lectures on anatomy at Covent Garden.

We must now see what John was doing with himself during the years so fertile in opportunity and so conscientiously redeemed by his elder brother.

Nothing could well be more unlike than the early experience and behaviour of these brothers. William was from the age of fourteen a serious, well conducted, earnest student. Up till the age of seventeen, John would have been classed as an idle loafer by any casual observer. He hated school; it was for him a place to stay away from, and at this age he could read and write only with great difficulty. But he reports of himself: "When I was a boy, I wanted to know all about the clouds and the grasses, and why the leaves changed colour in the autumn; I watched the ants, bees, birds, tadpoles and caddis worms; I pestered people with questions about what nobody knew or cared anything about." Genius knows no law in its own mysterious unfolding. John, like Topsy, "just grewed."

It was not till he was twenty that he came to himself. Hearing of his brother's success in London, he wrote offering to come and work as a dissector under him. William, ever ready to help his family, bade him come, and he started on horseback forthwith, arriving in the Metropolis in September, going straight to join his brother, where he was established as assistant in William's anatomy rooms.

It seems advisable at this point to sketch the later career of William. He had become engaged to the daughter of his chief, Dr. Douglas, but his fiancée died and he never married. Thereafter, William's path through life, while arduous, was plain, and his endeavours were one after another crowned with success, both scientific and financial. He continued to the end a teacher of anatomy and, in practice, became the leading obstetrician in London after the deaths of Smellie and Douglas. He was the first man who ever attended an English Queen at her confinement. This honour, of course, opened to him the highest class of practice in his specialty.

He had an instinct for the danger of combining the prac-

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ticē of dissecting with the profession of an accoucheur. As early as he could afford it, he set up a separate home wherein to live and meet his patients, apart from the large house which contained his museum and anatomy rooms, together with lodgings for his brother and his apprentice pupils.

The chief record in black and white which he left us combines in brilliant fashion his lifetime's devotion to Anatomy and Obstetrics viz. his masterly series of dissections of the pregnant uterus, embodied in an atlas containing thirty large engravings with explanatory notes. It was an epoch-making achievement when issued in 1775, and its value remains to this day. In the preface William pays a handsome tribute to the quality of John's work in helping him to prepare the original dissections. The one sad episode in his later years was the estrangement from his brother in consequence of their rival claims to the discovery of some new points in the peripheral structure of the human placenta, and the manner of its connection with the uterine wall. Unhappily this breach in brotherly confidence was never healed.

At the age of sixty-four, William suffered an apoplectic stroke. He was tired out and realized that his end was near. One day, turning to his friend Dr. Combe he said: "If I had strength to hold a pen I would write how easy and pleasant a thing it is to die." The matter-of-fact John when he heard of this said: "Aye, it's poor work when it comes to that." John was allowed to render surgical assistance during his brother's illness, but was not invited to the funeral, nor was he mentioned in William's will.

William's death was a great sorrow to his brother, and the way in which he spoke of it when next he met his students, proves this clearly. One of those who were present that day reports as follows: "Having finished his lecture . . . Mr. Hunter seemed yet to have more to say; at length, endeavouring to appear as if he had just recollected something, he began: 'Ho, gentlemen, one thing more. I need not remind you of—you all know the loss anatomy has lately sustained.' He was obliged to pause, and turn his face from his hearers. At length, recovering himself, he proceeded . . . 'I have to beg that you will make allowance for

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Mr. Cruickshank, obliged at present to give lectures' (vice William) 'for which he could have made no preparation, and to acquaint you that the lectures will be continued as usual.' This and a few words more were not spoken without great emotion, nor with dry eyes. The scene was so truly pathetic that a general sympathy pervaded the whole class; and everyone stood or sat motionless and silent for some minutes."

William Hunter was a man of wider culture than John, and became a companion on equal terms of the brilliant, artistic and literary circles among London contemporaries. Reynolds, Gainsborough, Hogarth and Samuel Johnson were among his intimates. Like Linacre, Radcliffe, Mead, and Garth, he became a collector of incunabula from the earliest printing presses of Europe, of rare coins also and priceless manuscripts. Besides all this there were the gems, minerals, natural history and geological collections, and finally his magnificent anatomical museum. Fortunately, after his death, these wonders were not dispersed, as were Mead's, at public auction, but came into the careful hands of Matthew Baillie, his nephew and adopted son, and from him, by William's will, passed to the University of Glasgow, where they are preserved with reverent care for future generations.

From 1748 to 1757 John worked as William's assistant with unstinted devotion and at all hours of the day or night, in the most unhealthy and disagreeable surroundings. A student of the period records that he had known five lecturers on Anatomy die within the foregoing ten years of "putrid miasma," in modern language—of septicaemia. The Hunter School, it must be remembered, was a private enterprise, unrelated to any teaching hospital school and dependent entirely upon the genius of the brothers for its very existence.

Within a year of his departure from the farm in Lanarkshire, then, we find the erstwhile idler, John, a full-fledged demonstrator of Anatomy of uncommon skill and already devoted to research. During these years, and through William's influence, John attended the hospital practice of Cheselden, the distinguished surgeon and intimate friend of Pope. After Cheselden's retirement in 1751, John became a surgeon's

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pupil at St. Bartholomew's with Percival Pott, who succeeded to Cheselden's rank as the leading Surgeon in London.

During these years of intense anatomical and surgical study, John bore his share in perfecting certain demonstrations of ultimate anatomical structure. Better methods of injection, sometimes with metallic mercury, were the means used. The full course of the lachrymal ducts, of the seminferous tubules, and of the lymphatics and their glands were the subjects of these researches.

During these years also, John Hunter laid the foundation of his extensive knowledge of comparative anatomy by dissecting animals of all possible species he could come by. The keeper of the animal "zoo" at the Tower of London sent him the carcasses of the specimens which died—the keepers of travelling menageries did the same or sold them to him, and travellers like Sir Joseph Banks sometimes provided him with whales, dolphins and other sea creatures. One volume of his posthumous papers contains the notes of scores of such dissections. By the end of his career Hunter had left notes of his dissections of five hundred animal species, and when a witness at the Donellan trial in 1781, testified that he had dissected several thousand human bodies.

Sir B. Moynihan in his Hunterian Oration of February 14th, 1927, gives the following account of Hunter's further studies during this period: "He began to note the earliest stages in the development of the chick and continued this study to the end of his life, deriving from it guidance for the interpretation of the phenomena of repair and of disease. We find him exposing the thoracic viscera, using artificial respiration, and noting accurately what happened to heart and lungs when the air supply was withdrawn and when it was renewed. He studied respiration in birds, keeping cocks alive which breathed through the cannulae inserted in their air sacs instead of through their windpipes. He carried out a series of experiments on absorption from the bowel in various animals. We find him tracing out the distribution of nerves in the nose and giving, for the first time, the right explanation of why the fifth pair of cranial nerves should enter into the field of mucous membrane supplied by the

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olfactory nerves. The description he then gave of the descent of the testis and of the vital phenomena which attend that still mysterious operation has never been surpassed. He kept a tame kite to prove that a stomach accustomed to a flesh diet could be educated to deal with one which was purely vegetarian; he noted the phenomena of digestion in the stomachs of fish, fowls, dogs; he explained post-mortem destruction of the stomach. He placed pieces of raw meat in suppurating wounds and observed the digestive effects which followed; he measured the digestive (or tryptic) action of pus. We find him deeply interested in the formation of pus upon the unbroken surfaces of serous and of mucous membranes. He began a series of observations on the uses of the vesiculæ seminales, and was led thereby to investigate experimentally the potent and mysterious influence which testis and ovary exercise on the development and growth of the body. We find him seeking signs to distinguish between tissues in which life was latent and those from which life had already vanished. He believed he had discovered the organ of hearing in fishes, and sought to discover an explanation of the curious fact that the ovaries of eels were always destitute of ova."

The easy open air life of his days of prolonged irresponsibility must have stood Hunter in good stead or he never could have endured the labor or escaped perils to his health of these twelve years of incessant toil. A check came at last, in 1759, in the shape of a sharp pneumonia which he had difficulty in shaking off. For a time phthisis was feared, and he himself felt that a halt must be called. He took out a commission, therefore, in 1760, and was dispatched as staff surgeon with Hodgson and Keppel's expedition to Belleisle-en-mer, a fortified island off the coast of France towards the northern end of the Bay of Biscay. The expedition, which was a minor episode in Britain's long struggle with France, was successful, and the island remained for two years in the hands of British troops.

In 1762, Hunter served on the frontier of Portugal. Here he gained an extensive experience of gun and cannon shot wounds, an account of which was in 1794 published in the posthumous work which has always been regarded as his mas-

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terpiece, "A Treatise on the Blood, Inflammation and Gunshot Wounds." Whether on land or sea he kept up his researches. One of these proved that, during the state of hibernation, lizards do not digest worms put into their stomachs, and that to stir them to active movement at this time of stagnant metabolism is quickly fatal.

Early in 1763 Hunter returned to London and retired from the Army on half pay, and after fifteen years of scientific work along a multitude of paths of research, he finally set up as a practising surgeon in Golden Square at the age of thirty-five.

The field of operative surgery was rather a limited one in those days even in London, and there were at least six men of ability, senior to him, in practice. Hunter, therefore, had still to teach anatomy, systematic and surgical, to earn enough for his needs. He kept up his pursuit of comparative anatomy also, and experimented much on animals. His operations upon the tendons of dogs, for instance, are the basis of our modern orthopaedic procedures in daily hospital use.

In 1767 he was elected an F.R.S., and in 1768 he became a surgeon to St. George's Hospital. The same year he began to take house pupils who paid him £100 per annum. Edward Jenner, the father of smallpox vaccine, came to him in 1770 and remained his life-long friend and correspondent. Dr. Physick of Philadelphia, one of the surgical founders of its famous medical school, was another member of this fortunate group. Among his clinical hospital class were Abernethy, Cline and Astley Cooper*

In 1770, John moved into the house in Jermyn Street which had just been vacated by William, and the next year he married Anne Home, daughter of an army surgeon.

The following year he bought some acres of farmland beyond the village of Brompton, at Earl's Court, then two miles out of London. Here he built a rambling house with stables and outhouses. In these he kept a menagerie of his own and carried on biological researches of all sorts, coming

*The Hunter tradition was brought to Boston by one of the Warren family who was a pupil of Astley Cooper.

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out for week ends, and spending the autumn months there as far as possible.

Jenner sent him multitudes of the smaller animals from Gloucestershire, among which were many hedgehogs; eagles turned up sometimes and once he had two leopards at the same time. These he took back to their cell, unaided, when they one day escaped. On another occasion he was nearly killed by a young bull. In these episodes the early days at Long Calderwood among the farm stock bear fruit at last.

Babington, in the Hunterian Oration of 1842, says of Hunter's method in biological enquiry, "He had never read Bacon, but his mode of studying was as strictly Baconian as if he had." Hunter's own words in a letter to Jenner have often been quoted: "I think your solution of the problem is just; but why think, why not try the experiment? Repeat all the experiments upon a hedgehog as soon as you receive this, and they will give you the solution." When condoling with Jenner, in another letter, over a recent disappointment in love, Hunter tells him: "But let her go, never mind her. I shall employ you with hedgehogs."

Early in October, 1775, Hunter began his famous course of lectures on surgery, "its principles and practice, in which will be introduced so much of the animal œconomy as may be necessary to illustrate the principles of those diseases which are the object of surgery." The course comprised one hundred lectures and cost four guineas. From a description of these lectures in the *European Magazine* of October, 1782, it is clear that less stress was laid upon operative surgery than on the physiology of the blood and tissues, the object being: "to show the action of the body and its parts when in the diseased state, with the action and effects of nature to recovery, and the necessary and proper assistance to be given by the surgeon." The principles of diseases are the first parts of surgery to be learned. They are to the surgeon what the first principles of mathematics are to the practical geometrician, without the knowledge of which a man can neither be a philosopher nor a surgeon.

"Operations should never be introduced but in cases of absolute necessity. A surgeon should never approach a victim

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for an operation but with humiliation: it is a reflection upon the healing art. He is then like the savage in arms, who performs by violence what a civilized nation would accomplish by stratagem. No surgeon should approach the victim of his operation without a sacred dread and reluctance and should be superior to that popular eclat generally attending painful operations, often only because they are painful, or are expensive to the patient. Mr. Hunter having observed that the greatest part of the books published in Surgery contain little else than relations of cases and modes of treatment and that the practitioners have been too easily satisfied with a collection of facts, without embracing the catalogue of diseases as a system, proposes in his Course to examine the theory and principles of diseases in a regular series. His doctrines are drawn from personal observations made in the course of an indefatigable life, with the constancy of a most adventurous mind. His idea, mode of reasoning, as well as his arrangement of diseases are new: and he therefore has received little aid from books or from other professors."

All this must have been startling doctrine to the ears which first heard it. It was the great new note, the manifesto of the scientific surgical renaissance. Lister proclaimed the same gospel when his spirit was stirred by the same great argument, and it was from John Hunter that this inspiration came.

It does not appear that Hunter was a brilliant lecturer. Probably it was in this respect that the heaviest price was paid for the educationally undisciplined years of his youth. His pupil Abernethy says that his language was 'inelegant and often coarse, his delivery heavy and unengaging, his methods confused with attempts to find words for thoughts, or else to read from little scraps of paper." But the same Abernethy and his fellows never ceased to boast of having been his pupils, and from them the new surgical learning spread to the ends of the earth.

His pupil and biographer, Drewry Ottley, tells us Hunter's way with his students as follows: "Occasionally, too, he would say to any of the pupils whom he saw taking notes, 'You had better not write down that

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observation, for very likely I shall think differently next year': and on one occasion, after lecturing for a considerable time, he stopped short, raised his spectacles, and said, 'Gentlemen, I think you had better omit what I have been saying: the fact is, I had an idea when I wrote down this, but I have lost the train of thought connected with it, and I cannot now recall it.' This was a difficulty he not unfrequently experienced."

Stephen Paget thus criticizes Hunter's use of language: "Certain phrases, which were no more than metaphors, he overburdened with meaning, if by any method he could describe life: such were sympathy, affinity, the irritation of imperfection, the stimulus of death, the blood's consciousness of its being a useful part of the body, the consent of the fluids with the solids, the stimulus of nature, the stimulus of necessity for coagulation of the blood. A curious instance of this abuse of words occurs in his account of the absorption of diseased or superfluous tissues within the body: 'The remote cause of absorption of whole and living parts implies the existence of two conditions, the first of which is a consciousness, in the parts to be absorbed, of the unfitness or impossibility of remaining under such circumstances, whatever they may be, and therefore they become ready for removal, and submit to it with ease. The second is a consciousness, of the absorbents, of such a state of the parts. Both these concurring, they have nothing to do but to fall to the work. Now the part that is to be absorbed is alive, it must feel its own inefficacy and admit of absorption. The vessels must have the stimulus of imperfection of this part, as if they were sensible that this part were unfit; and therefore take it up. There must be a sensation in both parts. When the part to be absorbed is a dead part, then the whole disposition is in the absorbents.' "

Cline reports as follows: "Having heard Mr. Hunter's lectures on the subject of disease, I found him so far superior to anything I had conceived or heard before, that there seemed no comparison between the great mind of the man who delivered them, and all the individuals, whether ancient or modern, who had gone before him."

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Stephen Paget judges that the "immeasurable extent of Hunter's thoughts overstrained the attention of these young men." His class did not grow in numbers, even falling as low as twelve in 1786, thirteen years after he had begun lecturing.

In 1776, Hunter was appointed Surgeon extraordinary to the King. His letters to Jenner of the same year illustrate the ceaseless energy of his questing mind, peering into the secrets of nature in every direction where a chance of throwing light on some problem suggested itself. Here is one example of many that might be offered: "I have but one order to send you, which is, to send everything you can get, either animal, vegetable, or mineral, and the compound of the two, either animal or vegetable mineralized.

"Have you large trees, of different kinds, that you can make free with? If you have, I will put you upon a set of experiments with regard to the heat of vegetables.

"Have you any eaves, where bats go to at night? If you have, I will put you upon a set of experiments concerning the heat of them at different seasons."

His brother-in-law and literary executor, Everard Home, reports that Hunter used to work at his collections from sunrise till 8 a.m. daily, and in such intervals by day as practice allowed. Wm. Clift, his prosector and general assistant, tells us that each night at twelve he took leave of Hunter, bringing him a freshly trimmed lamp wherewith to continue his studies till 2 a.m. at least. At 6 a.m. when Clift was due on deck again, he often found his chief already at work.

His attitude towards the monetary reward of his practice is shown by his remarking on one occasion: "I must go and earn that damned guinea, or I shall be sure to want it tomorrow." Every penny he could spare went out upon his collections. At his busiest as a surgeon he earned £5,000 a year, but when every claim was satisfied after his death, the cash balance was but £1,500.

The disease Angina Pectoris, which ultimately killed him, made its first appearance in the spring of 1773, twenty years before his death. The predisposing causes were there in full force—twenty-five years of the most intense application with

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little change or relief, except the comparative rest of the years of military service; a gouty constitution; and certainly not least important, an accidental inoculation of himself with syphilis in 1767. Of all the experiments made upon his own person by Hunter this was the most rash. Under the impression that he had only inoculated himself with the venereal infection now associated with Neisser's gonococcus, he gave himself luetic disease as well. This he treated with mercury, chiefly by inunction, but only in palliative doses, as he wished to watch the development of the disease within the system step by step. Later, he used full doses and continuous treatment to bring about cure. The whole episode took three years to complete. If it had led him to the knowledge of fresh truth about these diseases, there might have been some compensation for the risk run, but unhappily, Hunter felt convinced that the one infection was capable of producing any sort of venereal disease. The authority of his name helped to darken counsel for many a day in this department of pathology.

The Angina did not revisit Hunter for three years, and thereafter returned at long intervals, but during the last eight years of life the pain became a thing of daily experience.

In 1783, the year of William's death, John, having no room left in the Jermyn Street house, removed to a larger one in Leicester Square. The land behind it and the house beyond that in the next street he also purchased. His museum he built between the two houses. The tradition is that from this rambling set of buildings, Stevenson conceived his idea of the setting of his romance "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." To-day nothing remains of any part of these structures.

In this great house Mrs. Hunter's social genius and musical talents found an ample stage. Once a week, during the season, a brilliant assembly took place where one might meet the choicest spirits in the literary, artistic, and musical coteries of London, besides foreign visitors of note. The composer, Joseph Haydn, Beethoven's great forerunner, paid his first visit to London in 1791 and must have been the guest of Anne Hunter. One of her best lyrics is enshrined by Haydn in his charming song setting of "My mother bids me bind my hair," a song which still lives. When he composed his

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immortal oratorio, "Creation," in later years in Vienna, it was English words, not German, that Haydn set to great music. They were a free rendering of passages from Milton's "Paradise Lost." The rough draft of this libretto is still extant, in Anne Hunter's handwriting.

In these brave doings our John took little part. He might be noticed in the small hours making his way as best he could upstairs to his four hours' sleep, stemming the social tide descending upon him—"the world forgetting by the" (social) "world," at least, "forgot."

Clift tells us that at this period Hunter had fifty persons dependent upon him daily in his two great establishments, in addition to the articulated pupils, who, of course, paid for their privileges.

In December, 1785, Hunter performed his first ligature of the femoral artery in Hunter's Canal for popliteal aneurism. The old operation had proved unsatisfactory. The superficial position of the popliteal vein in relation to the artery made ligature above and below the sac very difficult without damage to the vein. Hence there often followed thrombosis and gangrene of the leg. This improvement was perhaps Hunter's chief contribution to operative surgery. James Syme became one of its champions in later days, and had a remarkable series of first intention healings, after it, long before anti-septic surgery was introduced.

Readers of Boswell's Life of Johnson will remember how common it was in the latter part of the eighteenth century for men of similar tastes to form themselves into clubs to provide occasions for the discussion of their common concerns. Samuel Johnson was fond of classifying his friends according as they possessed or did not possess the merit of being "club-able." In this, at least, Hunter followed the fashion of the time. He organized in 1783 a club of nine members which met monthly at Slaughter's Coffee House. How these old hostelry names smack of good fellowship and of good cheer! Here they dined and had good talk, with the reading and discussion of papers to follow. This club was rather donnish and exclusive. It lived for thirty years and during that period had only eighteen members. They were all men of five years'

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standing at least on joining, and most of them were of St. Bartholomew's, St. George's, Guy's or St. Thomas'.

Still another group Hunter organized in 1785 called "Lyceum Medicum Londinense." This had a large membership, many of whom were undergraduates. They met every Friday evening from eight-thirty till eleven, from October till May, at Hunter's lecture room in Leicester Square. The first hour was given to the discussion of clinical cases. The Club formed a library and offered a gold medal for the best dissertation read each season. Besides an occasional dinner party or a rare visit to the theatre when Mrs. Siddons filled the stage, these clubs were the chief recreation of Hunter's maturer years. His biological researches, however, were the pursuits which he followed with the passion and gusto nurtured by genius. By profession a surgeon, as an immortal he was a rider of hobbies of heroic proportions .

It remains now to review the last of the controversies, on this occasion with his surgical colleagues at St. George's, in which John Hunter broke a lance. The outcome was a tragedy, for the lance which was broken was his own heart.

St. George's Hospital originated in 1733 when the minority of the supporters of the old Westminster Infirmary, led by all its physicians, objected to rebuild in the city and broke off from the old group. They purchased the fine house and policies of Lord Lanesborough at Hyde Park, then on the outmost fringe of London, and remodelled its interior as a hospital of thirty beds. Within two years this number had been doubled and funds came in fast. By the time Hunter joined the staff in 1768, the enlarged St. George's had two hundred beds and four surgeons, besides a staff of physicians.

Each member of staff had his own group of students who attended ward visits, consultations, operations, and post-mortems. For all other studies they had to roam London; e.g. to Windmill Street for Anatomy; for Midwifery to Golden Square; for Chemistry and Practice of Physic with Materia Medica to Leicester Fields. No formal lectures were given at St. George's, no case records were made out by the pupils; they had no museum, no laboratory.

From the first Hunter's quarrel with the other surgeons

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was because he saw the reputation of the hospital as a teaching institution steadily declining, while these men did nothing to save the situation. For fifteen years things went on without open rupture but with growing animosity on both sides. John's professional manners were not controlled and polished like his brother's, and he did not scruple to ridicule before the students the stale pathological views and unprogressive practice of his three colleagues, who burned with jealousy at the sight of the rush of students to hear Hunter at the bedside, where they enjoyed both his surgical insight and his rough jokes at others' expense.

The degree of "odium medicum" may be illustrated by the conduct of Mr. Bromfield, one of his seniors. When Hunter introduced his new operation for aneurism, Bromfield condemned it, and later wrote of Hunter's first operation: "I once saw an attempt of this kind in which I shall only remark that the patient died, and I believe that . . . the event of the operation will deter the gentleman who performed it from making a second attempt." The fact was that this patient died fifteen months after the operation, and not because of it, nor from any further development of aneurysmal disease.

Hunter kept urging the establishment of a regular school on the model of Guy's, in the interest of the students of St. George's, but with no success. By 1788 open war had been declared. The other surgeons sent a memorial against him to the Board. In 1792, when Hunter's brother-in-law, Home, was defeated in an election to fill an existing surgical vacancy, poor Hunter's exasperation reached explosive dimensions. Every meeting of staff became a menace to his life. The only serious blot on Hunter's conduct during this long contest appears to have been his refusal, at last, to share the teaching fees of the whole group equally. He determined to keep the much larger proportion coming from his much more numerous students in his own pocket.

A critical board meeting took place early in March, 1793. Before it assembled, Hunter sent to every member a statement in explanation and support of his position. The burden of it was that a hospital is not fulfilling its full function if it does not devote itself to its utmost to teach its students and

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to advance the art of medicine—that he had been for years baulked in his aims by his surgical colleagues, one of whom had said that “he did not choose to lose any reputation he had in surgery by giving lectures,” and another that “he did not see where the art of surgery could be improved.” To them Hunter replied “that Lord Bacon was the cause of all advances in philosophy since his day, by seeing and pointing out where and how such advances might be made.”

The Board decided against Hunter. The fees, as before, must be equally divided. Hunter had to give in. His three colleagues then drew up a long statement regulating the conduct of the surgical practice and teaching at St. George's without consulting him in any way. In the autumn of the same year, 1793, two young men came to enrol as students with Hunter. They, however, came without certificates of having been “bred up to the profession,” as the new regulations demanded of them. In spite of this Hunter promised to plead their cause at the next meeting of the Board on Wednesday, October 16th. He told one of his friends that he feared the inevitable dispute would be his death, and so it proved. One of the surgeons gave the lie to a remark of Hunter's and the fatal pain laid its hand upon his heart for the last time. Moving with difficulty into the adjoining room he fell, with a groan, into the arms of a friend and expired.

William Clift, who had a rich nature gifted with a picturesque imagination, thus noted Hunter's passing in a pocket-book of his own: “John Hunter, Esq., F.R.S., etc., etc., died October 16th, 1793; on the same day, and perhaps hour, that the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, was beheaded in Paris.” Did he think, I wonder, of Hunter's colleagues as being also his murderers?

John Hunter's body was carried home in a sedan chair, behind which walked his colleagues. On October 22nd it was laid in the vault of Wren's beautiful church on Trafalgar Square, St. Martin's-in-the-fields.

In 1859 the coffin was recovered by the naturalist Frank Buckland, among the last three out of three thousand and sixty-three examined. It was buried on March 28th with great honour, in the North aisle of the Abbey. The memorial

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brass in the floor above the grave was affixed by the Royal College of Surgeons. It bears the following inscription:—

“The Royal College of Surgeons of England have placed this tablet over the grave of Hunter, to record their admiration of his genius as a gifted interpreter of the Divine Power and Wisdom at work in the Laws of Organic Life, and their grateful veneration for his services to mankind, as the Founder of Scientific Surgery.”

In 1799, Hunter's collections, upon which he had spent seventy thousand pounds, were bought by the nation for fifteen thousand pounds. With this sum an annuity was bought for Anne Hunter and her children. The Corporation of Surgeons of London assumed the curatorship of the collections, and faithful William Clift was put in charge. Much of our knowledge of Hunter's writings we owe to Clift's diligent transcriptions from the originals some of which Everard Home destroyed in his later years, with everlasting disgrace to his memory.

Anne Hunter lived on in widowhood for twenty-seven years, dying at the age of seventy-nine in January, 1821. John Hunter, Junior, went to Cambridge, entered the army and rose to colonel's rank. He died in France without issue. Agnes, the surviving daughter, had her mother's social and musical gifts in a high degree. She married Captain, afterwards Sir James Campbell, and after his death she married Colonel Charlewood, leaving no issue of either marriage.

The chief living representative of the Hunters is Miss Helen Hunter Baillie, grand-daughter of Matthew Baillie. She is said to bear a strong resemblance to her great grand-uncle, both in features and in mental characteristics.

Few men have done a heavier or more profoundly significant day's work within the short span of forty-five years than John Hunter. Aristotle, Galen, Vesalius, Harvey, Morgagni—Hunter seemed to combine in one personality much of the special gift of each one, together with a colossal industry in research perhaps never equalled before or since. The pious remembrance of the great men of the past is not only an instinctive but a consoling and stimulating exercise of the imagination. Aristotle long ago told us that to witness a

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great tragedy purified the soul through pity and fear. So the contemplation of the life and work of the great ones gone, especially those who glorified the profession to which we ourselves belong, cannot but be good for us. Such thoughts vibrate in sympathy with the "still, sad music of humanity," and re-echo as sincerely the thrilling paeon of triumph for victory won in the face of menacing death. Who of this present generation can be said to tower above his fellows as did John Hunter, and yet he spoke of himself as a pygmy in knowledge. However limited our own gifts of nature may be when compared with his, we may all strive to work in the same spirit and toward the same great ends—the increase of knowledge, and the improvement of *the Art*.

As a final tribute, let me quote the lines which Anne Hunter wrote for inscription upon a marble tablet she proposed to erect in St. Martin's-in-the-fields, to the memory of her husband:

"Here rests in awful silence, cold and still,
One whom no common sparks of genius fired;
Whose reach of thought Nature alone could fill,
Whose deep research the love of truth inspired.
Hunter! if years of toil and watchful care,
If the vast labours of a powerful mind
To soothe the ills humanity must share,
Deserve the grateful plaudits of mankind,
Then be each human weakness buried here,
Envy would raise to dim a name so bright;
Those specks which in the orb of day appear,
Take nothing from his warm and welcome light."

THOS. GIBSON.

A POET-PIONEER OF CANADA

IN the celebration this summer of Canada's sixtieth birthday, many in that country remembered one man, whose life, of now nearly ninety years, has been interwoven with the political development, the expansion in territory, the most fundamental industries, and the literature of the broad Dominion—Charles Mair.

He was born in one of the earliest Scottish settlements, Lanark, Ontario, at the time when the sparsely-occupied country was seething with a brief, hot struggle for responsible government under the fiery leadership of William Lyon MacKenzie (grandfather of the present premier); and the Act of Union, based on Lord Durham's famous Report, bound together the Upper and Lower Provinces, making the nucleus of the Dominion, when Mair was scarcely four years old.

To English thoughts, Canada ninety years ago spelled only primitive backwoods, and what Voltaire had called "a few acres of snow"; yet the home of the Mair family was one of comfortable hospitality and many books. Scott, Byron, and the older poets, Milton and Spenser, became familiar friends to the boy Charles. His mother, a woman of fine culture, encouraged his reading and led him to an interest in the cryptic verses of Blake, and to the study of copies of Blake's strange drawings, such as "The Ghost of a Flea"—that indictment of militarism. There were limits to literary liberty, however. That staunch Presbyterian, his father, discovered a son reading Paine's "Age of Reason," and consigned the book promptly to an auto-da-fé in the glowing depths of the great iron stove.

This father, James Mair, was a pioneer in the old square-timber trade, and the son soon found the dense forests and rushing rivers where the lumbermen plied their labors even more attractive than the world of books. Besides the lure of the lonely woods, there was plenty of adventure and sometimes considerable danger. Bitter feuds were common among

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the rivermen. The Ottawa valley for years was the rallying-ground of a band of wild Irish, who fought with equal zest and vigor against the Roman Catholic French-Canadians and the Presbyterian Scottish. Once, armed with pikes, sticks, and stones, they besieged the Mair homestead and made it necessary for the family to barricade their home stoutly and put up a resolute defence and show of fire-arms before the enemy could be made to withdraw.

Although the primeval forest beckoned imperatively to young Mair, a brother-in-law of literary tastes influenced him towards preparing for matriculation in the newly-founded Queen's College at Kingston. Here, the young student came in contact with men of ardent, wide, and unselfish scholarship, such as Dr. Williamson and Dr. Macher, who had brought to this institution the best traditions of sound Scottish learning. After his Arts course, Mair returned some years later to Queen's for medical study.

Winters might be devoted to books, but with the breaking of the ice upon the rivers, Charles Mair was out with the raftsmen, penetrating the almost unbroken wilderness of the upper Madamaska. After the logs had been "felled", then dragged, or hurled down "chûtes" to the river, they were lashed into "cribs", and a rough cabin built on the raft for the accommodation of the men who were to make the three-months' voyage to Quebec where the square-timber would be sold. Down the rapids and about the sharp turns of the swirling Madamaska the rude flotilla was guided by the wary cant-hooks of the rivermen. Then, after drifting out upon the broader waters of the Ottawa, came the more dangerous passage near the Chaudière Falls and the rapids of the Long Sault. Besides the risks of rock and current, there were often attacks by rival lumbermen, and occasionally trouble with sulky Indians. But on the whole, during the long stretches of calm water, it was a good-natured lazy experience of care-free living, when, sometimes in the cool green shade of mighty cedars, sometimes in the vivid Ontario summer sunlight, young Mair stretched himself on the floating raft and read his favorite books. He had just come under the potent sway of Shelley, Keats, and Coleridge, and he was

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trying his own hand at verse-making, with little thought either of fame or fortune, but for the pure love of poesy.

One may note very plainly the influence of the "Sun-Treader" in a phrase here and there in these earlier poems,— "Orient beams"; "aerial mountains"; even "Marmorean hills." But the picture shows a more primitive scene, and is sketched upon a broader canvas.

"Beyond me were wide plains of amber light,
And sunless regions stained with solemn gold.
And there the myriad wild-fowl soared on high,
Scattered and strewn like dust against the sky:
And in the East a tender shadow rolled
Forth from the distant antres of the night."

In another poem he desires to follow

. . . "calm joys, truth, beauty, simple ways,
These old inspirers of the poet's pains.
O Solitary! still be these thy gains,
The harvest of my thought, the things of praise,
The solemn chords of thy remembered lays."

The beauty of the Canadian wilderness sank deep into the young man's heart; not only the glowing summer sunshine, but the nights of mystic moonlight shimmering across broad, swift-moving rivers, the sudden flare and haunting shadow from camp-fires in late evening, the cry of lonely birds, the slow magnificence of dawn and sunset.

But the voyage down the Ottawa swept out finally into the mighty St. Lawrence, where the chain of Lachine rapids must be shot, and the city of Montreal, mountain and island-guarded, left behind them. Then, instead of the profound shadow of primitive forest, well-tilled fields belonging to the old seigneuries skirted the river bank, and there were frequent villages, the little houses, each with steeply-pointed roof, clustering around the church, the spire of which seemed to dominate all. At last, anchorage near Wolfe's Cove, in the shadow of the great fortress-rock of Quebec, and weeks of bargaining with the skippers of old-country ships for the sale of the cribs of square-timber.

Such were Charles Mair's experiences throughout many

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a summer of his early manhood. In the winter there was rather distasteful office-work to be done; there was also much expression of his own thoughts in both prose and verse. Keats was at this time his master and ideal. Transmuted to a Canadian setting, we find here a reminiscence of the lovely "Fancy" of the English poet:

. "We will go
Where the fairest orchids grow
In their valleys. Come along
Through the lowlands thrid with song
Rich in pools, in runnels rife,
Haunted with primeval life;
Or let's seek the uplands all
Where the red-ripe berries fall
From their spines in juicy sweetness;
Marking, too, the wood-dove's fleetness,
Or, betimes, the inky yeast
Of scared blackbirds caught a-feast,
Or that thriller of the soul—
The fire-flash of the oriole!"
Till,—too fine for every ear,—
Nature's lover true may hear
Of the opening primrose. . . "
Faery-sweet, the subtile note
Of the opening primrose . . ."

Mair was now contributing to Toronto and Montreal papers articles on literature and on political topics which showed unusual critical acumen. These writings brought him to the attention of several men of some importance at Ottawa just at the time when Sir John A. Macdonald and others were working hard for Confederation. Denison, Morgan, Hali-burton (son of the creator of "Sam Slick"), as well as the high-minded William Foster, became Mair's particular friends, and these young men spent many an evening in ardent discussion of that platform which was afterwards called the "Canada First" party, and whose point of view Mair well sums up this:

"First feel throughout the throbbing land
The independent life,—then stand
A nation's pulse, a nation's pride,
Erect, unbound, at Britain's side!"

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At the time of Foster's untimely death, a fine tribute was paid by his poet-friend:

"And he is gone who led the few
Forecasters of a nation fair;
That gentle spirit, strong and true,
As ever breathed Canadian air
Forever fled? the kindly face,
The eager look, the lambent eye,
Still haunted by a boyish grace . . .
The flush of hope, the joy divine
On that pale eve of loftier times,*
When with his friendly hand in mine
He praised my poor Canadian rhymes;
And sang the old Canadian songs
And played the old Canadian airs."

The British North America Act, coming into force upon July 1st, 1867, united the four provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the new-born Canada began a vigorous effort at expansion. Mair's facile pen gave much help to this movement. Now that the opening of the inland sea of Hudson's Bay to commerce is a practical affair, it is interesting to note the stirring words of this pioneer soul, over half-a-century ago:

"Open the Bay! The myriad prairies call . . .
Give to the world the shortest route of all . . .
Open the Bay! Humanity intrudes
And gropes, prophetic, round its solitudes
In eager thought, and will no longer wait.
Open the Bay!"

Like those of many another prophet, the ideas of the young man were well laughed at by conservative stay-at-homes. But in 1868 he published "Dreamland", a volume of poems which attracted considerable attention in Canada. This, and his newspaper articles on "Canada and the Far West," brought him somewhat before the notice of leaders in the government at Ottawa. This new Canadian government had just successfully negotiated for the purchase from the Hudson's Bay Company the rights of settlement and control in the far-stretching North-West territory:

*Confederation.

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"The prairie realm—vast ocean's paraphrase—
Rich in wild grasses numberless, and flowers
Unnamed save in mute Nature's inventory."

William MacDougall was appointed Governor of this mighty expanse of forest and prairie, sparsely tenanted by the Indian, the trader, and the Metis (French half-breed). He sent Charles Mair as paymaster with the expedition intrusted with the construction of an immigrant road between Lake of the Woods and Point Duchesne, thirty miles east of Fort Garry (now Winnipeg). The change of control was not made clear to the "breeds"; the surveyors marching over their farms with mysterious instruments aroused their angry suspicions of losing their lands; and under the leadership of the fanatic, Louis David Riel, they flamed into violent rebellion. Mair had already met, loved and married Elizabeth Mackenney at Fort Garry, and they had made a strenuous honeymoon trip by pack-horse along scarce-broken trails to meet Governor MacDougall. Now, Charles Mair, with his young wife's uncle, Doctor afterwards Sir John Schultz, and about eighty others, including the ill-fated Thomas Scott, after a stiff defence, were captured by the rebel forces and imprisoned at Fort Garry. Everything they possessed was, of course, looted. "Riel ate his breakfast from my wife's wedding china," Mr. Mair remarked lately, with grim indignation not much cooled by the lapse of sixty years. But the hardest deprivation was the wanton rifling and burning of a box of manuscripts containing his more mature work, as yet unpublished. The utter loss of his long poem, 'The Fountain of Bimini,' was always a sore point to the old man. His girl-wife smuggled weapons, concealed under her crinoline, to the prisoners. The Indian guards were stupid with liquor; and Mair, with a few others, managed to break through a window in their prison. Thomas Scott was recaptured and shot by Riel; but Mair and Schultz made good their escape through the snow. Eventually, with their families, they reached Ontario, and their information was of great value to the Wolseley expedition which was sent out to restore peace. Riel fled to the United States, and Donald Smith (afterwards Lord Strathcona), who had been sent to the scene of trouble as Dominion Commissioner by Sir John

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A. Macdonald, used much tact and wisdom in settling difficulties.

Charles Mair then established himself at Portage la Prairie as an independent fur-trader. Here he built a home somewhat according to the ideal he had described:

“Wide old porches overgrown
With rosebuds, or with roses blown;
Red-warm walls and gables fine
Hung with clematis and vine,
Latticed casements, roofings steep,
Dormers quaint, eaves cool and deep . . .
Such, the dream of outer things—
What's within, the vision brings:
In the vestibule upstanding
Grizzlies twain; upon a landing
Of the wide stairs in the hall
A haunted clock, antique and tall;
Forest spoils and trophies fine . . .”

Twice a year came thousands of Indians and Métis to pitch their separate camps at Portage la Prairie, and traffic with the white trader in the magnificent furs from their far hunting-grounds. In the early summer the braves brought the result of their winter's hunting and trapping; in September the squaws brought the pelts that they had tanned and dressed, and doeskin tunics and moccasins beaded with colored porcupine quills by their skilful brown fingers. A good deal of the trading went on in primitive barter for clothing, provisions, weapons, and ammunition; but the furs were very cheaply sold in those days, three dollars being an accepted price for a large buffalo robe; even the skin of the enormous burdash buffalo (now extinct) going for very little more.

After a little time Mr. Mair and his family moved further into the North-West along the Saskatchewan, settling near what is now the town of Prince Albert. Here there was less rivalry in the fur trade, and better furs were obtainable—mink, otter, and silver fox, as well as the usual bear, wolf, and buffalo. For the greater part of seventeen years this was Charles Mair's home. Half-a-dozen white families made up the social circle; there was mail and communication with the rest of the world only twice a year! ‘Did you not find the life

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very lonely?" "Lonely? Not at all," came Mr. Mair's quick reply. "We had plenty of good books, and plenty of work to do on the ranch. It was a splendid life, a great life! I wish I could be back there now!"

But the building of railways, first through the northern States, and then through the Canadian West, brought innumerable hunters, who recklessly devastated the buffalo, slaying a quarter of a million beasts annually. The nomad Indian tribes saw vanishing before their eyes the creatures that had provided them at once with food, clothing, and the means of trade. The French half-breeds were again filled with alarm and suspicion as they watched the government surveyors marking out the course for the Canadian Pacific Railway. Seeing that trouble was brewing, Mr. Mair brought his family back to Ontario and spent a few years in the town of Windsor. Here, living in the locality where the events he chronicled had occurred, he wrote "Tecumseh", the first drama composed by a Canadian-born author, and a fine tribute to that gallant and loyal Indian of past years:

"No need had he of schools or learned books;
His soul his mentor, his keen lion-looks
Pierced to the heart of things . . .
 To be free
Required no teacher, no heroic page."

For stage-presentation, "Tecumseh" suffers from the fact that it is nearly twice as long as one of Shakespeare's plays, and that it contains many very long speeches and much soliloquy. It is really more suitable for a poetic pageant, and has been thus successfully used. It is ardently British-Canadian in spirit, and makes a spirited defence of the rights of the Indian:

"Oh, sir, he loved his people," Colonel Baby says of Tecumseh.

"They are men
Much hated by the small and greedy mind,—
The mind that is not gentle and that jeers
And laughs at all forlorn and broken fortunes;
And some there be that coldly pass them by
As creatures ruled by appetite, not law;

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Yet, though to such they seem but human beasts,
They are, to those who know and study them,
A world of wonders!"

For the first time the distinctive autumnal beauty of the Canadian woodland found poetic presentation:

"This is our summer,—when the painted wilds
Like pictures in a dream, enchant the sight.
The forest bursts in glory like a flame!
Its leaves are sparks, its mystic breath the haze
Which blends in purple incense with the air."

Another noted poem by Mair is "The Last Bison", in which, as well as in his carefully-detailed paper, "The American Bison", contributed to the Royal Society of Canada, he makes a vigorous plea for the protection and preservation of these mighty creatures.

As he had feared, the North-West Rebellion broke out and Riel returned in 1885 to lead its ignorant half-maddened forces. Mair served in the Canadian troops throughout the Rebellion, having been appointed Quartermaster in the Governor-General's Bodyguard, of which his old friend, Colonel Denison, was commander.

After peace was established, Mair returned to his home near Prince Albert, and again engaged in the fur-trade. But the lure of distant British Columbia was strong to his pioneer spirit, and he followed west in 1892, settling near the beautiful Okanagan lakes, where his was the second house built in what is now the thriving town of Kelowna.

In 1898 he joined the Dominion Immigration Service, and by order from Ottawa was sent as secretary with the Land Treaty Expedition to make a satisfactory settlement with the Indians of the Athabasca and Peace River country. The work compiled on this occasion, "Through the MacKenzie Basin," shows at once the eye of a keen observer of all wild life in that great and fertile north land, and the diligence of a scholar in producing a document of much research value to future historians.

He remained busy in the Immigration Service until his eighty-third year, when he was superannuated, and went for a trip to Australia. Since then he lived quietly in Victoria,

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British Columbia, frail in body, but full of vitality in mind, and ardently British in spirit. "I'd like to make a great wall around the British Empire, and keep all our trade within it," he said once, half-playfully. A beautifully-bound edition of his works was lately issued by the Radisson Publishing Company of Toronto; but he still grieved somewhat over the loss of his manuscript poem, "The Fountain of Bimini." Yet, if any one ever drank of the fabled spring of Youth,—Bimini,—surely this man did, who, close to ninety, was still alert-minded, and interested in all things Canadian and British, and most of all, in the efforts and struggles of young writers. "Tell me what you are doing," he often said. "What do the young people now like to read? Do any of them still enjoy Walter Scott?"

In making any critical estimate of the poetry of Charles Mair, one must bear in mind that it belongs to the Mid-Victorian era, to the 'sixties and 'seventies of the nineteenth century. While yielding profound admiration to the powerful and original work of the outstanding Georgians, we have to admit that many of the rank and file of contemporary versifiers strive after the extravagant and whimsical in diction and a grotesque passion of revolt in subject. Mair is steeped in that older tradition which admired clearness and sincerity in expression, and held by standards of loyalty, dignity, and calm beauty.

Again, we must remember that he had little or nothing of the stimulus that comes from interchange of criticism and appreciation from fellow-workers. Except for the mighty dead, with whom his wide reading brought him in contact, his labor as a poet was that of a solitary individual. He opened alone a virgin lode, which many since have followed. When he was writing, no one outside of Canada was in the slightest degree interested in poetry dealing with that little known land. And very few native-born Canadians considered doing anything so extravagant as buying the verse produced at home. Mr. Mair stated the simple fact when he remarked once "If I had devoted myself to writing, as I dearly wished to do, my family would have starved." Hence, his poems have

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been but interludes in a career packed with stirring occupation. His life, indeed, has been a New World Odyssey, in which he has fulfilled the double rôle of hero and minstrel.

Charles Mair died on July 11, 1927, in Victoria, B.C., in the eighty-ninth year of his age.

A. ERMATINGER FRASER.

ALBERT LOZEAU

TO all too many English-speaking Canadians the existence of a vigorous and increasingly worth while French-Canadian literature is, to put it mildly, little more than a legend as hazy as any connected with the Norse settlement of Greenland. To some, indeed, haziness thickens into positive ignorance. It would be a comparatively safe wager that, where any beam of enlightening knowledge shines forth, it is directed towards Louis Frechette. But even here little more than the name is revealed. And Frechette is known to a restricted circle of English-Canadians chiefly through translations of some of his prose, his poetry remaining almost as much of a mystery as a Cretan inscription. But this lack of information concerning French-Canadian literature is, perhaps, not surprising when we realize that the great majority of Anglo-Saxon Canada is either wholly unacquainted with the French language, or has not a sufficient familiarity with it to permit of easy reading therein. Yet we have some claim to astonishment when we meet men and women who, though themselves engaged in the production of literary works either as authors or editors, are forced to confess that they have not even heard of Albert Lozeau, Emile Nelligan, and most of their disciples and successors. Is it not time that this state of affairs should be remedied and that something like a definite effort be made to enlighten our darkness regarding the writers of the lower Province of the last thirty years? The writer of the present article does not claim to be an authority on Canadian literature, but he has long cherished a deep affection for his fellow-citizens of "Lower Canada", and a sincere admiration for those French-Canadian poets and *prosa-teurs* whose works he has been privileged to study. Perhaps distant similarity of circumstances is responsible for his particular interest in Albert Lozeau, the invalid poet (died March 24, 1924), and has induced him to offer the following remarks with the hope that they may persuade at least a few of his readers to become acquainted with the man who, from his sick

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bed, gazed through his chamber window at the sky, the trees, the falling rain and swirling snow—and gave to each a voice and a song.

Albert Lozeau was not a genius. He did not possess that eminent degree of talent which is first cousin to genius. But he was a *real* poet whose best verse is characterized by melody, warmth, insight, sympathy. Lozeau's first *mode* was one of imitation; and here he merely did what every writer of less than genius or great talent always has done. Besides, his life was such as largely to shut him off from those exciting and formative experiences which are the lot of physically normal beings. From boyhood he was confined to his bed or his chair. His experience of life was, therefore, derived from the visits of friends and from books—chiefly from books. Thus it is not surprising to note that his early work reflects to a very large degree the thoughts, the pictures—and sometimes even the words!—of his favourite poets, Ronsard, Chénier, Musset, etc. Endowed by nature with a strong Gallic admiration of the feminine, it is equally not surprising to find so much of his first output devoted to the tender passion and to its exciting cause. But these pieces are very superficial and imitative. Either the feelings they seek to describe were not very deep nor sincere, or the peculiar ability required for the presentation of love was lacking. Certain it is that the fire is absent and that the light which shines from Lozeau's love poems is much like the reflection of moonbeams upon ice.

To this general statement there is, perhaps, one marked exception, not because of any passionate outburst of feeling, but because the reader is impressed with a sense of sincerity, of genuine emotion so absent from our poets for productions of this class. here refer to the piece entitled "Intimité"—Intimacy—which appeared in Lozeau's first volume, "L'Ame Solitaire". These verses are worthy a place in our treasury of love poetry, and I venture to offer a translation which, though rough and inadequate, may yet serve as a favourable introduction to the heart and soul of Albert Lozeau.

And may I say in passing that the renderings of a few illustrative poems here given are made with the sole object of showing the poet's work in as close an approximation to

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its original metres, ideas and vocabulary as is possible to one who himself has little pretension to the possession of poetic skill. He will esteem himself happy indeed if here and there a stray note of Lozeau's own music is heard amid the noise of the translator's jargon.

INTIMACY

While longing for the day when you will come to me,
Your eyes so full of love, of trust, of modesty,
I dream of all the words your lips will then repeat,
In thrilling, pulsing tones, like harp notes clear and sweet:
At your dear knee their charm will fill my cup of bliss—
Ah, love, that dream is dear as is your tender kiss.

Your own rare loveliness will make you kind to me;
Like ripened Autumn fruit your lips as sweet will be.
In winter evenings long, within the lamp's mild glow,
Your gentle, patient presence I shall always know,
While, conning some old tome, shrine of dead poets' art,
I listen to the life that beats within my heart:
Or, after journeys long in dreamlands far, unknown,
Again I find my hearth—no longer cold and lone,
For you are there, dear heart, my home, my life to bless,
And joy me with the wine of your chaste tenderness.
And our true love will be like a glad day in May,
Calm, sun-kissed, fragrance-breathing, bright with laughter gay.

Thus will our lives flow on, like rivers still and deep,
Untroubled by the storms that through the vain world sweep:
Two happy lovers we, who, from each other's eyes,
Will see love's old, old light shine out with new surprise.

This poem, as has been said, gives the reader an impression of sincerity and of a tender melancholy because, I think, it expresses an ideal of frank friendship rather than of love as the passion is understood by most poets. The invalid must have longed ardently for such companionship as that he has described here; and such longing would be heartfelt and sincere and entirely consonant with his conditions of life.

But when Lozeau definitely enters the Elysian fields of love, we are at once aware that his inspiration is derived from books and not from his own inmost emotion. Not only so, but in many instances the exact source of his inspiration is not far to seek. In fact, I have a suspicion that even "Intimacy"

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received its crystallizing impulse from Alfred de Musset, who seems to have been the chief among Lozeau's favourites. Though different in development and perspective, "Intimacy" has nevertheless several points of similarity with Musset's poem "To Nanon." A few of the expressions used by Lozeau are those of Musset, and one who understands with intuitive sympathy our invalid's thoughts, can find little difficulty in at least allowing the possibility of the connection between the poems which have been referred to. But the idea rests perhaps on too insecure a foundation to be strongly stressed.

To illustrate the inspiration of many of Lozeau's love poems, it will only be necessary to refer to "Pour Vous." This graceful little example of wholly conventional verse closes with a stanza which is little more than a rendering of lines in one of Ronsard's poems to Helen. Ronsard wrote:

"Longtemps après la mort, je vous ferai revivre.
Vous vivrez et croîtrez comme Laure en grandeur,
Au moins tant que vivront les plumes et le livre."

Lozeau turns this idea as follows:

"Le livre vit quand l'homme est mort,
Et l'amoureuse, en son poème,
Vivra tant qu'en ce monde encor
Quelqu'un soupirera: je t'aime."

Many other instances could be stated to show that Lozeau, in his love poems, had little or no original inspiration. But enough has been here given, I think, to indicate a serious doubt of the justification for the statement made in certain quarters that our poet 'has introduced a new note into Canadian literature—that of love! It is true we have a comparatively small volume of this sort of verse in Canada, but such contributions to it as those of Lozeau can scarcely be classified as *genuine* expressions of the tender passion. They are, however, saved from utter insipidity by the musical flow and beat of language and rhythm which are Lozeau's chief characteristics both in poetry and prose, and which give his least worth while sparks a glow sufficient to attract and hold the attention of serious critics.

In all Canadian literature there is scarcely another in-

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stance of a writer of talent who is at the same time so completely influenced by his favourite authors and who is able to give such pleasing recastings and musical settings to thoughts derived from their pages. This is surely a high tribute to Lozeau's real ability. Quite naturally this influence is more apparent in his early work. He was young and Fate had made of him an unwilling recluse. His opportunities of gaining varied experience of life were thus very much restricted, and imitation, or at least directing suggestion, was the inevitable result.

In what I may venture to call his middle period, however, Lozeau finds himself. While not wholly relinquishing verse of a reflective, elegiac turn (still showing traces of bookish influence), he discovers in his soul a deep and sincere love of nature. Not Wordsworth's nature with its God-revealing, inner relations,, but the nature of colour, of form, of movement—the nature of real things. He henceforth sang a truer song made up of notes blended in sweeter and clearer harmonies. The garden after the rain, the clouds floating across the sky, the prostrating heat of an August afternoon, the fields with their mingled odours of hay and clover, the gorgeous hues of autumn trees, the autumn landscape, the falling snow of winter—these and many other themes form the matter of Lozeau's minstrelsy in the time of his greatest strength. One is now conscious of sincerity, of genuineness of inspiration and individuality of treatment. He is now *Albert Lozeau* . . . not *Musset*, *Hugo*, *Chénier*, or *Ronsard*. In this mode he reminds one irresistibly of his favourite's proud boast:

“Je hais comme la mort cet état de plagiaire . . .

Mon verre n'est pas grand, mais je bois dans mon verre.”

Lozeau's glass is indeed not a large one, but he drinks from it, drinks wine of his own pressing—and joins in the exhilaration derived from the draught.

The work of this period is largely contained in the volume published under the title, “*Le Miroir des Jours*.” May I dare to give a few translations of some of the poems found in this collection; pieces chosen not with the idea of exhibiting Lozeau at his very best, but merely because they appealed to

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me. I trust my readers may find at least some small grain of pleasure in seeing these little pictures as I myself see them.

AFTER THE RAIN

The rain has ceased, the wet leaf drips;
In the blue heaven the sun shines high:
The breeze on tiptoe passes by,
The wild flowers smile with fragrant lips.

Upon the window panes are seen
Round water-pearls of purest ray
That flash and melt and pass away
Behind the curtain's lacey screen.

To-night, when garish day is done,
The moon in mirror-pools will see
Her lovely face, while silently
Rare stars will blossom one by one.

Earth's breath is full of perfume sweet,
A fragrance rising to the sky
That like an island now does lie
All cool and purged of tempest's heat.

The grass is damp where the road's edge dips
Beneath the arching green of trees
That quiver like the restless seas—
The rain has ceased, the wet leaf drips.

Like most Canadian poets, Lozeau was a lover of our glorious Autumn, and wrote many beautiful descriptions of that season in its varied aspects. "An Autumn Landscape" may serve as an example of his powers in this department.

AN AUTUMN LANDSCAPE

The crimson sun sinks slowly in the slate-hued west,
There where the stretching fields their new-ploughed vistas end;
In toil the countryside its strength has ceased to spend,
And purple silence lulls the weary world to rest.

Red, regal splendour floods with glory bare, brown fields.
Earth's flowers are long since gone . . . yet earth her fragrance
yields

With freshness cool and sweet, with charm that breathes repose.

But see! There where the plough has reached its farthest goal
In furrows that like ocean's equal billows roll,
The sun, 'mid silvery mists, a half-burnt ember glows.

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Winter also had its attractions for our invalid. But though the storm and the swirl of the tumbling flakes had their charm for him, it is, as usual, the quiet, reposeful scenes which catch and hold his affectionate regard. I know of none of Lozeau's poems which more definitely figures forth his own soul's processes than

TIRED EARTH IS SLEEPING

The fields are sleeping. Tired earth is at rest
Wrapped in her mantle of bright gleaming snow,
And in her fertile slumbers forming slow
The future roses and the harvests blest.

All life is nursed upon her bounteous breast;
Where ripening grain waves golden, flowers blow;
And beauty's radiant forms unnumbered glow
Upon her august brow, a regal crest.

Tired earth is sleeping. Ah! What tongue can tell
The marvel infinite, the magic spell
That of unseen sets free life's quickening stream.

Earth sleeps, but ceases not her toil; while I
Who know and love her dearly, idly lie,
Unmindful of the waiting task . . . and dream.

It is somewhat strange that, although Lozeau's reflective work shows more clearly than any other the influence of his reading—and of his suffering—a poem of this type should nevertheless be almost universally cited as his best production. Strange, I say, because I cannot see in it that spontaneous sincerity found in his mature work. Our poet is here musical (he cannot be otherwise); he is vivid in description. And yet he leaves the reader (the Anglo-Saxon reader, at any rate) without that answering and sympathizing emotion so necessary to the complete understanding and appreciation of a poet's soul. The piece here referred to is "Poussière du Jour"—The Day's Dust. I give my translation for what it is worth, knowing that it falls far short of the excellence of the original in grace of form.

THE DAY'S DUST

The evening's dust, the ashes of the day,
A filmy mist, upon the world now lie;
A fading glow still lights the distant sky,
While from our sight the church towers pass away.

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The day's grey dust, the evening's ashes dim
Mount like faint vapours from a fire unseen,
And all abroad, beneath the moon's blue sheen,
Are borne, the playthings of the wind's light whim.

The evening's dust, day's ashes sad, forlorn,
Descend upon our hearts like bitter rain:
For in the hours that pass, nor turn again,
What hopes, what loves have died as soon as born!

A rather harsh note of pessimism, this, for the man who could write such a sparkling bagatelle as "Le Dimanche" and the prose gems, "Billets du Soir"! For its literary godfather I refer the reader to Musset's "Souvenir."

Lozeau's poetic creed may be found in the "Prologue" to "Le Miroir des Jours."

PROLOGUE

When closed thy casement is and peace is everywhere,
Then hearken to the voice that rises in thy heart
Where lovely music sings, where blooms the poet's art,
Like buds and fragrant flowers within a garden fair.
Thy destiny's faint note is softly echoing there.
Bend low thy listening ear nor back in terror start;
Thy soul from God is thine, what passions through it dart—
The image of the world a water drop doth bear.
To suffer, poet . . . ah! 'Tis not thy lot alone;
For myriad wounded hearts are sore as is thine own;
But silently they bleed, nor moan, nor make lament.

All hearts in common beat, one rhythm times them all;
The cry that leaps from thine finds instant certain call—
In one small square of sky glows God's whole firmament.

The note of altruism, of brotherhood, of faith in God and in man struck in the "Prologue" is a fitting rebuke to the hopelessness of "Poussière de Jour," and, I am convinced, is a truer index to the poet's real temperament and outlook upon life. Lozeau was constitutionally kind, cheerful, sympathetic. His physical and mental sufferings made him occasionally belie himself.

If we discard a considerable portion of his first volume

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as being too evidently imitative and superficial, we still have left a relatively large body of real poetry characterized by musical flow, sympathy of interpretation, and a high degree of perfection of form. Most of this section of Lozeau's work is found in the form "Miroir des Jours," and is the product of his full and vigorous maturity when he finds himself and knew with certainty what he could do. His advent marks a date in the history of French-Canadian letters. It is a pity that so few of his English-speaking countrymen know him.

SHERMAN C. SWIFT.

QUEEN ANNE'S CANADIAN EXPEDITION OF 1711

IMPERIAL problems still remain among the most difficult in British administration, and particularly so when the empire is at war. Queen Anne's councillors found it just as true two centuries ago as did British ministers during the Great War. Queen Anne's War was the second chapter in the great Anglo-French struggle of the eighteenth century. England feared France might, through Canada and the West Indies, monopolize Spanish American trade and ruin that of her own colonies. English and French colonists were even more conscious of the importance of the imperial problem in the struggle. New York and New England had displayed a lively interest in the conquest of Canada from the beginning of the intercolonial wars. In 1690, Massachusetts spent £50,000 on Sir William Phipp's abortive effort.¹ To English ministers, some of them, indeed, strangely innocent of geographic lore, Canada, the continental colonies and the West Indies were one area geographically, as they were in fact strategically. From 1702 onward, the interest of the English colonists and the mother country in the imperial problem was continuous and persistent. Lord Cornbury of New York, Governor Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts, and Judge Robert Quarry of Pennsylvania all intensely desired the conquest of Canada. The Earl of Nottingham, leading secretary of state, and the Earl of Godolphin, first minister, also displayed a lively interest in it. The English colonists feared encirclement, for to Louis XIV, Canada meant the Mississippi Valley, and the area west and southwest for a thousand leagues.

To the English colonist the conquest of Canada meant relief from French and Indian border forays, which kept the frontier in chronic terror, and cost New England alone £30,000 a year. The capture of Fort Royal and Quebec would relieve her merchants from the perpetual menace of French

¹J. Dummer, *Letter to a Noble Lord on the Late Expedition to* (London, 1712), p. 12.

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privateers,² and gain for them a monopoly of the profitable Indian trade. To the ministry the conquest of Canada would presage the elimination of France from all the New World, and greatly enhance England's prestige. England, consequently, interested herself continually in protecting her West Indies and in attacking French possessions in the New World. In 1707 the New Englanders made an unsuccessful attack upon Port Royal, and two years later in conjunction with some of the other continental colonies and the mother country, planned an ambitious attempt against Canada, which was abandoned by the ministry in the face of unexpected military disasters in Europe. The following year (1710), Sir Francis Nicholson, and a colonial force, together with incidental aid from England, captured Acadia, arousing the interest of English and colonials alike in further projects against Canada. The missionary work of Nicholson, Jeremiah Dummer, colonial agent for Massachusetts, and Colonel Samuel Vetch, as well as the enthusiasm aroused by the visit of four Indian chiefs to Queen Anne the previous year, had increased English interest in the conquest of Canada.³ Nicholson, whose enthusiasm for the conquest of Quebec had become almost contagious since the fall of Port Royal, converted the Board of Trade, which in turn won over the ministry to attempt expeditions against Montreal and Quebec.⁴

During the summer of 1710 a ministerial revolution oc-

²State Papers, Domestic: Entry Book (Public Record Office), 209, f. 98; Nottingham Papers, Add. MSS. (British Museum), 28058, f. 31; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial: America and the West Indies*, 1706-8, p. 590 (cited below as C.C.); S. Penhallow, *History of the Wars of New England with the Eastern Indians* (Boston, 1726), p. 67; *Correspondence Politique, Angleterre* (Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Paris), 237, f. 220 (cited below as C.P.A.).

³Archives des Colonies, B. 32, ff. 102, 107, 114; *Penn-Logan Correspondence* (Philadelphia, 1870-2), II, 433-6. For the relations of the mother country and the colonists earlier in the 18th century, consult the author's articles in the *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, X, 171, and *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, XIII, 170.

⁴Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations (P.R.O.), January 5, February 5, 1711; *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, V, 328; *Society of Colonial Wars, Massachusetts* (Boston, 1897), p. 126.

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curred in England, which had its influence upon colonial affairs. The Marlboroughs, together with their son-in-law, Sunderland, and their devoted friend, Godolphin, fell from power; along with them the Whig party came to grief in the elections and the Tories came in under Robert Harley (soon to be Earl of Oxford), and Henry St. John (later Viscount Bolingbroke)—a ministry at which New England looked askance. Since the Whigs were but mildly interested in colonial affairs, the colonists did not anticipate any substantial assistance from the Tories. Strangely enough to the New England mind, the new Tory ministry showed as much concern for their welfare as the most zealous Whigs had done. Under Sunderland as secretary of state the Whig ministry was undecided whether to attack Canada, or satisfy itself with assisting in the capture of Port Royal. His Tory successor, the Earl of Dartmouth, immediately considered attempting the conquest of Canada that same year, but gave it up, largely on account of the lateness of the season. For this reason St. John's part in originating the effort was less important than was formerly supposed.

He tells us however, that it "is my favorite project, which I have been driving on ever since I came last into business, which will be an immense and lasting advantage to our country if it succeeds, and what if it fails, will perhaps be particularly prejudicial to me." St. John did, however, take over most of Dartmouth's work as far as it related to the colonies, and seems to have accepted much in Sunderland's policy of 1709.⁵ The time was ripe for St. John's plans; the war, at an impasse; for Marlborough's dearly bought victory at Mal-

⁵J. G. Palfrey, *History of New England* (Boston, 1884), III, 260. Dartmouth felt that if the project were well conceived, the fault lay with the old ministry, as he wrote many letters at their order, "and it was then stopped, after great expense and trouble, by a representation from the Admiralty, that it was too late in the year, which, I understand, Marlborough was much displeased at, the design being laid by himself." G. Burnet, *History of My Own Time* (Oxford, 1833), VI, 66. See also Sir G. Murray, *Letters and Dispatches of . . . Marlborough* (London, 188), V, 85. *Priv. Corr. of . . . Marlborough* (London, 1838), II, 402, 419. Dummer stated emphatically that the "Late Ministry came as heartily into it [the project] as this."

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plaquet failed to arouse English enthusiasm or secure satisfactory terms of peace at Gertruydenberg. The disasters which befel British arms in Spain at the close of 1710, came as a godsend to the Tories, who wished to speed up the war in that area.

The Tories, having replaced the Whigs, who had been so successful in the war, felt the necessity of winning some military advantage at once. What was more natural than for them to attempt to gain in the Americas some prize, which they might use later as a pawn in negotiating a peace with Louis XIV? And peace the Tories must have, for politically they could not afford to have military victories, if they were to be won by Marlborough, their most powerful rival. St. John was anxious to prove himself a great war minister, and hoped to match Marlborough's triumphs upon the field of battle by equally important achievements in diplomacy. A brilliant *coup* in the Americas might gain for the Tories more favorable peace terms than Marlborough had been able to secure, or perhaps enable them to dispense with the services of the Duke entirely. Such a project, if successful, would still the clamor against the navy that had been persistent since the beginning of the reign, the new ministry would receive the blessing of the mercantile classes, who had been notoriously unfriendly to the Tories, and win the favor of the American colonists, always suspicious of Tory designs against them.⁶

St. John's unusual interest may have been due to his jealousy of Harley, who as first minister was secretly planning the organization of the South Sea Company to reassure the monied classes of the security of their investments. At any rate the secretary of state favored getting the expedition started before peace negotiations might be concluded. St. John's project may well have been connected with Harley's South Sea Company, as the conquest of Canada would have proved of inestimable advantage to the South Sea enterprise, by clearing the Atlantic seaboard of French privateers, and

⁶*Portland MSS.* (Historical MSS. Commission Reports), IV, 74; J. McCarthy, *Reign of Queen Anne* (London, 1902), II, 447.

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paving the way for the British conquest of the rest of French and Spanish America.

Those who, in addition to St. John, were mainly responsible for initiating the Canadian expedition were the Earl of Rochester, the Queen's uncle and Harley's rival as Tory leader, and Mrs. Masham, the Queen's new favorite, although William, Lord Cowper, the chancellor, may also have been interested.⁷ Plans for the expedition were secretly made and carried out during Harley's serious illness, which followed Guiscard's cowardly attack upon him in February, 1711. By that time, indeed, a rift in the Tory party was already becoming apparent.

St. John waxed enthusiastic for the expedition. Seven veteran regiments, five of them from Flanders, were got ready, a fact in itself marking a shift in military emphasis from Flanders to Spain and America, which had been a part of the Tory programme since 1707, facts which have been generally overlooked because hostilities ended soon after 1711. A nearly contemporary writer, Gibson, assures us that the new Tory ministry felt that the "only way to bring the war to a right issue, and to weaken the power of France and Spain, would be by sending a strong armament to make conquests in the Spanish West Indies; that being the main source from whence the French king drew his supplies."⁸ Despite so definite a realization of the source whence France secured her sinews of war from Spanish America, no systematic, persistent effort was made to prevent it, as the attack on Cadiz was

⁷J. Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America* (2d ed., London, 1741), I, 248. Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS. (B.M.), 34515, f. 148. Arthur Moore was also interested, but Oldmixon felt that Nicholson was the moving spirit.

⁸Gibson, *Compleat Supplement to the History of Queen Anne* (London, 1729), p. 116. Godolphin considered attacking Canada, but concluded it was too hazardous, whereas "Harley and the other leading men of the party were so full of themselves" that they decided to risk it. *Correspondence of Bolingbroke* (folio ed., London, 1798), I. 7. This cannot be urged against Sunderland, whose minute book bears witness to his great interest in reducing Canada. Colonial Office (P.R.O.), 5/9, No. 24 (cited below as C.O.). See also S.P.D., Entry Book, 110, f. 165.

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a fiasco, and the Vigo affair a fortunate accident, which came, moreover, at the very beginning of the war.

The secret preliminaries of peace agreed upon early in 1711 by France and England clearly suggest that England hoped to capture Quebec and use it as a pawn in diplomacy, since one clause stated that "all things in America should continue in the possession of those they should be found to be in at the conclusion of peace." The Marquis de Torcy, French foreign secretary, knew that the English counted heavily on the Canadian expedition, and demanded the restoration of Canada even if Walker "ayt réussi."⁹ A vivid realization of this fact is also clearly apparent throughout the course of Anglo-French negotiations at Utrecht.¹⁰ British and colonial merchants also looked enviously at the profits of the French and Indian fur trade, and at the large dividends of the Hudson's Bay Company. Jeremiah Dummer endeavored to quiet the fears of British merchants lest Canada become a great wool region, by insisting that the climate was too cold for sheep. He was equally positive that all the continental colonies from New Hampshire to Virginia would cheerfully co-operate in the conquest of Canada, which, he maintained, would not only protect the eleven colonies and the Hudson Bay area, but gain the fur trade, the Newfoundland fisheries, and a market for English manufactures. Abel Boyer, an enterprising journalist of the day, estimated the gains from capturing such French possessions at half a million sterling each year, besides increasing British naval power and lowering French prestige.¹¹

⁹C.P.A. (Paris), 233, f. 230; 235, f. 311; *Mémoires de Torcy* (La Haye, 1756), III, 74, 127. See also Strafford Papers, Add. MSS. (B.M.), 22217, f. 3; State Papers, Foreign: Treaty Papers, Miscell. (P.R.O.), B. 97.

¹⁰Louis XIV's dispatches to his plenipotentiaries during the negotiations at Utrecht, together with their replies, indicate the great importance attached to the West Indies, Newfoundland, Canada, and Acadia. C.P.A. (Paris), vols, 212-262, *passim*; S.P.F., Treaty Papers, Misc. (P.R.O.), 97-102; Baschet Transcripts from French Archives (P.R.O.) for 1711-2.

¹¹C.O. 5/9, No. 48; Boyer, *Political State of Great Britain*, II, 253; C.O. 5/10, No. 139. Penhallow (p. 67) stressed the economic side, as well

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Whatever may have been Harley's attitude toward the Canadian expedition, he was perfectly aware of it. He may have refused to attend meetings of the lords of the committee (cabinet), but early in 1711 he was receiving letters from both secretaries of state relative to the project. Early in January St. John wrote him concerning the ordnance for the expedition (which was to start in March), and recommended an increase in pay for Nicholson. Some days later he wrote again, expressing the hope that the Queen would permit a detachment of Scots to be sent to Marlborough in Flanders along with some squadrons of dragoons, "and I think after that he cannot grumble, if we take five battalions for Quebec."¹² Plans were slowed down, however, because of the sudden deaths of the dauphin and the emperor, the lukewarmness of Prussia, and the withdrawal of the Polish contingent and eight Palatine battalions from Marlborough's army. These things led Rochester, much to St. John's dismay, to oppose sending the Canadian expedition. Meanwhile Harley slowly recuperated from Guiscard's assault, but by the time he was able to resume his official duties the Queen had been won over to the support of the Quebec expedition. So, despite his opposition, which was partially due to his feeling that Mrs. Masham was to profit unduly by the venture, he was ordered to carry out the plan.¹³

as the extending of British dominions "above 1,000 leagues towards the Mississippi." New Hampshire, too, insisted that Canada would be a "glorious acquisition to your Imperial Crown and of unspeakable benefit and advantage to the whole British Empire." C.C., 1711-2, p. 24.

¹²*Portland MSS.*, IV, 656; Harley's "Brief Account of Public Affairs," W. Cobbett, *Parliamentary History* (London, 1810), VI, Appendix, pp. ccxlv-v; C.O. 5/9, No. 96. Nicholson applied to Harley about the quotas, only to be told that they were to be arranged in New England. When Nicholson demurred, saying the matter was covered by the Queen's instructions, Harley referred him to Dartmouth, "because he had ye plantations under his care." Nicholson then noted, "To-day I spake to him [Harley] and he desired me to give him a memorial of it to be imparted to ye Cabbinet Council on Sunday tomorrow." C.O. 5/9, No. 89.

¹³*Corr. of Bolingbroke*, I, 154; *Parl. Hist.*, VI, p. cclv; VII, 114, 188. *Portland MSS.*, IV, 675. See also C. T. Atkinson, *Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army* (London, 1921). Marlborough vigorously

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In planning the expedition, St. John felt that two things were indispensable: to reward his friends and political supporters, and to keep the destination of the fleet a secret. He was entirely successful in the former design, but it was less easy to prevent political rivals and enterprising foreign diplomats from learning about his preparations, and conjecturing as to his probable objective. In suggesting "Jack" Hill as the commander of the land forces against Quebec, St. John showed himself a canny politician, but a poor statesman. Hill's military record, even considered most charitably, was only fair. He was a brother of Mrs. Masham, the Queen's favorite, and a cousin of Lady Marlborough. Against his better judgment, Marlborough had, at his wife's suggestion, secured a regiment for Hill. When Mrs. Masham displaced the Duchess of Marlborough, she endeavored, probably at Harley's instigation, to secure her brother a promotion and the command of the crack regiment of the late Earl of Essex. The great duke opposed both, largely because he questioned Hill's ability, but partly because he felt that promoting the brother of the ungrateful woman who had displaced his wife would be tantamount to a confession of his own political weakness. Marlborough was forced to promote Hill, and kept him out of the regiment, only at the price of a cabinet crisis.¹⁴ It was, therefore, a wise political move for St. John to support Hill's pretensions, as a direct slap at Marlborough, an additional *solatium* to Hill, and a sop to Mrs. Masham, whose confidence he would thereby gain. Harley was a shrewd judge of men, and must have questioned Hill's ability, but he could not oppose the appointment without losing some of his influence over the Queen's favorite, and indirectly over Anne herself.

The reasons for secrecy were two-fold: first, to keep all opposed the withdrawal of any of his troops at this time. Harley is said, however, when he thought himself at the point of death from Guiscard's attack, to have written Rochester that it was his last wish that Anne be advised to lay aside the expedition. Mackintosh Papers, Add. MSS. 34515, f. 148.

¹⁴N. Luttrell, *Brief Relation of Affairs of State, 1678-1714* (Oxford, 1858), VI, 685. For an account of this crisis, see the writer's article, *Pol. Sci. Quarterly*, June, 1921.

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knowledge of the project from the French, who might render it abortive; in the next place, inasmuch as it meant withdrawing five of Marlborough's regiments, it was vital that the Whigs and allies know nothing of it, else they might arouse public sentiment against weakening the Flanders front. St. John's insistence upon absolute secrecy was therefore well advised. To insure it, the admiralty was allowed to know nothing of the ultimate destination of the squadron, which was victualled for three months to give the impression that its objective could not be America. Even the admiral in charge was to sail with sealed orders as to his rendezvous.¹⁵ Despite all such precautions, the French, Dutch and Prussian governments were, from its very inception, by no means entirely in the dark as to Hill's real objective.

The first hint of such knowledge we get from the French secret service, and may possibly refer to the attack on Port Royal. Abbé Gaultier had been secretary to Tallard, French ambassador at St. James's from 1697 to 1702, but remained in London after his master withdrew at the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession, apparently as private chaplain to the Imperial ambassador, and to the Countess of Jersey, a notorious Jacobite. Gaultier was thus in an excellent position to secure the secret plans of the allies, which he conveyed promptly to Torcy.¹⁶ As early as July 28, 1710, he wrote of the possibility of Lord Portmore's command being sent "en Canada pour assieger et prendre Quebec." Four months later, the French foreign office learned "que de ce sera qu'un printemps prochain que le Comte de Peterborough doit partir une expédition en Amerique, et qu'il n'ira pas du côté du Mexique, mais qu'il ira droit a la Nouvelle Angleterre pour joindre des forces de ce pays et celles des quatres roys Indiens pour aller casser, s'il est possible des Français du Canada, et ensuite les isles de St. Dominique et des autres

¹⁵J. Burchett, *Complete History of the Most Remarkable Transactions at Sea* (London, 1720), p. 778; Sir H. Walker, *A Journal . . . of the Expedition to Canada* (London, 1720), pp. 58, 179. This is not to be confused with his earlier "Journal," printed in C.C., 1702-3, pp. 439-45. See also [Gibson], *op. cit.*, p. 117.

¹⁶C.P.A. (Paris), vols. 228-246, *passim*; L. G. Wickham Legg, *Notes on Diplomatic Representatives: England and France, 1689-1763*, p. 33.

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colonies françoises qui sont dans ce pays la, ce qui seroit d'une grande importance pour l'Angleterre." ¹⁷

Louis XIV learned early in March, 1711, that England was preparing a great equipment, which was said to be destined for Spain, "mais on ne scait pas si l'entreprise se fera en Espagne ou bien dans l'Amerique. On assure cependant que l'exécution s'en fera sous le commandment du Comte de Peterborough qui doit revenir dans peu de temps, de la Cour de Vienne auquel en donnera une grosse escadre."¹⁸ Even earlier than this the French learned that five battalions of troops were returning from Flanders for a secret expedition of which Peterborough was to have charge. St. John, having learned that the Dutch suspected that Hill was going to North America, suggested to his confidential agent in Holland that he should artfully insinuate, that since Nicholson had returned to America almost empty-handed, and the force preparing had only three months' provisions, it could not be intended to strike at the West Indies (or Canada), but rather against France or Spain. About the same time, however, Count Gallas, the aggressive and obnoxious imperial representative in London, wrote at length to his master about Nicholson, Port Royal and the Canadian expedition.¹⁹

Arthur Moore, a Commissioner of Trade, and St. John's close friend, feared that the "design was publicly known," ²⁰ and only a fortnight later, Torcy learned not only the exact strength of the force, but the identical regiments withdrawn from Flanders and Ireland. Only a few days afterwards he

¹⁷C.P.A. (Paris), 230, ff. 243, 421. Some thought, however, that Peterborough's real objective was Mexico or some other Spanish dependency. This may well have been a scheme of the ministry to rid itself for the nonce of the embarrassing presence of the eccentric earl. O. Weber, *Der Friede von Utrecht* (Gotha, 1891), p. 79). Meanwhile, St. John talked (Corr. I, 34) about attacking Buenos Aires.

¹⁸C.P.A. (Paris), 235, f. 241. Nicholson embarked with troops for New England "joindre les Indiens pour attaquer les Francais qui sont a Québec." C.P.A., Supplement, 4, ff. 120, 132.

¹⁹Staats-Archiv (Vienna), Berichte: England, F. 65; *Corr. of Bolingbroke*, I, 65, 68.

²⁰MSS. Division (Library of Congress), Brit. Transcripts, 333, f. 45. *Portland MSS.*, IV, 652. See also C.C., 1710-1, p. 404.

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was told, however, it was not to attack Canada, but Spain. L'Hermitage, the alert Dutch agent in London, was certain only that Hill was to command the expedition, which was "tenue fort secrete." Various spies and diplomats reported that Hill was about to attack France, Spain, Cuba and Canada.²¹

The French were kept thoroughly informed. They learned that the expedition amounted to eight battalions, convoyed by twenty warships, with Catalonia as its objective.²² The Dutch were not so well served, for even a month later L'Hermitage reported that Hill was probably bound for Cuba, or some point in Spanish America.²³ The French, therefore, appeared even better informed than England's allies. Despite all this, St. John felt as late as the end of May, that his objective remained a profound secret, when as a matter of fact even the Canadian authorities were thoroughly aware of the plan to attack Canada²⁴. It must be said, however, that St. John's duties with reference to the expedition were trying. Marlborough naturally objected to the withdrawal of five of his seasoned regiments, and St. John had to send him the Queen's specific commands. Even then the Duke tried to carry out the letter of her orders and at the same time violate its spirit, for St. John was compelled to write him that Anne

²¹C.P.A. (Paris), 232, f. 117, 120; 233, ff. 20, 29; Geheime Staats-Archiv (Berlin), Rep. XI, 43, Conv. 37; Add. MSS. (B.M.), 17677EEE, ff. 158, 166, 170. See also Boyer, *Annals of . . . Queen Anne*, IX, 334; Baschet Transcripts, 197, f. 332b.

²²*Corr. of Bolingbroke*, I, 116; Rawlinson MSS. (Bodleian), 392, f. 197b.

²³Add. MSS. 17677EEE, ff. 178, 191, 213; C.P.A. (Paris), 232, ff. 143, 145b. L'Hermitage as late as May 1/12, 1711, reported "le secrete est toujours fort observé." Not until May 22/June 2, was he certain of Hill's destination. Pontchartrain, French Ministre de la Marine, was also in the dark until rather late. Archives des Colonies (Paris), B. 32, ff. 102-117, *passim*. (Transcripts in Dominion Archives, Ottawa).

²⁴Archives de la Marine (Paris), B. 33, ff. 132, 172; State Papers, Domestic: Naval, X, ff. 214, 232 (Transcripts, Ottawa); *Corr. of Bolingbroke*, I, 142; F. E. Ball, *Corr. of Jon. Swift* (London, 1910), I, 266, 277; C.C., 1710-1, p. 526; *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of . . . New York* (ed. E. B. O'Callaghan, New York, 1853-1861, IX, 855, 930 (cited below as N.Y.C.D.)).

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was "pleased to command me to let your Grace know that she will have the five regiments immediately march, so as to be apporté to embark at Ostend, as soon as they shall be called for, and that must be very quickly, the transports for them being now ready."²⁵ As a final gesture, the Duke attempted to release his force in such a way as to make it difficult to give Hill the chief command of it. As in the days gone by, Anne had her way. Hill again prevailed over the unconquerable duke, and his sister over the "tornado in petticoats," Lady Marlborough.

During Harley's convalescence,²⁶ St. John also selected the naval commander. Political reasons may have dictated the choice of Hill, but it is difficult to account for the appointment of Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker (but recently knighted) as leader of the fleet. Personally, he was an amiable Tory, but his naval record was by no means exceptional. Walker had served at Barfleur in 1692, and was with Rooke at Cadiz a decade later. He was then sent to the West Indies to protect British commerce, and worry the French there. His work was far from successful. Through failing to report to Governor Christopher Codrington, of the Leeward Islands, he got into such difficulties that the secretary of state ordered the lord high admiral's council to investigate the entire affair.²⁷ Walker's own "Journal" gave a rather lame explanation, which suggests that he was a bit of a muddler, who found it very difficult to get on with others. In the light of his later experiences, it is interesting to note that he complained that he could make no headway in the West Indies, "for we had no pilates that were acquainted anywhere

²⁵*Corr. of Bolingbroke*, I, 58; Murray, *op. cit.*, V, 388. See also *Portland MSS.*, IV, 652; C.P.A. (Paris), 232, f. 120b; *Annals*, IX, 335.

²⁶Hill was appointed early in March; Harley stabbed the 8th, and Marlborough censured the 13th. It is probable that Marlborough was disciplined without Harley's consent or approval. S.P.D., E.B. (Military), 175, f. 68.

²⁷S.P.D., Entry Book 209, f. 113. Even the Privy Council took up the matter, demanding of the Board of Trade any pertinent documents, as it was to "hear the complaints against the said Walker tomorrow." *Journal, Board of Trade*, 1704-9, p. 1. See also *ibid.*, pp. 8, 11, 14; C.C., 1702-3, pp. 115, 132; 1704-5, p. 120.

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along the coast, therefore [we] towed off to sea again." This "Journal" also shows his uncertainty and unwillingness to assume responsibility without the support of a council of war.²⁸ Walker later assisted Leake in rescuing Barcelona, and in warding off the Pretender's attack in 1708, although here the admiralty was compelled to send him an urgent command to hurry and not be so fearful of contrary winds. Soon thereafter he was appointed as commander-in-chief before Dunkirk. There is, therefore, nothing in his record to account for granting him command of the Quebec expedition²⁹ in place of Sir Thomas Hardy, an officer with a fine record, who was the original choice.

Whatever may have been the qualifications of Hill and Walker, it is clear that they were to lead an expedition, the plans for which were made without their knowledge or consent, as well as without that of the admiralty or of the great military commander.³⁰ The entire scheme, moreover, was directly contrary to a resolution by the Commons in the same session, "that to enlarge the service, or increase the charge beyond the bounds described by Parliament was illegal and an invasion of their rights."³¹ Provisioning the force for three months necessitated a long stay in Boston to revictual, much longer than was counted upon by the British authorities, who seem to have imagined that it would be as easy to provide supplies from sparsely populated Massachusetts, as from the densely inhabited areas around London. Otherwise it is difficult to account for English vexation over the delay

²⁸Burchett insinuated that Walker was partly responsible for Admiral John Graydon's failure to capture Newfoundland. C.C., 1702-3, p. viii, No. 737.

²⁹State Papers, Domestic: Naval, IX, ff. 247, 295 (Transcripts, Ottawa); *House of Lords MSS.*, 1708-10, pp. 30, 58, 61, 66, 212-35, *passim*. The writer cannot agree with Professor H. L. Osgood's favorable opinion of Walker. *American Colonies in 18th Century* (New York, 1923), 1, 441. See also T. Lediard, *Naval History* (London, 1735), p. 855.

³⁰*Corr. of Bolingbroke*, I, 72, 79. Admiral Sir John Leake, head of the Admiralty, was completely in the dark. S. Martin-Leake, *Life of Sir John Leake* (Callender ed., London, 1920), II, 365.

³¹D. J[ones], *Compleat History of Europe* (London, 1711), p. 368; T. Somerville, *History of the Reign of Queen Anne* (London, 1798), p. 455.

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in Boston, which was severely criticized by Bishop Burnet as unnecessary, because a commissioner of victualling told him that "he could not guess what made them be sent out so ill furnished; for they had stores lying on their hands for a full supply."³²

Throughout the War of the Spanish Succession, the Dutch were so jealous of any increase of English power in the Americas, that it had seemed advisable to keep from them all knowledge of the expedition. At the same time, England felt keenly that the Dutch were not putting forth all their efforts in the war. Late in 1710, St. John wished to sound Heinsius, the grand pensionary, as to the possibility of transferring some English battalions from Flanders to the Iberian peninsula (probably Canada), for "we have several more than we are obliged to, and the Dutch have at least six, which were brought home after Almanza (1707), and ought to have sent back." England similarly complained that the Dutch failed to furnish the ships promised, "yet they are ready to lend money of the King of Spain's demesnes, the post revenues of the ten provinces, to have that mortgaged to them for thirty, which is so already for twenty years."³³ Bothmer, Hanoverian envoy-extraordinary to England, learned that the Dutch were very envious of Hill's expedition.³⁴

Although St. John worried little about the Dutch attitude, he was, despite his disclaimers, most uneasy about the objective of a French fleet, preparing at Brest.³⁵ Was it an endeavor to strengthen French Canada before Walker could reach Quebec, or was it only another Jacobite attempt to regain the British throne as in 1708, by an invasion of Eng-

³²Brunet, *op. cit.*, VI, 65.

³³*Corr. of Bolingbroke*, I, 35, 79, 88, 95; *Portland MSS.*, IV, 636; Martin-Leake, *op. cit.*, II, 366; *Wentworth Papers* (ed. by J. J. Cartwright, London, 1883), p. 247; C. C., 1708-9, p. 506; 1710-1, p. 50.

³⁴Staats-Archiv (Hanover), England, IV (German cipher decoded into French).

³⁵S.P.D., Anne, B. 14, f. 47; C.P.A. (Paris), 228, ff. 189-207; 233, f. 20. Guiscard's intercepted dispatches related to a design France was preparing at Brest and abroad. "I would stick at no price," wrote St. John, "to have authentic accounts of the enemy's naval preparations." *Corr. of Bolingbroke*, I, 65.

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land or Scotland, or was it simply an expedition against the British West Indies? The possibility of another attack by the Pretender unquestionably disturbed the ministry more than they cared to admit. St. John felt it necessary to collect a squadron in the Downs, and expected help from the Dutch. The French squadron was later reported at sea and all the British cruisers were ordered to join Admiral Sir John Leake, whose fleet was sufficient, St. John felt, to "baffle any force which France is able to equip." ^{35a} The admiralty council was really frightened, if we are to judge by their reply to St. John's letter inquiring about the probable danger to force from the squadron of 37 ships reported at Brest. "We doe acquaint you," they wrote, "that if the aforesaid advice may be depended upon, and that the enemy's ships come into the Channell not only the squadron with Sir Hovendon Walker may be in danger, but the nation itselfe exposed in regard there is not sufficient strength, if the aforesaid squadron sayles, to oppose the enemy." ³⁶

From this frank dispatch, it is clear that the admiralty opposed St. John's undertaking as dangerous to British naval security. It took genuine courage for the secretary of state to insist upon carrying through his project, courage for which he has never received proper credit. He never seems to have hesitated, although rumors of a large French fleet under de Trouin alarmed both the admiralty and the cabinet council. The latter held a meeting about this fleet. The former felt that Walker either should be ordered back to Lisbon for a rendezvous, joining the rest of the fleet at that point, or that eight ships should be detached from the Mediterranean squadron, if they could find a sufficient number of troops without the assistance of Walker. Apparently, St. John insisted upon

^{35a}C.P.A. (Paris), 235, f. 289; *Corr. of Bolingbroke*, I, 112, 122, 135, 151,. Despite his apparent confidence, St. John scolded Walker for taking three additional warships into the open sea with him. *Ibid.*, p. 141. The Brest fleet knew of Walker's destination, and the English feared "les Francois sont ally de ce coste la pour vous traverser dans cette entreprise." C.P.A. (Paris) 232, f. 212. See also *ibid.*, 233, f. 30; Add. MSS. 17677EEE, f. 193.

³⁶State Papers, Domestic, Naval, IX, f. 291 (Transcripts, Ottawa); Walker, *Journal*, p. 56.

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the second alternative, although the Admiralty asked the Dutch not to withdraw any of their force from the Mediterranean at that time. In fact the preparation of Walker's squadron went on more rapidly than before, due in part, perhaps, to certain assurances St. John received that de Trouin's fleet was designed to attack Rio Janiero,³⁷ for a French victory in Brazil would not embarrass the Canadian project, although St. John saw clearly the interrelation of the Caribbean and St. Lawrence areas.

At the moment St. John was sending the force against Quebec, Harley was maturing his plans for the South Sea Company, and it is not improbable that the two projects may have been integral parts of an ambitious imperial adventure fathered by the Tory ministry.³⁸ While Harley was launching the South Sea Company as a means of averting bankruptcy, St. John sent Nicholson ahead to prepare the colonists for the arrival of a larger force, carrying Anne's commands to the governors of New England and the Middle Colonies. He had a rough voyage and did not reach Boston until little more than a fortnight before the main body.

Soon after his arrival a colonial congress was held at New London, where plans were made for securing provisions for the forces to be used against Quebec and Montreal.³⁹ Governor Robert Hunter of New York had been exceptionally active in keeping the Iroquois from making war upon the Wagenhaes, because the braves of the Five Nations would be needed for the conquest of Canada, after which they were told the "Wagenhaes would fall an easy prey to them." New Jersey sent her military offering in the form of 200 volunteers, and appropriated £5,000 for which she proceeded to issue bills of credit. Even Quaker Pennsylvania busied itself

³⁷S.P.D., Naval, X, f. 104 (Transcripts, Domin. Archives); *Corr. of Bolingbroke*, I, 135, 156. St. John still felt his project was too deep for the French to fathom. See also C.C., 1711-2, p. 49.

³⁸This point is discussed in the author's article in the *Hispanic American Review*, May, 1928.

³⁹C.C., 1710-1, pp. 55-60; N. Tindal, *Continuation of Rapin de Thoyras*, IV, 215; "Winthrop Papers", 6 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, V, 232; *Society of Colonial Wars for Massachusetts* (Boston, 1897), p. 130.

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in advancing the conquest of Canada, and contributed £2,000 to the cause, quieting its religious scruples by saying that it rested upon the Queen's conscience to do whatever she pleased with the money. Connecticut sent 350 men; New York provided her quota of 600 and voted £10,000. With the efficient aid of Peter Schuyler, coupled with bountiful gifts, Nicholson secured considerable aid from the Indians; Hunter raised 300 Palatine Germans, and 800 Indians, so that by the middle of September they had a force of 2,300 at Albany, preparing to attack Montreal, of which more than half were either Germans or Indians; Hunter was so gratified at the prospects, that he wrote St. John, "This is ye present state of this glorious enterprise, which God prosper." ⁴⁰

New England, once assured that the ministry had no ulterior motive and was in earnest, became active. The Massachusetts General Court voted to raise and equip 900 men, including 100 Indians, and Lieutenant-Governor Gurdon Saltonstall of Connecticut was willing to do his full share, particularly in furnishing food, while Rhode Island furnished 179 men. At New London, the governors agreed to lay "strict and general embargoes" in all their ports to prevent intelligence to be given to the enemy of ye present expedition," ⁴¹ although curiously enough they made arrangements also for a public fast.

While all these preparations were in train, Walker finally got under way, but not until he had difficulties with his superior, Admiral Sir Edward Whitaker, and the admiralty

⁴⁰Penhallow, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Archivio di Stato (Turin), Inghilterre, L. M., Mazzo 17; Wraxall's *Abridgment* (McIlwain ed., Cambridge, 1914), p. 81; C.C., 1710-1, p. 285; 1711-2, p. 101; N.Y.C.D., V, 218, 253; II, 534, *sq.*; *Polit. State*, II, 260--5. Hunter spoke of 8,000 Indians. Did he mean 800? N.Y.C.D., V, 353.

⁴¹Osgood, *op. cit.*, I, 442; T. Hutchinson, *History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1746), II, 173; *Rhode Island Col. Rec.*, IV, 120, 129; C.C., 1710-1, p. 558. A fortnight before Nicholson's arrival, Dudley wrote: "if we have not advice in ten days more, it will be almost impossible to be seasonably ready, for so distant a descent, and so difficult a river." *Ibid.*, p. 525.

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council.⁴² His appointment came after most of the preparations in England were completed, and his destination was given him as a sealed order. Somewhat later Walker wrote that "neither the Commissions of the Navy, nor the officers of the ships could be apprized, who were wholly ignorant of where the ships were designed, nor did I come to the squadron until it was just ready to sail." Here, at least, he is inaccurate, if not untruthful, for a month before he sailed the secretary of the admiralty answered one of his letters, which requested that his effects be taken to Spithead preparatory to the voyage. Earlier than this, Walker spoke favorably of the plans for the expedition.⁴³

Before he set out Walker conferred three times with St. John "for particular instructions." On the last visit, Walker and Hill waited together upon the Queen to receive her individual directions. She commanded them to "perfect agreement and friendship, and pressed me to hasten the squadron." This last service was badly needed, although it proved to be ineffective. Nine days later, St. John slyly observed to Walker that "Nicholson's departure, indeed, makes your stay at Spithead not so much to be regretted as otherwise it would be." Next day he wrote again that the Queen suggested that he should hasten his departure, even if the wind were not fair. Two days afterward, St. John wrote sarcastically: "You seem to be mightily satisfied with Nicholson's gaining his passage; that indeed is a very necessary part of this service, but I can by no means think it is a reason for the least delay in your following him; for the season of the year is now so far advanced, that should any opportunity be lost, the undertaking would be in danger of being disappointed, for want of time

⁴²S.P.D., Naval, IX, ff. 247, 295; S.P.D., Admiralty: Secretary's Out Letters, 438, f. 589 (Transcripts, Ottawa). For other difficulties at this time of Walker with his superiors and with his own officers, see *ibid.*, 443, f. 446.. S.P.D., Admiralty: Secretary's In-Letters, 230.

⁴³S.P.D., Admiralty: Secretary's Out Letters, 438, f. 491 (Transcripts, Ottawa); Walker, *Journal*, pp. 3, 11, 23. Martin-Leake surmised (II, 366) that had Walker been let into the secret earlier, he would probably have refused to go.

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to bring it to a proper issue.”⁴⁴ As a matter of fact, Walker never left London for five days after St. John's first letter was dispatched, and a fortnight elapsed before he sailed. It is interesting to note these facts in the light of Walker's caustic observations on the dilatoriness of New England in supplying him with equipment to proceed against Canada.

Once at sea Walker opened his orders to discover that his rendezvous was Boston, “the first official intimation that the expedition was for an American destination.” His voyage was uneventful, and he arrived promptly in Boston to find the colonials most cordial in their greetings, and busily engaged in equipping a contingent to accompany him.⁴⁵ The force he brought was, for the day, both large and powerful. The fleet of fifteen warships was a notable one, including several large men-of-war, eleven having fifty guns or more, and the average being sixty. In addition to warships, he had forty transports, two bombers, two hospital ships and a train of artillery. The complement of men well over five thousand, including seven veteran regiments and a battalion of marines, made a “very fine and extraordinary appearance the like whereof was never seen in these parts.”⁴⁶ All these soldiers and sailors, besides those of Nicholson, and the force being raised in New England, had to be maintained and at the same time provisioned for at least ten weeks from a little provincial town of a few thousand population with a sparsely settled hinterland. All this, moreover, on the fortnights notice between the arrival of Nicholson and Walker.

Working under such pressure, the British and colonials naturally get on each others' nerves. Neither had any previous experience in equipping so large an expedition, and

⁴⁴Walker, *Journal*, pf. 179; Burchett, *op. cit.*, p. 778; Leake, *op. cit.*, II, 365.

⁴⁵*Soc. of Col. Wars, Mass.*, p. 127; C.C., 1710-1, p. 468. Walker stated emphatically that the backwardness of the colonial authorities prevented his sailing before July 30. *Journal*, p. 35. See also Burchett, *op. cit.*, pp. 776, 779; Sewall's "Diary," 5 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colln.*, VI, 131.

⁴⁶*Boston News Letter*, July 16, 1711; Penhallow, *op. cit.*, p. 63; *Collection de Manuscrits . . . de la Nouvelle France* (Quebec, 1884), II, 549; N.Y.C.D., IX, 859; C.P.A. (Paris), 233, f. 136; *Polit. State*, II, 253-6; Burchett, *op. cit.*, p. 778.

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Hill apparently had no realization of the difficulties encountered by the Bostonians. The English officers, inclined in any case to be supercilious in their attitude toward colonials, greatly underestimated the magnitude of the task. The greatest difficulties lay in supplying food and transports. Victualling so large a force quickly necessitated organization, and that was lacking. Even the financial side of the problem had not been attacked before Nicholson arrived. Andrew Belcher, father of Jonathan (later governor of Massachusetts) had been commissary from 1703 to 1708, and was one of the wealthiest merchants in the province, but he refused to continue longer in that capacity, ostensibly because supplies were to be paid in bills on the victualling board instead of in cash.⁴⁷ Whether his refusal was due to fear of a sudden rise in the price of provisions, or to a desire to profiteer at the expense of the home government, can only be determined by an expert in colonial finance.

The British officers certainly feared that Belcher would buy up all the provisions and profit at their expense. Peter Faneuil offered to take the contract, and Walker officially engaged him.⁴⁸ Hill, frightened prematurely lest provisions might fail to arrive from New York, bought three vessels in Boston harbor with their cargoes of provisions. Stores were imported from such distant colonies as Maryland, Virginia, where Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Spotswood himself supplied pork for the expedition, and even Newfoundland did its share.⁴⁹

Such unprecedented demands for foodstuffs occasioned a rise in prices. Despite the care exercised by colonial authori-

⁴⁷*Soc. of Col. Wars*, p. 131; Osgood, *op. cit.*, I, 444; Walker, *Journal* p. 70. The victuallers refused to accept the bills of the Victualling Board, and told Walker that no one would kill any meat unless paid in cash.

⁴⁸Professor Osgood erred (I, 447) in saying that Faneuil was not engaged, as Walker himself wrote that he had appointed Faneuil, who was "very diligent while I was there, procuring naval and ordnance stores . . . to act as agent for Her Majesty's navy during this expedition."

⁴⁹*Journal Board of Trade*, 1709-15, p. 405; Dummer, *op. cit.*, p. 15; C.C., 1711-2, pp. 55, 162.

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ties, individuals took advantage of the necessities of the occasion, giving rise to definite and bitter complaints by Walker, Hill and Colonel Richard King.⁵⁰ The latter even suggested the seizure of all manner of provisions and putting a price on them. In many instances, therefore, it was not so much a question of provisions as the price to be paid, and how that money was to be secured. Apparently the only method provided was by bills on the Victualling Board. Ready money, however, was absolutely indispensable. Had the Massachusetts legislature been in session it would have been easier to provide it. In his financial distress, Walker asked the Treasury of New England to advance him £3,000 until the legislature met, which was done very reluctantly. This amount was far from sufficient, so the General Court met and issued £40,000 in bills of credit. The governor loaned or subscribed more than £2,000, the Belchers £2,800 and the Hutchinsons £4,200.⁵¹ Another difficulty arose over bills of exchange, as New England currency was at a considerable discount compared to sterling. Colonel King complained that Boston merchants "had already unanimously agreed not to give above £120 of this country's money for £100 sterling, whereas they even gave before 145 to 175." The colonial merchants eventually agreed to give £130 for £100 sterling.⁵²

Despite all the difficulties, and the grumbling of Walker, who managed, however, to find time to attend commencement at Harvard, an enormous amount of provisions was got ready at Boston, while the troops and ships were being equipped.

⁵⁰"Jour. of Col. King," C.C., 1711-2, pp. 41-3, 55. Walker took occasion at this time to say that "New England should be glad of this opportunity, to pay by exchanging their debts in Great Britain." To this, it was replied "that there was no need of such an opportunity, for New Englanders owed nothing to the Britains, the balance being due from them to New England, since they had more effects in Britain, than the returns from thence answered." Walker, *Journal*, p. 36. This is very significant, if true.

⁵¹"Journal" of Gen. John Hill, C.C., 1711-2, p. 59; Walker, *Jour.*, p. 73; C.C., 1711-2, pp. 42, 65, 141; Callendar, *Treasury Papers*, 1708-14, pp. 297, 318; E. Kimball, *Public Life of Joseph Dudley* (Cambridge, 1911), p. 127.

⁵²"Journals" of Hill and King, C.C., 1711-2, pp. 41-4, 59; Walker, *Journal*, p. 98.

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Massachusetts exceeded her quota of men by 10%, a remarkable showing for a colony which had prepared for two previous expeditions against Canada, and had been compelled to be in arms constantly for a decade to repel border forays. The amount of provisions gathered seems to a layman shockingly large. Over a million pounds of bread and a million pints of wine were to be furnished; if rum were substituted for wine only half as much as required. The beef, pork and cheese also came to considerably more than a million pounds. When the Rhode Island contingent arrived, it found no equipment waiting either because the home government had not mentioned that colony, or it was not considered a distinct government by the ministers who planned the expedition.⁵³

When Governor Dudley proudly informed the admiral that Massachusetts had exceeded her quota, the latter only grumbled that he needed the deserters from his ships far more than he did colonial soldiers, and intimated that if the colonists were truly loyal they might readily furnish him with three or four hundred seamen. Conditions were truly trying for Walker, but they scarcely justified his threats or his forebodings;⁵⁴ especially since Dudley was doing all in his power to prevent desertions and equip the force. Among other things he issued a strong proclamation against deserters, while mechanics and laborers were compelled to work on Sunday in Puritan New England, and some of the colonists bound themselves to eat salt pork to give the soldiers and sailors fresh meat.⁵⁵

Five weeks after Hill arrived, preparations were practically complete at Boston, despite the fact that they had to wait upon convoys. It was an inspiring sight to see the

⁵³*Soc. of Col. Wars, Massachusetts*, p. 132; Walker, *Jour.*, pp. 80, 256; C.C., 1711-2, p. 139. Osgood, *op. cit.*, I, 449; S. G. Arnold, *History of Rhode Island* (4th ed., London, 1859), II, 44.

⁵⁴C.C., 1711-2, p. 36; *Pol. St.*, II, 489; Walker, *Jour.*, pp. 92, 217, 262, 264. "When the Parliament there [Westminster] shall come to inquire and be informed of the little assistance they have given in respect to the sea part of the expedition, it will produce such a resentment as perhaps New England may repent."

⁵⁵F. Parkman, *Half Century of Conflict* (Boston, 1897), I, 162; Walker, *Jour.*, pp. 226, sq.; C.C., 1711-2, p. 36.

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splendid expedition of 12,000 men, including nearly 4,000 colonials and Indians, sail from Boston. Seventy-five vessels were required, including fifteen warships as a convoy, fifty transports, two bombships, two trains of artillery, and two hospital ships—a force far more powerful than any France would oppose to it at Quebec,⁵⁶ as Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, had also to fortify Montreal, whose capture was to be Nicholson's particular task. At the conclusion of his conference at New London, he proceeded immediately to Albany. While Nicholson's contingent hastened toward Montreal, Walker sailed leisurely northward. He was clearly nervous, because of his failure to find pilots skilled in navigating the treacherous St. Lawrence, as well as by the terrifying stories he heard from his French pilots of the awfulness of Canadian winters and of the fate of ships which dared to go up to Quebec in the heavy fogs.⁵⁷ He was, indeed, convinced he was going to fail, and his instructions permitted, would have much preferred attacking Newfoundland.

Walker had expected to find in New England an abundance of pilots with first hand knowledge of the St. Lawrence, for he probably imagined Quebec to be only a few hours' voyage from Boston, although his previous experience around Newfoundland should have taught him better. He now complained incessantly of the scarcity of trained pilots, for much to his surprise, he found both ship captains and pilots reluctant to accept any responsibility. Some even attempted to escape such service, speaking pessimistically of the fogs in the St. Lawrence, the "unfathomable depths of the water, the rapidity and uncertainty of the currents," which would test the most expert pilots. He was forced to ask Dudley to assist him in persuading or impressing such pilots as seemed best acquainted with the St. Lawrence, accusing them in the meanwhile of a lack of patriotism.⁵⁸

Captain Cyprian Southack was considered the best in-

⁵⁶*Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites ed., Cleveland, 1900), LXVI, 188; N.Y.C.D., IX, 859; Dummer, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁵⁷Burchett, *op. cit.*, p. 790.

⁵⁸Walker, *Jour.*, pp. 29, 238, 262-4. Walker also hoped to secure a trained pilot from New York.

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formed man as to pilots, and Walker was accordingly lodged at his home, that he might the more readily secure advice. Even before Walker arrived the governors at New London had discussed "ye addresses from Capt. Southack and Capt. Redgood,⁵⁹ the principal pilots to Quebec." After considerable difficulty, Colonel Samuel Vetch secured the services of Captain John Bonner, reputed to be the pilot best acquainted with the St. Lawrence, although he had never been there "except in a sloop."⁶⁰ After consultation with Southack, Walker submitted a list of pilots to Dudley, who sent out warrants to summon them, insisting, moreover, that these men were the best available, and advised Walker to choose the ablest.⁶¹

The Admiral gradually came to the conclusion that one Paradis, master of a French sloop captured near Acadia, knew more of the St. Lawrence than any of the cautious New England pilots. He was accordingly bribed to pilot the fleet to Quebec. Both Parkman and Osgood have insinuated that he might have betrayed this trust, and he certainly was largely responsible for the fear and trembling of the admiral, whom he informed that the St. Lawrence froze solid to the very bottom.⁶² In this frame of mind, Walker readily magnified any difficulties he encountered. The weather, too, was far from propitious, and due to unnecessary delays in reaching the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the expedition met heavy fog. The question of pilots had occasioned some friction during the

⁵⁹Probably Bedgood, a shipmaster who had been to Quebec six years before.

⁶⁰C.O. 5/536, No. 13; S.P.D., Admiralty: Secretary's Out-Letters, 440, f. 333 (Transcripts, Dominion Archives).

⁶¹Walker, *Jour.*, pp. 217-221; C.C., 1711-2, pp. 139, 143, 145; G. Patterson, "Hon. Samuel Vetch, first English Governor of Nova Scotia," *N. S. Historical Collections* (Halifax, 1884), IV, 33. Bonner desired to be excused on account of his age, but Walker insisted and he was put on the flagship. *Soc. of Col. Wars, Mass.*, p. 134.

⁶²Parkman, *op. cit.*, I, 163; Walker, *Jour.*, pp. 62, 67, 79, 118; Burnet, *op. cit.*, VI, 65. Walker claimed that Bonner and Southack both agreed that Paradis was a better pilot "than any I should meet with here." La Ronde Denys, a French spy in Boston, said that Walker would probably never have left Boston if Paradis had not been with him. *Coll. de MSS.*, II, 549.

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voyage. Vetch had presumed to warn the admiral that a French pilot taken on at Plymouth was an "ignorant, pretending, idle, drunken fellow, but fear he is come upon no good design." To which Walker coolly replied, thanking him for his caution, although "I never intended to trust him any farther than I could throw him."⁶³ As the admiral got into the river, he found the swift currents and fog very baffling, and he relied increasingly upon the advice of the pessimistic Paradis. One night, the fleet "tacked or stood back," and for "about six hours we runn back directly to the great surprizall of all the fleet." Vetch had been taken from his place at the head of the fleet and soon became greatly alarmed at the erratic course steered by Walker, who obviously lost his way and became thoroughly confused. When the dangers were called to his attention, he obstinately refused for a time to acknowledge his error.⁶⁴ The entire fleet while in a thick fog threatened to pound itself to pieces on the rocks, but fortunately was able to escape with the loss of only nine transports and less than 900 soldiers and sailors. Not a warship was lost.⁶⁵

Walker and Hill had lost barely a tenth of their strength, and still vastly outnumbered the French at Quebec.⁶⁶ Moreover, they had agreed to act in conjunction with Nicholson,

⁶³C.O. 5/9, No. 82; Walker, *Jour.*, p. 115; C.C., 1711-2, p. 276; *N. S. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, IV, 31-3.

⁶⁴Vetch's "Journal," C.O. 5/9, No. 102; Burchett, *op. cit.*, p. 780; Osgood, *op. cit.*, I, 449. Walker maintained that he followed the advice of the pilots, "both English and French." The New England pilots denied this, declaring upon their oaths that their opinion was not followed or regarded. Walker, *Jour.*, pp. 44-6; Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, II, 193. Penhallow insisted (p. 70) that Walker "acted contrary to the advice he received."

⁶⁵C.P.A. (Paris), 234, f. 87; 235, ff. 493, 530; 239, f. 493; Add. MSS., 17677EEE, f. 237; *London Gazette*, No. 4910; Archivio di Stato (Turin) Inghilterra, L. M. Mazzo, 17; *Portland MSS.*, V. 99. Denys reported 884 drowned and 2,000 dead from injuries. Captain George Lee said 1,200 to 1,300 "brave men together with women and children." Among the casualties were 35 women. C.O. 5/9, No. 15; *Annals*, X, 161.

⁶⁶*Jour.*, *Bd. of Trade* (1709-15), p. 363. The official *Census of Canada* (Ottawa, 1870-1) estimates the total population of Canada in 1706 as 16,417, and in 1722 as 22,530.

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advancing toward Montreal. One contemporary writer (Penhallow) felt that favorable winds would have carried the force to Quebec in two days. Walker, however, had no stomach for persevering; he thereupon consulted with Hill, and they decided to call a council of war of land and sea officers—the first during the expedition. Both leaders desired to abandon the attempt, and sought the moral support of their subordinates as a “pretext for retreat.”⁶⁷ Some of the captains were surly because they had not been consulted before. Bonner and Paradis had already advised against going on, while some of the captains were ungracious enough to grumble that the pilots were of that belief before they set out. “’Tis our unanimous opinion,” the council of war concluded, “that by reason of the ignorance of the pilots aboard the men of war it is wholly impracticable to go up . . . as far as Quebec.” Yet Phipps had gone up the river successfully later in the season, and Dummer reported that it would be “easy to seize the coast in October, and not difficult to do it in November.” Walker, however, was obsessed with fear that provisions would give out at Quebec while the St. Lawrence was freezing solid, and professed to think the disaster was a blessing in disguise, which prevented the loss of the entire force. “I must confess the melancholy contemplation of this strikes me with horror,” he wrote. “For how dismal must it have been to behold the seas and earth locked by adamantine frosts and swollen with high mountains of snow on a barren and uncultivated region, great numbers of brave men famishing with hunger and drawing lots who should die first to feed the rest without the least appearance of relief.”⁶⁸

After sending Nicholson word that they had abandoned their attack, Walker and Hill left him to shift for himself. Nicholson was having a hard time, as a serious epidemic broke out among his men. Walker’s dispatch, nevertheless, thoroughly enraged Nicholson, who after loudly accusing the lead-

⁶⁷C.C., 1711-2, pp. 141, 145; *Jour., Bd. Trade* (1709-15), p. 328. Only a few of the pilots, selected in a haphazard fashion, were examined at all.

⁶⁸*Lond. Gaz.*, No. 4910; Walker, *Journal*, pp. 26, 46, 131, 275, 278; C.C., 1711-2, p. 128; *N. S. Hist. Coll.*, IV, 34; Lediard, *op. cit.*, p. 854.

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ers of treachery, threw his hat and wig angrily upon the ground and stamped upon them. Despite his anger, Nicholson maintained his discretion, for the order came only in the nick of time to prevent his entire command being wiped out by a superior force of French and Indians.⁶⁹

Having abandoned the attack upon Quebec, Walker wished to capture Newfoundland, but that, too, was given up, largely on account of the scarcity of provisions and the opposition of Hill, who appeared anxious to bask once more in the sunlight of the English court. The commanders, accordingly, turned back from their task, and sailed for England, carrying news of one of the greatest naval disasters in British history.⁷⁰ They sought to justify themselves before the bar of public opinion, some of the leaders, notably Walker and Colonel King, filling the "court and nation with clamours against New England. The colonists were charged with treachery and stubbornness, and accused of having designedly ruined the expedition."⁷¹ These reflections were so pointed that Dummer felt called upon to defend the colonists in his pamphlet, *A Letter to a Noble Lord*. Dudley and Vetch also insisted upon stating their side of the case, and three pilots were sent to London to testify should an inquiry be made into the causes of the disaster. Nicholson attended the Board of Trade to answer queries which might be addressed to him, but an opportunity never came to him or to the pilots, who waited many months in England. The Tory government did not choose to go into the merits of the case. Since the design had never been sanctioned by Parliament, and no supplies had been granted, the ministry probably felt that it was wise to let the matter severely alone,⁷² even though by so doing they might increase the bitterness between New England and the mother country.

The responsibility for the debacle, nevertheless, seems

⁶⁹6 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, V, 208; Parkman, *op. cit.*, I, 171.

⁷⁰Jonathan Swift, *Journal to Stella*, October 6, 12, 1711; C.O. 5/9, No. 102; *Life and Reign of her Late Excellent Majesty, Queen Anne* (London, 1738), p. 615; Burchett, *op. cit.*, p. 777.

⁷¹*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, VIII, 35; 3 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, I, 143.

⁷²Burnet, *op. cit.*, VI, 66; *Cal. Ty. Papers*, 1708-14, p. 329; C.C. 1711-2, pp. 115, 139-45, 148; Walker, *Jour.*, p. 14; Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, II, 197.

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clear. Even granting that the disaster to the fleet was unavoidable (although even here it seems probable that a little more speed and somewhat more of courage by Walker might have carried him safely through the fog), the British forces still available were so manifestly superior to the French that all French North America might have fallen to a dashing commander. But real leadership was lacking; Walker, overpowered by a fear of Canadian climate, was unwilling to continue, hoping to make tardy atonement by capturing Newfoundland; Hill, opposed even to this gesture, wished to reach London before the news of the losses, which had come to the flower of the army that had steadily triumphed from Blenheim to Malplaquet.⁷³

The disaster affected England and the colonies very differently. After the first shock, the English paid little attention to it. Upon news of the failure stocks fell 2% and continued sinking two days, but returned to their former price upon rumors of an approaching peace, which was spread abroad with great industry. The *Post Boy* was especially active. Hill's wife and sister, Mrs. Masham, were disconsolate, and the debonair general, upon being blamed for the disaster, coolly remarked that a council of war determined his return home. It was not long until he was appointed to take possession of Dunkirk as a surety during peace negotiations. Walker, having no sister to plead his cause at court, was bitterly attacked, particularly in the *St. James's Post*. Since he could not endure having "his good name undeservedly polluted by evil tongues, and venomous aspersions, ten times worse than the biting of rattlesnakes," he defended himself in his *Journal*, which was published in 1720. He refused to incriminate the ministry, however, and the colonists, together with Nicholson, clamored that he be brought to account.⁷⁴

The failure of this adventure accentuated the growing coldness between St. John and his colleague, now Earl of Ox-

⁷³C.C. 5/9, No. 102; *Pol. St.*, II, 271, 289; *N. S. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, IV, 131; C.P.A. (Paris), 235, f. 530; Kimball, *op. cit.*, p. 127, C.C., 1711-2, p. 156.

⁷⁴Walker, *Jour.*, pp. 19, 23; N.Y.C.D., V, 277; *Jour. to Stella*, Oct. 12, 1711.

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ford. The latter had originally gained the Queen's ear largely through enlisting the aid of Mrs. Masham. During his critical illness, St. John obtained Mrs. Masham's assistance in securing Anne's approval of the Canadian expedition, probably by giving her brother the command of it, and promising her a handsome financial reward. Oxford's reluctant assent cost him somewhat of the favorite's confidence, and materially lessened his influence with the Queen. Nor did he prove magnanimous when the project failed, for he complained of the heavy expense, and hinted at corruption.⁷⁵ St. John's failure materially lessened his political influence at the moment Oxford's power was on the increase through the unexpected popularity of the South Sea Company. Had Quebec been captured, it is probable that St. John might have displaced Oxford three years before he did. The episode, moreover, made co-operation between the two political rivals most difficult, at a time when ministerial unity was all important in the face of trying peace negotiations, which were slowed down by the failure to capture Quebec. The negotiations were largely handled by St. John, who had anticipated using British successes in Canada to wrest important concessions from Louis XIV, probably in the South Seas or in the Mediterranean. Diplomatic correspondence, which had been secretly proceeding apace between Torcy and St. John, were suspended for a time, only to be renewed regularly at Utrecht in January, 1712.

New England and New York were greatly concerned at Walker's failure. Hunter wrote St. John that the "misfortunate had occasioned a joint addresse of the Council and Assembly . . . begging the Queen . . . to renew the expedition." Saltonstall proposed that in their next attempt, the ministry should send the colonists trained pilots and go directly to Quebec without touching at Boston. Dudley urged the ministry to send another expedition to relieve the fears of the colonists from French and Indians, and secure "the unspeakable benefit that will accrew to the Crown in the Naval stores,

⁷⁵*Journal to Stella* (Rylands ed.), p. 255; A. Remusat, *L'Angleterre au XVIII^e Siècle*, (Paris, 1856), I, 218. Harley stated that Mrs. Masham pocketed some £20,000, a very large sum for those days. *Parl. Hist.*, VII, Appendix.

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lumber, fishery of all of North America.' All the frontier colonists again feared border forays. Dudley, Saltonstall, Dummer, and the various colonial authorities begged for equipment and for another attempt against Canada the next year. Massachusetts said that she had "received private intelligence since the failure of the late expedition . . . that the French and Indians design to make an invasion upon 'em, and that they have likewise to fear the defection of their own Indians."⁷⁶ New York was equally fearful.

Despite the miserable failure of the Hill-Walker effort, a failure for which the colonists were not responsible, they were still anxious to co-operate in another effort to end the French régime in Canada. They made it clear, however, that the mother country must furnish most of the men and money for the next project, as their own resources were exhausted. The spirit of co-operation is clearly evident among the colonists and it is interesting to note how zealously each colony guarded its own rights, while insisting that the other colonies do their share in protecting the interests of the Empire. The New London conference of colonial governors was an important gathering, whose significance has usually been overlooked in the history of imperial co-operation. Their spirit of unanimity, and the extensive preparations they made against France have been largely forgotten, because the project proved, through no fault of theirs, an egregious failure.⁷⁷ Unfortunately, either a lack of vision by British ministers, or their engrossment in peace negotiations, or both, prevented Great Britain from effectually capitalizing this great asset of the ever-growing British Empire until nearly a half century more had elapsed.⁷⁸

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⁷⁶C.O. 5/9, No. 110A; C.O. 5/10, Nos. 6, 141, 149; C.C. 1711-2, pp. 143, 183, 189, 259; Penhallow, *op. cit.*, p. 72; Wraxall, *op. cit.*, p. 92; *Col. Rec. of Conn.*, V, 294.

⁷⁷C.O. 5/10, No. 139, *Coll. de MSS.*, II, 520, 539-41; CCC., 1710-1, p. 440; C.C., 1711-2, pp. 39, 48, 103; Walker, *Jour.*, pp. 138, 217.

⁷⁸By the close of 1712, the British ministry thought of reorganizing colonial administration after the conclusion of peace negotiations. Dummer raised a fund of £300 in Massachusetts and Rhode Island to fight the project, but it died down. 3 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, I, 143; Osgood, *op. cit.*, 226, 440; Egerton MSS. (B.M.), 2, f. 168; Parkman, *op. cit.*, I, 154, 162.

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THE FUNCTION OF A UNIVERSITY

BY PRINCIPAL R. BRUCE TAYLOR

IN generations past a father sought to give his son an education. To-day he is swift to think of a practical education, and in the addition of the adjective there lies the altered outlook of a world. Religion and education were once an atmosphere rather than a framework. Formal religion struggling for its life tends, as four hundred years ago, to sharpen its edges and frame fresh definitions. Education, too, is coming under the hands of the systematizer with loss of spaciousness and poetry. There is nothing in the printed page more dull and more pretentious than the literature of pedagogy with its psychology and its graphs. But Plato and the Book of Proverbs are still alive.

The QUARTERLY is inviting articles on educational policy and, while the editor is leaving his contributors free, he will not be misunderstood if his contributors relate their papers first of all to the situation as they find it in Canada. The QUEEN'S QUARTERLY has never been parochial. It has had its footing upon the familiar campus but its eyes upon the ends

of the earth. It has not forgotten that the university was established to meet a Canadian need and that the policy of the institution must ever have in view first of all the Canadian situation. The recognition of this obvious fact is not provincialism. Imagination has to work upon materials that are common enough. Bagehot, speaking of Peel, says that a constitutional statesman is in general a man of common opinions and uncommon ability. It may be assumed that education as well as statesmanship leaves room for opportunism.

The question then is whether education is to concern itself in the first place with character or with knowledge. There is a general feeling that somehow or other an immense amount of time is lost in training youth. Processes, however, cannot be forced. Time is of the root of the matter and knowledge runs ahead of understanding. If the object of education is to inform, then the man who looks back from middle life has to confess that he has forgotten almost everything he has learned except in so far as he has used his special lore in the making of a living. A few years after graduation how few men can recall half a dozen of the formulae in Physics! Falling bodies may fall but "acceleration" has fled. The medical man who for twenty years has specialized on the heart will not commit himself on the detail of the anatomy of the inner ear. It has been said by one who claimed the training of school and university to be primarily for character that education is what is left after everything that has been learned has been forgotten. But if education fails in storing memory it likewise fails in creating character, for who will not acknowledge that in the real testing places of life formal education has had little to do with escape or with failure. Education can be amazingly silent in the moment of temptation. On each side the criticism has ground. The man of affairs in his complaint that the material he receives from the university is crude and ill-prepared is justified, while the

idealist, asking of educated men that they gaze upon a city of God, may well be excused if he groan over the platitudes of much that calls itself education. Character has to be hammered out on the anvil of life. Knowledge has to be fixed by being used. George Meredith in his later years withdrew the tragic ending of "Richard Feverel" and made that noble book close on a happier note, but the original version was the more true. There is no "Pilgrim's Script," no mere good counsel or wise system that in itself will ward off defeat. The truth is that education and system have little in common. System applied to the individual isolates him from his kind, applied to the mass it slows down the pace and leaves no room for the exceptional child. Education is a result of many things that will come within no time-table. It is the outcome of a whole world of irrelevancies. It is books, and accuracy, and patience, and failure, but it is as well blue sky and white water, the wrestling in the back lot, wasted time, enmity, friendship, passion, egotism, sickness, waiting. It is experience more than knowledge. No Board of Education or University Faculty can make its curriculum. It will always remain something haphazard, nor will universities have any monopoly of it. But it need be neither pretentious nor materialistic.

The problem of the universities is infinitely involved. Finance, politics, the good but rival claims of different faculties, the kindly and often embarrassing concern of graduates and Alumni Associations all combine to create a problem as delicate and difficult as the administration of a state. The fact that the academic life of university presidents in the United States is rather less than six years may be taken as a hint of the difficulty of shaping policies of education at the present time.

At the outset it may be said that the main issues are connected not with the Faculties of Medicine or of Applied

Science but with the Faculty of Arts. Applied Science and Medicine have to give a professional education and training. Provided certain preliminary standards are reached, training in those subjects is largely a matter of the scientific temper, of location, of money. The foundation subjects have to have their due weight given to them, and, as well, the most recent developments have to be followed and weighed. But everyone knows that the university years can at best give but a general survey of any profession. The man with a liking for surgery becomes a surgeon only by constant practice. The chemical engineer has to find himself the manufacturing plant where success or failure depends upon fractional results. So the problem of university education still remains the problem of the College, of the Arts Course. Education in the real sense is not vocational. Out of a vocational training much education may be gained. Whatever really tests the intellect gives education. It has been found, for instance, that fifty per cent of the men who graduate in Civil Engineering are, ten years after leaving the University, engaged in administrative work that has little to do with engineering. The inference to be drawn is that the Engineering Course gives, apart altogether from its vocational aspect, a real education in affairs. It is a training broad enough to enable a man to take a grasp of business in general. Any profession that has mathematics as its presupposition is bound to include only the elect.

One matter that admits of no controversy is that university education must relate itself to the situation as it finds it. In the Province of Ontario practically all the matriculants come from secondary schools controlled by the government Department of Education. Under the British North America Act each province cares for its own educational problems, and education in Ontario has had a history of which it may well be proud. That is not to say that anyone is satisfied with the level attained. The Premier, who is also the Minister of

Education, has just returned from England with new views that may be almost revolutionary in their implication. The last few years have seen amazing developments in the school system. Consolidated schools are replacing isolated one-teacher efforts; in mining districts such as Sudbury and Haileybury secondary schools of a special type are being encouraged; the general matriculation requirements and methods are constantly being revised. The Government is spending vast sums in its effort to meet the needs of the province. No propaganda is required for the awakening of interest. Interest exists; its direction is the main matter. The universities of the province can never, whatever their rights may be, separate themselves from the general school system and live as though they were sufficient unto themselves. They can do much to work from the top downwards, to raise the respect for education, to improve standards. Their graduates should exercise unwittingly a missionary influence, but the province has to meet its own problems in its own way, nor is it possible merely to imitate some good thing in some other land. Education cannot be an exotic. It will have its relatives in other lands but its particular species will depend upon its climate and its soil. In Ontario the secondary school and the university must reason together. The number of High School students proceeding to the University is only two or three per cent. of the total. The problem of the exceptional student as stated by Principal W. L. Grant in a recent number of the *QUARTERLY* should not be beyond solution. At present, many find their way through the matriculation examination into the universities who have no real desire for education and no power of acquiring it. All have to receive a rudimentary education. Some will claim of intellectual right an upper school training. But the number of those who are really fitted to receive what the university is prepared to give will always remain small. Education is an

aristocratic business, and no theories of democracy will alter that wholesome if unpalatable fact.

The Arts Course in the University must, therefore, be severe enough to test the best faculties of the good student. As things are, however, many enter who do not have it in them to become good students, and, having entered, they do not know what to do with themselves. A course may be chosen in the most haphazard way, perhaps because some friend who does know his own mind is undertaking certain studies. But one course may be preferred to another on so irrelevant a ground as that the books required for it are relatively inexpensive or that it makes a more compact time-table. The only way in which the University can guard itself against this kind of student is by seeing to it that a certain severity in courses and in standards is maintained, and by insisting from the beginning of the student's life that there shall be a differentiation in classroom work between Pass and Honours men. Subjects such as Mathematics and Physics allow of no woolly thinking. A process leads to a conclusion that is right or wrong; and for training in exactitude, if for no other reason, these subjects should have their due place in any Arts Course.

Then, apart altogether from the question of mental discipline, there are other subjects which should form part of the course of study for anyone who seeks to hold a degree in the "Humane Arts." It is strange to recall how seriously English literature has had to struggle for a place in a university curriculum. In the old strictly classical education there was ground for the view that the severe study of another language gave exactitude in the use of one's own. A certain ease in handling the English language is characteristic of men trained in the classic tradition. But in a newer land the discipline in English must come more directly; nor can it be taken for granted, as in an older civilization, that the student

comes from an atmosphere of books and from a home where an interest in public life is hereditary. The whole splendid field of English letters apart from special books studied in school is still untrodden by many a freshman. To introduce him to the great heritage of English letters, to awaken his curiosity, to send him rambling among the library shelves is indeed a missionary work. I can remember as though it were yesterday a summer Sunday in the library at Sherborne when I discovered Shelley's "Queen Mab". I returned there last year to the corner of the same window-seat, with the same sun and the same delicious fusty smell of old timber and of old books, to discover that "forty years on" the thrill had not abated. And it was in the same beautiful old library that I ferretted out Bunyan's "Grace Abounding" to see for myself whether Bunyan really was the gortisque fanatic and fool that he was represented as being by a Sixth Form master. And I discovered there this sentence that still holds its music: "But upon a day the good providence of God called me to Bedford to work at my calling; and in one of the streets of that town I came where there were three or four poor women sitting at a door, in the sun, talking about the things of God . . . but they were far above my reach." Surely the candidate for an Arts degree ought to have interest in and knowledge of the splendours of his own literature. The zest of life does not endure forever. The days of pursuit pass and the days of reflection come, and the man who has singing through his memory what is noble and stirring, who can turn with joy and relief to those perpetual friends of his bookshelves, has laid up for himself true riches. John Morley's habit, extending into old age, of committing to memory each day some few fine lines; Mr. Baldwin, in spite of politics and depressed business, dwelling with the Greeks—these things have had much to do with the amenities and balance of British politics. A university man ought to have the power of self criticism. He should

be able to write his own language with simplicity. He should have learned, as the black and white artist, the power of the simple line. But that kind of artistry or appreciation does not come of itself. It is the fruit of good teaching, the following of good models.

Further, the holder of an Arts degree should have some knowledge of the history of thought and of the efforts that have been made to deal with the problems of human destiny. "Philosophy gets nowhere" is the common jibe of the unwitting who consider thinkers to be merely people of pugnacity, who argue for argument's sake on subjects futile and vexatious. Many a student, having "taken" Philosophy and gained a bare pass mark on this subject, lets any further consideration of it go. The real question is whether Philosophy has "taken" him, whether for the rest of his days he will be a more humble man, realizing that in a world of scientific and material progress the old fundamental questions of God and destiny, of right and duty, of pleasure and pain remain exactly where they were, not to be solved by any, least of all by the flippant or by the idle, and though insoluble, to be grappled with by all able minds.

But, if the history of thought is important, equally so is the history of things as they have come to be. We have all of us dealt with dates and outlines and lists, and we may as the result have some conception of history as stratification, one living layer on a number of dead ones. And, if we have had occasion to study the Cambridge Modern History, we have noticed that anything that sets out to be the reporter of the mere fact can be amazingly dull in the telling of a great story. The study of history is more than the acquisition of facts. There must come out of it some sense of the continuity of things and of ideas as giving life to the facts. The sequence of events becomes history only when it passes from narrative into interpretation. The interpretation may be wrong, but it

serves the purpose if it gives the student a thread on which isolated facts may be strung, or a distrust that, challenging the interpretation, induces him to make a stronger theory for himself. James Bryce lived a long and honourable life, but the greatest thing he did was his earliest literary effort. For most students the Middle Ages were dark indeed but Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire" was a revelation and a clue. It is a curiously limited mind which says that history is bunk. At all events it is the record of the way in which our liberties have been won and the university graduate should have some sense of what he owes to the yesterdays.

Literature, Philosophy, History, the edges of all overlap, but one other broad subject tends to bind them together. The student of the humane arts should know something of the way in which the varying ideals of beauty have found utterance. The man who knows nothing of the history of architecture has his eyes closed to the way in which noble purposes have been framed in stone. The long sequence of the schools of painting has infinite interest. It is full of history and biography and religion and the struggle of flesh and spirit. These things, too, relate themselves to geographical discovery, to the gradual opening up of the world, to the building and navigation of ships, to the spirit that has carried them forth across the seas, to the influence of old on new. What an entrancing series of lectures might be made out of some such general lecture course! The critics might call it scrappy. Scrappy it would be, but that criticism might be aimed at much in college education. The course would, however, open eyes to the meaning of things. Looking back on Scottish university education one may say of it that it was far too much a thing of books. Men estimated achievement by their knowledge of the printed page and by that alone. I can think of a man who, to shut out the distractions of the sunset and city, closed his windows in the evening at six, pulled down the

blinds and lighted the gas. The very glory of the long twilight was an offence, so absorbed was he. His attitude was a symptom; the printed page held precedence over all other splendours.

Another conviction, arising out of one's own deficiencies, is that a man with an Arts degree should have some first hand acquaintance with at least one of the natural sciences, Botany, Zoology, Geology. How many people there are, not dunces, who move over the earth reading nothing of the book that is open at their feet, while those who have the knowledge of bird, or flower, or rock, have an interest that is awake always and at every turn in the road is working on fresh material.

The earth we walk on, the language we use, the citizenship in which we live, the problems that arise out of our own experience, the strivings after beauty, all these are surely rightful and necessary objects of a general culture. Nor will anyone dispute the necessity of having at command one or two modern languages so that the literatures and, if possible, the speech or other peoples may be accessible. But modern languages, however carefully they may be taught, can be fully acquired only in the countries where they are spoken, or in which their acquisition is not merely an item in education but a sheer necessity. Every pupil in a Dutch High School learns three modern languages besides his own, English, French and German. There is a necessity for that in the geographical position of Holland and in its relationship to the business life of the larger countries surrounding it. On this northern continent, however, apart from French, there is little possibility of becoming masters of any other modern language, and the vast distances that separate Canada from the old world make the likelihood of foreign residence for most people remote. It is not to be expected that modern languages will be a strong point in the Arts Course of any Canadian University.

The real matter of debate is the dead languages. Here we have to deal with a tradition. In the Middle Ages Latin was the "lingua franca" of intercourse. Thinkers wrote it because only thus could their work be intelligible to the learned of other lands. Erasmus, Calvin, Spinoza, they and all their peers wrote Latin. Milton used the language. The famous Hebrew Lexicon of Gesenius belonging to the early years of the nineteenth century is in Latin. The humane arts were indeed identified with the Latin language. Greek, after the new birth of the study in the fifteenth century, came to have a position as a means of culture almost as important as Latin. But Greek was never used in Western civilization as a common means of communication between different races.

The present generation has seen the whole question of the maintenance of Latin and Greek in the universities brought to the front. Their position in England half a century ago seemed unassailable. The Public Schools taught these languages well even if they taught little else. Boys going to a Public School were trained in Latin and Greek grammar from their early childhood. The Public School Latin Primer was itself written in Latin, and its paragraphs had to be learned by heart. The result was a degree of adroitness, if not of skill, in turning out hexameters, pentameters and iambs, baffling to those who were not in the trick. This verse writing was indeed a trick, a memorizing of tags, but it implied a familiarity with a dead language, the result only of constant drill. This particular kind of education was the Public School tradition. Natural science did not count. The modern side was thought of as the refuge of the idle. Now, however, the whole scene has changed. Harrow insists on Greek only for its Foundation scholars. This most noble of studies is well-nigh extinct. Will Latin share the same fate?

In answering this question we have to remember the special conditions of Canada. There will always be those who

will wish to make Latin a main interest and provision must be made for such students. But the effort to make Latin practically compulsory in the Arts Course is failing for reasons beyond the control of the university. The arguments in favour of the maintenance of Latin are as valid as ever. It is one of the main sources of the language we speak and write, and the correct use of words depends upon a knowledge of the history of words. It is the open door to a great literature and to the understanding of a civilization which permeates our constitutional and legal life to-day. And yet it must be admitted that the same arguments are valid in the case of Greek, and Greek has vanished from its old strongholds almost without a struggle. Latin and Greek will be maintained in the universities of Canada and of other lands because true scholarship requires that instruction on these fundamental subjects of culture be available. But the insistence on the attainment of a certain limited proficiency in Latin for practically all Arts students will disappear. Certain schools in Canada on the English model will still send out boys who have begun the study of these languages at such an age that they may expect with diligence to get past the lions at the gate. Under the provincial system of education, however, Latin is begun at too late an age. The pupil, before he comes to the university, has no chance of gaining any sense of the literature apart from grammar. The composition on which he secures his matriculation may be an entirely mechanical thing, but, if a sufficient number of words be correct, a pass is recorded. The pupil then goes forward to the university where he finds himself confronted with an entirely different standard. Carrying, as he does, several other subjects, he discovers that he is wandering without a clue amid literary and grammatical puzzles, and Latin often becomes a complete stumbling block to one who is by no means stupid or idle. The question is whether it is good policy to allow such a state of

things to continue. Even though it may look like moving the foundations of an Arts training, it is likely that the compulsory Latin prescription will soon vanish from the Arts Course. Those who wish to study the classics will have every opportunity of doing so, and those who by training are not fitted to use such instruction will choose something else. Such a change would not be a letting down of barriers, but an acknowledgment that conditions in this land do not favour the laying of emphasis on the classical tradition. The practical disappearance of Greek in England has shown that a generation ago undue emphasis was laid on Greek as a part of a liberal education. The world of education is not falling in ruins since that change has come about. There are other subjects which will give a training as vigorous as Latin Grammar, subjects which a student can undertake without having, so to speak, his hands tied. There is all the difference in the world between the mental attitude induced by a barrier and an avenue.

The broad purpose of the Arts Course is not to teach this or that, but to let the student find himself. In a materialistic civilization so vague an aim will always present itself as a waste of time. If the purpose of life is to make money, the bright student in school would be well to enter a business career without attending the university. People do not see the need of finding themselves if they have no consciousness that they have need for losing themselves. Whole sections of a prosperous citizenship are so satisfied with things as they are that they regard the propounder of problems only as a nuisance, to be finished off by an epithet, heretic, grouch, bolshevist, dreamer. This present state of things they hold to be the best possible, normal and inevitable. They live in a world that is comfortably flat. Above everything they wish to be delivered from the necessity of analysis. That there can be an intellectual interest which has no possible kinship

with the making of wealth or even with the making of a living is to them inconceivable. Learning is not sought for its own sake but because it will enable a man to claim a more substantial living in certain directions. It is thought of not in relation to the temper and outlook of the individual but in its use as an instrument with which he may make a living. The danger in the Arts Course lies here. The university will not fail even if the preeminence of Latin be challenged. It will fail if into the study of abstruse and speculative subjects the "vocational" element intrudes. The danger is not unreal. There were days when a degree was a matter of no importance. A man attended the university because he wanted to learn, not because he wished to be decorated. Carlyle did not trouble to take a degree in Edinburgh University. Sir James Dewar was President of the Royal Institution—one of the successors of Faraday—and liquified air, oxygen and hydrogen, without a degree. But to-day a degree means money. It represents achievement. It is essential to the teacher who will raise himself to a position in a secondary school. And among university instructors it is easy to allow it to become a fetish. The idea that knowledge is worth having for its own sake tends to pass into the background. When the vocational conception attacks the Arts Course the student seeks not to learn all that he may of the few subjects in which he is truly interested, but to obtain a qualification which will help him on the ladder to success.

The thought that in this one Faculty of the University utilitarianism should have no place is too high for these present days, nor was it ever dominant. At no time is a man quite clear as to his motives. It is, however, a great thing for anyone that, before being plunged into the exacting work of his life, he should have had time in which to make himself familiar with some of the great things in his own history and literature, and with the actings of deep minds on problems where the search

is the reward. "Man's unhappiness comes from his greatness." It would be a sad thing if, when a student received his degree from his Alma Mater, he should feel that he went forth fully equipped. But it will be a great matter if he set foot upon his life's work more humble because of his contact with great ideas, and more ready, having understood the multitude of the thoughts of a man, to be tolerant and patient. When Asinius Pollio founded the first public library in Rome he placed it in the Temple of Liberty. That relationship between mind and character is worth remembering.

THE HIGHER CRITICISM IN CANADA

I. THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

BY DR. W. G. JORDAN

AT the close of thirty years service in Queen's University, as a teacher of the Hebrew language and literature, I have been asked to write a short survey of this subject from the standpoint of our own country. This is a difficult task and can at best be accomplished in a tentative and imperfect fashion. As of any great science, it may be said of Biblical study that it is not merely local in its extent and significance; though each country in which it has played a prominent part has its own history, it is by its very nature an international affair. It is clear then that we have to give a short sketch of the European and British background and ask when and how the Canadian Protestant churches came into touch with this great modern movement? The terms "Fundamentalism" and "Modernism," so popular just now, had better be avoided, as these labels, especially the latter, have such a bewildering variety of meanings and applications.

"Higher Criticism," in the strict sense, is not in its action limited to the Old Testament, but has gained publicity, if not popularity, in connection with discussions concerning the ancient Hebrew documents. I have been advised not to be too reserved in references to my own experience, which have been those of an expositor rather than a discoverer; the principles involved are more important than the incidents in any man's work, but the personal touch may at some points be allowable and useful.

So far as we know, a German scholar Eichhorn (1752-1827) was the first to apply this term "higher criticism" to the study of the Pentateuch, but he said that "it was unknown to

no humanist." This suggests that it had been already used by students of the classics to denote the method employed in considering the origin and significance of important documents. The term stands naturally as a contrast to "lower criticism" the aim of which is to fix, by comparison of manuscripts, the correct text. It refers to the method of discovering the date, structure and the teaching of a book by the use of linguistic and historical information gained from all available sources. Because, notwithstanding great diversity as to details, scholars in all civilized countries, by the use of this process, have come to similar conclusions on important questions, conclusions which differ widely from the old traditions, and so, in popular use, the phrase is often transferred from the *method* to the *results*. "Criticism" in this sense must be used by all who do not follow tradition in a slavish fashion. The new views are not ecclesiastical dogmas but must stand upon their own merits as the most reasonable solutions of the literary and historical problems. The cry that "the Bible is torn to pieces" and the charge of "rationalism" are now estimated at their real value by thoughtful people.

A few words only are necessary in relation to this charge. Take, as a simple illustration, the superscriptions to the Psalms: very few if any real students regard these as divinely inspired. How then did they come to be written and handed down in our Bible? Because Hebrew scholars, over two thousand years ago, were "critics" in this sense that, according to the knowledge of their day, they tried to discover the author and date of particular poems and connect them with some historical event. When scholars of to-day differ from them as to the date and authorship of Ps. 139, is that rationalism? Is it not fair to say that in both cases it is "rationalism", using that word without any sinister suggestion? In other words, it is the use of reasoning to solve a problem, which, if it can be solved at all, can only be solved by reasoning. It is clear then

that the rigid traditionalist often denounces the rationalism of to-day in order to defend the rationalism of a previous generation.

A number of objections to the whole movement were stated briefly by the late Dr. Cheyne.¹ "Criticism, it is said by some, is a recent invention; it is arrogant to pretend that it has reached any final or even approximate results. Criticism, say others, is of purely German origin; it is foolish to import what has no roots in our own mental history." To which he makes the apt reply that: "Sound Biblical criticism is neither German nor English, neither Lutheran nor Anglican nor Presbyterian, but international and interconfessional. It has a great history behind it, and a still greater may, let us hope, be before it." This is confirmed by the following facts: Hobbes (1588-1678), on account of his objection to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, whether influenced by Spinoza (1632-1677) or not, is ranked with the latter as one of the "pioneers of criticism." Richard Simon (1638-1712) has been called "the father of modern criticism." His book, *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, was suppressed by Bishop Bossuet and a blow struck at Biblical scholarship in the Roman Catholic Church. Astruc, the discoverer of "the clue" to the analysis of Genesis, was a French medical professor. In England in the eighteenth century the names of Bishops Warburton and Lowth and that of Dr. Alexander Geddes stand out clearly. The latter was a Scottish Roman Catholic who played an important part in the discussion of the Pentateuch question. In 1800 he published *Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures*, etc., and was, in consequence, suspended from his ecclesiastical functions. LeClerc, the French-Swiss scholar, outside the German circle, played a prominent part in the discussions of that time (1763). Dr. Cheyne states

¹*Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, 1893.

that an English scholar, Parrish (1739), anticipated, in a measure, DeWette's (1805) view of the relation of Deuteronomy to Josiah's Reform.

Still it is true that in Germany more patient, careful work, in this line, was done than elsewhere. J. Darmetester, French Orientalist of the Jewish race, after paying a tribute to Reuss of Strasburg², gives to German scholarship due credit while noting the defects of its qualities. "The purely German origin, Protestant and theological, has marked Biblical criticism with a triple stamp, and is perhaps one of the principal causes of its slow progress. It has generally lacked suppleness and proportion, it has wanted to know everything, explain everything and define everything. It claims to reach the primitive elements of compositions ten times modified of which we have only the residue, etc." "But, on the other hand, and in spite of or rather by reason of this slowness, the German scholars have carried into their task a patience, a scrupulosity, a religious reverence worthy of admiration. Not a word of The Book which has not been tried, and those who come after find the ground swept, the materials gathered, and the Biblical origins nearer a lasting solution than the problem of the Homeric poems." (*Les Prophets d'Israel*, 1895).

There is little space to devote to the general atmosphere. The influence of Lessing, Herder and Goethe on the literary side (1729-1832); the idea of development in the Hegelian and related philosophies; the breaking up of old chronologies by the new light from geological and archaeological discoveries; the proclamation of Darwin's form of "evolution" and the action of his great apologist T. H. Huxley (1825-1895) with his volumes on "Science and Hebrew Tradition", etc., and his scornful allusions to the "Helps" supplied by the Churches—all these events and influences tended in the same direction.

²After Prussia took Strasburg in 1871 this scholar made his fine French translation as a tribute to the land that he loved.

The publication of *Essays and Reviews* (1860),³ containing Bishop Temple's article on "The Education of the World," and Jowett's on "The Interpretations of Scripture," marks a stage in the growth of that "Liberalism" that Newman detested and denounced. He had left the Anglican communion fifteen years before this important volume appeared. F. W. Robertson, a prophetic spirit far ahead of his time, died in 1853. His great work was done by his sermons and lectures, published after his death; it is not possible to measure their influence among the men of my own generation.

The fierce controversy that was excited by Bishop Colenso's writings came about this time. He is said to have been roused from his "dogmatic slumbers" by a Zulu who was assisting him in the work of translation. In any case, it was by a close application to the text and comparison of its statements that he and others were led to face the difficulties. The negative character of his work naturally caused offence and it was not possible at that time to estimate the precise value of his contribution. The excommunication passed upon him by Bishop Gray of Cape Town was later declared to be null and void. But in the meantime he fought his battle with courage and without bitterness. Colenso began his critical work about 1860, twenty years before the Robertson Smith case. It may give an appearance of formality to be so insistent on dates, but it is absolutely necessary if we are to trace the course of this movement and realize its slow, steady progress. As to my own career, not being a methodical person, I find that, unless there is some striking synchronism, dates are elusive creatures.

We may now take two illustrations of important results of criticism that had been accepted by scholars, and that were soon to be introduced into the English-speaking collegiate world. The Book that bears the name of Isaiah contains sixty-

³It is interesting to note that the University Library's copy of this book is inscribed "presented by the late Principal Leitch."

six chapters which had come to be regarded as the work of one man. As the result of research extending over a long period, the book is now seen to be a compilation of prophetic literature.⁴ This means, in part, that the original discourses of Isaiah fall into a period about 740 to 700 B.C., while the splendid series of poems XL-LV, beginning, "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people," have to be related to the Exile two hundred years later. Surely it is clear that this makes a great difference to the understanding and exposition of the book. I attended lectures given in 1885 by Dr. W. G. Elmslie in which he balanced the arguments for and against the Isaianic authorship of these wonderful poems. Now even conservatives, who regard the applications of the same principles to the Pentateuch as revolutionary and "rationalistic," feel that they can with safety travel so far along the path of criticism.⁵ It was many years later before I was able to procure a copy of Gesenius' Commentary (1821) and learn that the problem had been solved at a much earlier date by German scholars.

When Dr. (now Sir) G. A. Smith first visited Canada it is said that some one asked him if he was the man who "sawed Isaiah asunder." I cannot vouch for the truth of the story but it illustrates the interest taken, at that time, in the question of "two Isaiahs." Even this joke (?) however had been anticipated by Gilfillian in his "Bards of the Bible" (1852), when he said, "tradition tells us that Isaiah was sawn asunder, tragic close to such noble minstrelsy, but, alas, the German critics have repeated the operation." When I lectured some ten years ago at Grove City, Pa., an American bishop said: "People used to be worried by the thought of two Isaiahs, but when you said that there might be two dozen writers involved they were not disturbed."

⁴Cheyne's Introduction to Isaiah, 1895, gives, up to that point, the main lines of this discussion.

⁵For a striking illustration see my "*History and Revelation*," p. 31.

One notes with thankfulness any signs of interest on such subjects outside the small academic circle. Once when I had given an exposition of the short poem, Isaiah II, 2-4, a gentleman said to me: "You do not appear to agree with Dr. G. A. Smith as to the date of that passage." My reply was that Dr. Smith had given a fine homiletic treatment of the chapter (Expositors Bible, 1889), but if one turned to a later study by the same writer on Micah IV, 1-4, where he has to deal with the same poem (1896), it would be seen that the earlier view had been given up. My own indebtedness on this point was mainly to B. Duhm's Commentary (1892). There is not space for an appreciation of the long and important life-work of Dr. A. B. Davidson (1831-1902). That may be found in the biography by J. Strahan (1917). In this connection I may say that from a careful examination of the small book that he finished just before he died (*Isaiah*, The Temple Bible, Dent, 1902), it was clear that he had accepted the modern analysis of Isaiah in its main lines. Here, as in other branches of the subject the movement has gone on not as an academic exercise merely, but as an effort to apply the varied messages of the book to our own life.⁶

The most important problem was the origin and structure of the first five books of the Bible. Research going on for more than two centuries led to results which are of great importance from the literary and historical point of view. The best way for the student to approach this subject is through the history of that complicated movement which led to the acceptance by students of what is called "the documentary theory of the Pentateuch." It was a long toilsome process in which scholars of different countries played their part. It proved that it was not possible to regard these five books as the work of one man or one generation of men. It discovered

⁶Dr. Workman's *Servant of Jehovah*, 1907, and my *Songs of Service and Sacrifice*, 1923.

in them a number of documents belonging to different periods and showed that this mass of varied literature from its earliest to its latest parts had to be spread over a space of five or six centuries.

Just before I had to face this problem, as a teacher, I was fortunate in finding a book written by "a brilliant young Frenchman," in which the story is told in a manner at once interesting and convincing; individual scholars play their part but the impression is that of a collective movement that with the inevitableness of a great drama moves slowly to its natural climax.⁷ This, in his own words, is the story that he has to tell. "How out of the bosom of tradition, to which the mass of the faithful were clinging, a doubt as to the authenticity of the Pentateuch could arise, how this doubt, timid and uncertain, found in the intellectual centres illumined by the Reformation the means of transforming itself into a scientific idea; how the discoveries of Astruc and the impulse of independent criticism made of this idea a burning question which during more than a century was the scorn of science and kindled the passions of thinking men; finally, how criticism, pacified, finished by establishing agreement among exegetes as to an idea of the Mosaic books far removed from the data supplied by tradition."

For a long time students had felt that these books were compilations but when the use of different names for God, Yahweh and Elohim, was accepted as "the clue" for their separation, the analytic process applied to Genesis moved right through the Old Testament. The Frenchman, Astruc, called attention to this clue (1753). Eichhorn, being a competent Hebrew scholar, was able to prove that the narratives when thus separated had their own vocabulary, style and theology. Ilgen, a German schoolmaster, discovered the fact that in

⁷Westphal, *Les Sources du Pentateuque*, Vol. I, Paris, 1888. *The History of Hexateuch Criticism*, QUEEN'S QUARTERLY, 1903, by W. G. J.

Genesis there are *two* documents that use the same name for God (Elohim), 1798. But this was neglected, at the time, and had to be re-discovered by Hupfeld fifty years later. When the same method was applied to the other four books, the results worked out by a long line of distinguished scholars were made available for students. This means, among other things, that the first chapter of our Bible instead of being the earliest belongs to a much later time than the simple stories in Genesis II, III; that Deuteronomy instead of arising at the beginning of Hebrew history has to be placed seven centuries later; that the Levitical legislation (in Leviticus and Numbers) had a long slow growth and was not complete until after the Babylonian exile (590 B.C.). These must not be regarded as isolated points; closer study revealed a long continuous life with varied incidents and great catastrophes but no absolute breaks.⁸ This meant a re-writing of textbooks; Smith's Bible Dictionary (1868) which I received as a prize in my youth, was a great book in its day and there were hints in it of something different to come. There is a story, that may or may not be true, that in the transition period a Bible Dictionary had to be revised. "Deluge" was then a difficult subject, in the meantime it can be postponed, "see Flood", and when we came to "Flood" we can gain a little more time by "see Noah"; however, Noah never got into that ark, a brand new ship had to be built. So we got Hastings' Bible Dictionary beginning 1898, and the Encyclopedia Biblica, 1899, the latter more radical at some points than the former. As to our subject the period is clearly revealed as "transitional", covering in the English-speaking world the second half of the nineteenth century.

Two men, S. R. Driver and T. K. Cheyne, both great

⁸Later, books were published showing these results to the larger public. Lenormont's *Beginnings of History*, N.Y., 1893; Bacon's *Genesis of Genesis*, 1892; *The Oxford Hexateuch*, 1899; McFadyen's *Messages, etc.*, 1901.

scholars but different in style and temperament, played a prominent part in England. Over a quarter of a century ago, when as one of Queen's delegates I attended the ninth jubilee of Glasgow University, I saw Dr. Driver at a distance receive an honorary degree. I met Dr. Cheyne for a few minutes about the same time at Oxford when he gave me his view of Robertson Nicoll's editorial exigencies. In some ways Cheyne was more subtle and stimulating than Driver, but the closing chapter of his critical career was painful to his admirers.⁹ Dr. Driver made up for what some would call his lack of brilliance by his great scholarship, his conservative temper and impartial judgment. The list of his works, linguistic, critical and exegetical, would fill pages. Another of the same admirable type was A. F. Kirkpatrick, now Dean of Ely. His early commentary on Samuel (Cambridge Bible) was non-critical, and he expressed to me a few years ago the difficulty of revising and recasting earlier work. One of the first books that I recommended to students was his *The Divine Library of the Old Testament* (1891). The date shows us when he "crossed the line." Those interested in what has been called the cruel dilemma "Christ or Criticism" will find it well treated there. We had the pleasure, at Queen's, of giving him an honorary degree, when he visited Canada in 1906. Driver's Introduction (1891) became the solid foundation on which the newer criticism in England rested and the number of books in the new line continued to come forth in a steady and increasing stream on both sides of the Atlantic.

⁹See Review of his last book on The Psalter by W. G. J., QUEEN'S QUARTERLY, 1905.

The second part of Dr. Jordan's article, dealing with the critical movement in Canada, will appear in the next number of QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

INSULIN: A CHAPTER IN THE ROMANCE OF MEDICINE

BY DR. ALBERT G. NICHOLLS

ONE of the most encouraging features of present-day life is the increasing interest manifested by the people at large in matters of health. If this interest is based on accurate information and sound reasoning it cannot but redound in the end to the advantage of all. Unfortunately, credulity and superstition, being apparently inherent in certain types of mind, are not dead yet, perhaps never will be, nor is the ability to weigh evidence accurately at all common. For this reason, scientific, and in particular medical, subjects, if they are to be brought to popular attention, ought to be presented in the form of demonstrated facts and the conclusions derived from these facts should be stated logically and clearly. It is not always possible to do this. Medicine entered on the phase of its development that was to transform it from an art into a science hardly more than seventy-five years ago. It would be unreasonable, therefore, to expect that all the facts are known and that finality has been reached in regard to the nature of diseases and their successful treatment. This is not to say, however, that much has not been accomplished. For example, tuberculosis and cancer, two affections that are much discussed now in the public press, are not fully understood, yet we are by no means helpless in handling them. There is, however, a group of diseases, due to disorder of what are known as the "Internal Secretions," in which extraordinary advances have been made. Here, it is safe to say, the basal facts have been established beyond question, and the inferences therefrom have been rightly drawn and confirmed by practical clinical experience. Indeed, the story of the internal

secretions reads like a romance; it records one of the triumphs of experimental medicine. One of the chapters deals with diabetes, its nature, and its treatment. To grasp our subject adequately, it is necessary to hark back in time to the beginnings of what has proved to be a remarkably fruitful era of research.

There are certain structures in the animal body, known as glands, which produce chemical and vital fluids—secretions—largely of the nature of ferments, that they discharge externally (in relation to their own substance) by means of tubes or ducts. There are certain others which also secrete, but, having no ducts, discharge their secretions directly into the blood. An example of the former is the parotid gland, connected with the production of saliva, which discharges into the mouth. The latter are commonly known as the “ductless glands,” and their secretions as “internal secretions.” Such are the thyroid gland, the adrenals, and the pituitary body. There is a third group, composed of glands that elaborate both an external and an internal secretion. Of these the only ones that concern us now are the pancreas and the liver. The pancreas is an elongated glandular organ situated behind the stomach which discharges its external secretion through a duct into the duodenum, the first part of the small intestine near the stomach. Its internal secretion is discharged into special small capillary vessels, thus reaching the general blood circulation. There are several forms of diabetes, but one of them is connected with disease of the pancreas, and is therefore termed “pancreatic diabetes.”

It was Claude Bernard, a distinguished French physiologist, who first demonstrated by his brilliant studies on the liver (1855-57) the existence and importance of the internal secretions, and, in fact, gave them their name. These substances are the products of the vital activity (metabolism) of the cells. From one point of view they may be regarded as

waste products, yet are essential to the proper functions of other organs and tissues, and, indeed, are of vital importance to the whole animal economy. They illustrate, further, most instructively, the mutual interdependence of the cells of the body.

Subsequently, certain other physiologists and clinicians, notably Schiff, Reverdin, Ord, Horsley, and Kocher, working with the thyroid gland, proved that this organ—a ductless gland, and, therefore, incapable of producing an external secretion—played a most important part in regard to the development, growth, and general well-being of the body. They proved the relationship of disorders of the thyroid to the diseases cretinism, myxoedema, and exophthalmic goitre. They showed in a complete and convincing manner that disease can be caused by deficiency of the specific internal secretion of a gland, by its excess, or by excess of particular constituents of the same; also that these disorders can be produced by extracts of the glands when in defect or excess. A somewhat analogous series of events has been worked out by other research workers in connection with the parathyroid glands, the adrenals, and the pituitary body. The whole story affords convincing proof of the value of the experimental method when combined with clinical observation. The same may be said in regard to the discovery of insulin, the internal secretion of the pancreas, and its relation to diabetes.

These researches on the internal secretions have been rendered still more remarkable by the discovery by Bayliss and Starling of what they called “hormones.” This term, derived from the Greek word “hormaein,” to excite or arouse, designates a substance which, derived from some particular tissue or organ, has the power to excite some distant organ to action. Such “hormones” may regulate development, growth, the production of fat, the elaboration and discharge of both internal and external secretions, and the

specific functions of some particular organ. They have been aptly termed "chemical messengers." The original observation of Bayliss and Starling was that an extract made from the mucosal cells of the duodenum (which they called "secretin") has the power of exciting the discharge of the external secretion of the pancreas through its duct, when injected into the blood. Internal secretions themselves may act as hormones. Since the publication of these fundamental observations many other hormones have been discovered, one of them being "insulin."

Diabetes is a rather common disease in which the striking features are the appearance of excessive amounts of glucose (grape-sugar) in the blood and urine; an abnormal appetite and thirst; a greatly increased elimination of urine; and, often, marked loss of weight. There are other features, but these are the most noteworthy. It has taken a generation to spell out the story in connection with this disease.

In 1889, von Mering and Minkowski showed that the complete removal of the pancreas in dogs invariably produced the features characteristic of diabetes. Not only does the blood come to contain an excess of sugar (hyperglycaemia) but the urine also (glycosuria), and both may contain an excess of the intermediate products of fat metabolism, in the form of acetone, diacetic acid, and beta-oxybutyric acid (so-called "ketone bodies"). The experiment is a fundamental one, for the removal of the pancreas, or the greater portion of it (seven-eighths), produces the same effects in all vertebrate animals. It is established that the external secretion of the pancreas has no part in this disorder of the sugar-regulating mechanism, because diabetes does not supervene when the external secretion of the organ is drained away through an artificial fistula or canal of discharge, and, furthermore, diabetes does not occur when the pancreas is transplanted to the abdominal wall. The conclusion is inevitable that the pancreas

forms an internal secretion that is indispensable for the proper handling of the sugar metabolism of the body.

This being the case, it became a matter of great interest to determine in what part of the body this internal secretion or hormone is elaborated. How this was accomplished and the application of the discovery to practical ends constitute one of the brilliant successes of experimental medicine.

There are certain accumulations of cells in the pancreas that are so different in character and arrangement from those constituting the main mass of the organ and known to produce the external secretion that they irresistibly suggest a special function. Discovered in 1869, they are called after their discoverer the "islets of Langerhans." It was found later, notably by Diamare and Laguesse, that these structures are very regularly to be found in the pancreas of all vertebrates. This, coupled with the observations of Ssobolew and Schultze (1900) that they do not undergo destruction when the main ducts of the pancreas are ligated, as the rest of the gland does, and that under these conditions diabetes does not occur, is strong evidence that the anti-diabetic hormone is derived from the islets. Considerations such as these led Sir E. Sharpey Schafer to suggest the name "insulin" for the specific secretion of the islets. The later discovery, by Diamare, that in certain of the bony fishes (teleostei) the islets are aggregated into special masses in the mesentery near the gall bladder, quite separated from the zymogenous tissue of the pancreas, is additional evidence in favour of the special importance of the islets.

Numerous attempts to isolate the internal secretion (insulin) from extracts of the pancreas were made by various research workers between the years 1908 and 1921. Deserving of special mention in this connection are the names of Zuelzer, Knowlton, Starling, Gley, Rennie and Fraser, Scott, Murlin and Kramer, Kleiner and Paulesco. Inconclusive as these re-

searches were, some of them at least were so nearly successful that it appeared to be only a matter of time when the hoped-for result would be attained. The difficulty, in the main, appeared to be that the extracts obtained contained a large amount of protein and irritating substances. When injected, fever frequently resulted, and the results were not constant. While in some instances the amount of sugar in the blood of the experimental animals was reduced, there were so many extraneous factors that appraisal of the results was difficult. The various observers failed to interpret their findings correctly, and failed to follow up their work. Clearly, a better method of isolation, resulting in a purer product, was in order. It was at this point that F. G. Banting, whose fame has become international in connection with this subject, took up the quest.

Starting from the observations of Ssobolew, Schultze, and E. L. Scott, Banting ligated the pancreatic duct in a dog, in order to produce wasting of the acinous portion, yet preserving the islets. After ten weeks he made an extract from the degenerated organ with ice-cold Ringer's solution. When injected into another dog that had been deprived of its pancreas this extract prevented the blood sugar from rising above 0.20 per cent until the next day, when it reached 0.3 per cent. The quantity of extract injected was then increased and the sugar fell to a point somewhat below 0.10. Subsequently, an extract prepared in the same way from the degenerated pancreas of another dog, when used in a single massive dose, reduced the blood sugar from 0.175 to nearly 0.09 per cent. During this period very little sugar was being excreted by the urine, but, as the effect of the last injection passed off, the blood sugar rose to 0.30 per cent. and the urine sugar reached sixteen grams. Later injections of an extract prepared with weak acid caused speedy reduction in the amount of the blood sugar and the urine sugar fell to about five grams.

The same results were also obtained from extracts of normal dog pancreas, and from one made from a pancreas whose acini (producing the *external* secretion) had been exhausted by continuous injections of secretin. When the test animal died nineteen days after depancreatization no trace of pancreatic tissue could be discovered. Control tests were then carried out, by injecting extracts made by similar methods from tissues other than pancreatic, when it was found that the blood sugar was unaffected. Therefore, it was concluded, insulin must be almost, if not quite, exclusively derived from the pancreas, in fact, from the islets of Langerhans. These experiments were repeated on other animals, sometimes with modifications, and the original observations were confirmed.

Attempts were now made to obtain insulin in larger quantities, and Banting and C. H. Best in collaboration used as a source of the extract the pancreas of fetal calves of less than four months' development, basing their hopes on the discovery of Ibrahim that at this time of life the acini are insufficiently developed to produce an active external secretion, while the islets are numerous and presumably capable of elaborating insulin. This particular extract produced the same results as before. Next, Banting and Best endeavoured to obtain a potent extract from the pancreas of adult cattle, using 95 per cent alcohol slightly acidulated with hydrochloric acid as an extractive. Again the same beneficial results followed its use in the experimental animal. This latest extract, somewhat purified, was now employed in the case of a boy suffering from diabetes (January 11th, 1922). The blood sugar was reduced by rather more than twenty-five per cent. Unfortunately, the injections occasionally caused the production of local sterile abscesses. Still, there could be no doubt that a great advance had been made.

The next step was to purify the extract, so that it would be unirritating to the tissues, and then to ascertain if it would

be capable of relieving the general symptoms of diabetes as well as reducing the amount of sugar in the blood and urine. Professor J. B. Collip undertook the first part of this problem and was able to produce an extract in which the undesirable substances were greatly reduced. Collip's original method has been modified in various ways by other bio-chemists, so that extracts of a considerable degree of purity have been obtained. Incidentally, it may be stated, that two of the other internal secretions have been obtained in crystalline form, which is usually regarded as an index of purity, namely: thyroxine, from the thyroid gland; and adrenine, from the adrenal body. These pure chemical substances have all the virtues of the original extracts. Comparatively recently (1926) Abel announced that he had succeeded in obtaining insulin in rhombohedric crystals. An analysis of insulin, made by du Vigneaud in the next year, gave it the empirical formula of $C_{90} H_{150} O_{34} N_{22} S_2$. So far as is known at present insulin appears to be built up completely, or almost completely, of amino-acid radicals and to possess the general properties of a proteose.

Glycogen is one of the intermediate products in the formation of sugar from starch, and when carbohydrates are ingested glycogen is deposited in the liver, to be utilized as occasion requires. This action is due to an enzyme or ferment, the action of which is reversible, so that in the liver sugar may be converted into glycogen, which is stored up, or glycogen into sugar, which then becomes available for nutrition. In the case of depancreatized dogs no glycogen, or only traces of it, can be found in the liver, as Minkowski and many others have shown. Even when glucose or sucrose are fed to such animals glycogen is not deposited. On the other hand, both in depancreatized dogs and in diabetic patients excessive amounts of glycogen are usually found in the heart muscle. When depancreatized dogs are fed cane sugar, and at the same

time are given insulin, glycogen becomes stored up in the liver in large amounts and, concomitantly, is reduced in the heart muscle. Thus, under insulin, the normal balance tends to be restored. Apparently, therefore, insulin acts as a hormone to the liver and muscles.

In diabetes, also, the percentage of fats rises both in the liver and in the blood. Furthermore, in cases where the fats are incompletely oxidized in the body, toxic intermediate products, such as acetone, aceto-acetic acid, beta-oxybutyric acid (the so-called ketone bodies) accumulate, and appear in the blood and urine. This has been compared to a smoky fire. The exhibition of insulin was found to reduce the amount of fat and promote its oxidation. Not only does insulin, in depancreatized experimental animals, reduce the amount of sugar in the blood and urine, but it also lessens the amount of ketone bodies excreted in the urine.

A good index of the degree of utilization of carbohydrates in the body is the "respiratory quotient," *i.e.*, the ratio between the volumes of CO_2 expired and O_2 absorbed. Normally, this quotient approaches unity in proportion as carbohydrates replace fat and proteins in the total metabolism. In the completely diabetic animal the quotient remains at the level of about 0.7, or below it. When a depancreatized animal is fed sugar the quotient may rise slightly, but when insulin is supplied as well the quotient rises considerably, often closely approximating the normal figure. In view of all this experimental evidence, it can be stated positively that insulin plays an essential role in the metabolism of carbohydrates and fats.

Some further observations, of much practical importance, relating to the action of insulin on normal animals, should now be mentioned. Insulin is capable of reducing the amount of free glucose in the tissues, with the result that sugar is removed from the blood. In the case of rabbits, striking

symptoms appear when the blood sugar is reduced to about 0.045 per cent. The animal usually becomes excited, developing convulsive seizures resembling those of acute asphyxia, then passes into coma and dies. These phenomena have been utilized for the standardization of various brews of insulin. The symptoms can be immediately removed by restoring the lost glucose to the blood. The important deduction is that too large a dose of insulin, even in a diabetic person, may be followed by alarming, even fatal, results.

The available evidence, then, derived from the study of its effects in experimental animals, is conclusive that insulin can prevent the appearance of diabetes in cases where the pancreas has been removed. It reproduces the action of the natural internal secretion of the pancreas; in fact, chemically and physiologically, it is that secretion. In other words, it can regulate the carbohydrate and fat metabolism of the body along normal lines. What, then, is its value when applied to the treatment of human cases?

This question was answered in the wards of the Toronto General Hospital, the Christie Street Military Hospital, and the Hospital for Sick Children, Toronto, through the masterly work of Banting, Best, Campbell, Collip, Fletcher, and Macleod. Suffice it to say that the hopes that were aroused by the results of animal experimentation were amply confirmed by clinical experience. As in the lower animals, so in human beings suffering from diabetes, the injection of insulin reduced the blood sugar to normal proportions; abolished glycosuria; caused the ketone bodies to disappear; and raised the respiratory quotient. Moreover, the patients themselves experienced anew the feeling of well-being; sometimes they were brought back even from a state of coma. Before long these conclusions were corroborated in their main features in many other countries.

Time enough has now elapsed to appraise results fairly

accurately. Dr. I. M. Rabinowitch, of the Department of Pathological Chemistry of McGill University, in a recent paper (Canadian Medical Association Journal, Dec., 1927), has analysed a large series of cases of diabetes coming to the Montreal General Hospital, which were scientifically treated, fully controlled and carefully followed up. He, also, has proved beyond question that insulin can lower the death rate from diabetes in man. The death rate is now in this hospital one-fifth of what it was in 1921, just before insulin came into clinical use. Moreover, surgeons have always dreaded operating on diabetic persons, as the mortality rate is higher under these circumstances. Rabinowitch found that in the same year the mortality here was 38.1 per cent; four years later it was reduced to 5.2 per cent. These figures show conclusively what can be done when insulin is used with a full knowledge of its powers in cases that can be fully controlled. Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, the mortality rate from diabetes has risen generally since the use of insulin has become wide-spread, at least in Great Britain, Canada, and the United States. How can this curious and unexpected fact be explained? The unwary and those unaccustomed to sift scientific evidence and statistics are likely to jump to the conclusion that insulin is not what it was thought to be, or, worse still, that insulin itself is the cause of the increased mortality. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Insulin has not failed us. It is still the most potent remedy in diabetes. But, to obtain the desired benefit, it must be employed with knowledge and discretion, and with a full appreciation of its limitations and potential dangers. After considering all the possible factors at work, it seems most probable, Rabinowitch concludes, that the fault lies either in the fact that insulin is not used soon enough in some cases to produce the desired result, or, and this is more likely, that insulin is not used properly. Sometimes the fault lies with the physician; more often, with the

patient. It should be more generally recognized that insulin is not a specific. It does not cure diabetes; it merely replaces the internal secretion that a seriously damaged organ, the pancreas, cannot provide. It steps into the breach functionally, so to speak, but cannot restore damaged tissue. It is, therefore, merely a crutch to a lame man. Consequently, insulin is an adjunct, and only an adjunct, to the other well-established forms of treatment. Carefully adjusted dieting is still as important as ever, and only when dieting alone is insufficient to make the patient sugar-free is insulin treatment indicated. It should also be pointed out that insulin while potent for good is also potent for evil. It is a two-edged sword. Even in skilled hands, swelling of the tissues and transient paralyses due to insulin have occurred, results that are somewhat difficult to explain. Furthermore, the dosage is of the utmost importance. An overdose may reduce the blood sugar unduly, and to the danger point.

In the case of a disease like diabetes, which may last for years, the conduct of his case must largely and perforce be left in the hands of the patient himself. He must live up to the specifications laid down in regard to diet, general hygienic measures, and, where insulin is required, in the matter of dosage. It is so easy for the careless to say "Oh, I can take some liberties to-day; I can always take an extra dose of insulin." So he indulges in a seven-course dinner with all the appurtenances, and pays the penalty. One danger of insulin is that it may breed too great confidence.

The conclusion of the whole matter is that the effective treatment of diabetes depends entirely on the close co-operation of physician and patient. To this end, the patient, after he has been placed upon the proper regimen for his case, should report to his doctor at specified times to be checked up. It may be found that he requires less insulin after a time, or

none at all; perhaps the dietary can be made more generous. Harm has been done by too rigid an adherence to a diet.

It is a common practice for patients to examine their own urine at intervals for sugar and on this basis to carry on their treatment. It should be emphasized most earnestly that this is a fallacious guide. The urine may be free from sugar and, yet, the blood may contain an excessive amount. So long as there is hyperglycaemia, there is diabetes. The patient cannot examine his own blood; he must consult his physician for the purpose. Again, as a result of even inadequate treatment, a patient may feel so much better that he neglects his prescribed treatment and fails to consult his doctor. His feelings are also a fallacious guide. Serious complications often go with diabetes, and a patient who feels very well may die suddenly from his disease. Only by constant vigilance and by systematic recourse to skilled advice is it possible to get satisfactory results in diabetes.

The greatest objection to the use of insulin therapeutically lies in the fact that it must be injected subcutaneously or intravenously, especially when it has to be employed for weeks or months. Consequently, a search is being made for some effective substitute that can be given by the mouth. Several observers have been able to recover substances that can lower the sugar content of the blood, (in some cases when taken by the mouth) from clams, yeast, onion tops, grass, the roots and leaves of beans, and blueberry leaves. None of these can, so far, be considered as satisfactory substitutes for insulin.

The story of insulin, as written by the Toronto group of investigators, under the co-ordinating genius of Professor J. J. R. Macleod, is a most creditable and inspiring piece of work, illustrating the great value of intelligently controlled animal experimentation together with efficient team-work.

JUDE THE OBSCURE—A STUDY

BY W. M. CONACHER

HARDY, like Shakespeare, has also his comedies, darker comedies, high tragedies, and tragedies of despair as one may call them. With both writers the change may be but the measure of a temperamental curve passing through the glory of youth to the disillusionment of maturity and the consciousness of a horizon which like that of a day of fog is gradually drawing in. Be that as it may, the final novels of Hardy are tragic enough in tone, and the last is so harrowing and pitiless that it leaves one for days with a bitter taste in the mouth. It is the note that is struck by Timon or Lear or Oedipus, but not by the Antigone, so that one is inclined to join with Hardy or Sophocles, as they wish us to do, in upbraiding the Deity, saying not "what a pity!" but "what a shame!" It may then be worth while by a fairly close analysis of *Jude the Obscure* to see if one can come to any conclusion about this so-called "pessimism" of Hardy.

Now it must be recognized that Hardy has in his composition a certain perversity, as I would call it, by which he makes lighter novels such as *A Pair of Blue Eyes* and *Two on a Tower* go unnecessarily awry, and I would suggest that an element of this same perversity is injected into *Jude the Obscure*, and echoing Father Time's complaint to Sue I would say he "didn't ought to have done it."

As he warns us in his preface, Hardy lets the story look after itself, the limits being simply the time it takes to cover adequately the brief biography of 'a lad of parts.' The cliché serves to remind one that others have experimented in that field. Even that hectic flower of the Kaleyard is of almost the same date as Jude, and within a decade Wells was writing

his drab *Love and Mr. Lewisham*. But in spite of Hardy's disclaimer as to style, there is a certain haphazardness about the stitching together of the chapters and episodes in *Jude* which give a suggestion that it is work done with a little weariness, because it is being done over again. This rather sets one speculating as to whether that part of the *A Poor Man and a Lady*¹ which was not used in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* reappears in *Jude*.

It is an old story in fact this *roman d'un jeune homme pauvre*, but Hardy dresses it up for his day, for his people. It is, it seems, the time of Jowett, for we have a rather sinister suggestion of that Oxford worthy. The author has to make the little Jude an orphan and in extreme poverty for him to be quite debarred access to the educational ladder. And what a picture it is with a suggestion of the hungry forties trailing about it, and child labour and half-timers at the night school. Dickens would have told it with all sorts of sentimental comment and expletive. Hardy gives the mere objective facts, but he enters into the mind of the child he has created and endows him with pity for birds, earthworms, and all humble and hunted things—a pity that he is never to experience himself. Jude the baker's boy becomes Jude the scholar and Jude the mason, then the Arabella motif is introduced. Jude falls because of his softness or his goodness, but after all should he have been so unarmed in the first approaches? Hardy is perhaps here a little too reticent in his preparation. It is after all the adolescent that is being described, but our information about Jude has presented him simply as the poor scholar, almost we would imagine a book-monk. In *Jean Christophe* the approaches to this phase in life are indicated in a series of impressions ranging from child-love to the grossest outburst of instinct, but Jude is, as it were, suddenly

¹His unpublished early novel.

trapped. But when we follow Arabella through the book with all her peasant ruse and cunning, and primitiveness and gross selfishness—selfishness of a petty and paltry kind, such as she exhibits when she leaves Jude on his deathbed to go and see the boat-race, one wonders whether there would not have been warnings which would have early set Jude on his guard. The dimples, the switch, the beer engine, the revival indulgence—should not Jude have been forewarned of this by his instincts? But as he has made his bed so he must lie in it and die in it. Sue forces this truth on to him, and Sue, it seems to me, sacrifices both herself and Jude.

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It is in *Idyll the Second* that she meets him. Jude, black-bearded and curly-haired²—we are not told somehow of the inevitable corduroys—has reached Oxford, the dream city, and spied it out as Joshua's spies did Jericho. He has heard of Sue beforehand from his old aunt, one of the few Wessex types in the book, with her homely philosophy, her comfortable ways, her loyalty to the family. Sue has already been mentioned as a warning, a siren not to be approached, as apt to be with Jude examples of the family failing in matrimony.

Sue somehow is before her time, for the time is mid-nineteenth century. She anticipates her sisters of the twentieth century, but as a pioneer she pays the penalty. She pays it because she cannot quite shake off her old self, her old inhibitions, and then perhaps, as a pioneer new-woman, she has new feelings. The old way for those of her mind was to become Bohemian. In France the whole thing is explained by the term *demi-monde*, which somehow seems to suggest that much as France is of the west it is also Mediterranean and pagan, with a touch of the oriental. But Sue is the antipodes of all that. Her feminism is that of the Princess

²I cannot get it out of my mind that he also had a large Adam's apple.

May without the last canto. She has all the grace and lithe-ness of a Burne Jones drawing and is equally unsatisfactory. And there is no gainsaying she plays the devil with Jude even more than with the unfortunate Philottson. Jude has his own share in the mischief-making when he arranges for Sue, in disgrace at the ecclesiastical warehouse, to become Philottson's assistant at Alfredston. And here one stops to wonder what grudge Hardy has against Wantage, for you will note that all this borderland of Wessex is viewed with the same suspicion that the Jew has of Philistia. I will admit that when you cross the line Oxford-Abingdon you are definitely out of the chalk-downs and in the Thames valley for better or for worse, but Wantage, at the foot of a giant down on whose crest Alfred overthrew the Danes and so finally preserved South-West England from the curse of being like Yorkshire in speech and manner—Wantage should be treated as one of the shrines of Wessex, a little outpost of great centres of Wessex civilization such as Winchester and Sarum. Instead of that Hardy links it with Philottson and Shaston and his and Sue's wretchedness. But before misery shuts down utterly let us take a glance at that fugitive happiness these two enjoyed between the showers, one may say, at Melchester, in that peaceful valley beneath the shadow of the solemn spire of Sarum where Kingsley said it would be hard for any one to do anything mean or base.³ The Avon runs through Sarum (or Melchester) and skirts the close before it passes under a bridge overlooking a quadrangle of almshouses well known to readers of *Barchester Towers*. The gardens of the ecclesiastical residences run back to the little stream. From this aspect Ruskin gives his famous portrait of the west front of Sarum. In these gardens Dean Boyle and Matthew Arnold took sweet converse together in the hour between Sunday lunch and evensong. If you drop down the hurrying waters

³And yet Dickens would have it that Pecksniff lived but a few miles away.

in a punt you may still see on a long lawn under trees be vies of cloistered maidens whose eyes, raised from their books, follow you till the stream has carried you past. These are the successors of Sue and of the maidens who put on a strike in defence of their absent comrade. For Jude and Sue had been out for a country ramble and had missed the train which should have been their chaperone. It is curious how perfunctory is the telling of that day. It is their first free day together, the burgeoning of feelings that should be of an aery felicity—freedom, the air of the downs and a new intimacy. Ah, if they had accepted the omen and wandered on together through this merry England, scholar-gypsy and scholar-mason (as they do afterwards when Jude is doing roving journeyman's jobs), how different their story might have been!

If Sue is one of Diana's maids, yet it must be said she has something about her that is *assez femme* (as Counsel Beaupère said of Joan of Arc). She has laid down that the relations she would have are platonic. When tardily enough Jude lets out the story of his marriage, Sue proceeds to fulfil her contract with Philottson, of which she had spoken lightly enough a few weeks before. Yet, when Sue hears that Jude has met Arabella again, some primitive instinct of capture seems to assert itself, accentuating her loathing for her married husband and landing her eventually in Jude's arms. Even then it is only the renewed proximity of Arabella which makes her acquiesce in becoming his mate. The perversities which bring them successively to church door and registry office, still however fruitlessly, can only be described as irritating. One could wish that in one of his sojourns in wayside inns Jude had fallen in with that Odysseus of love, Sergeant Troy, who in a benevolent and detached mood might have given him good advice on the matter. Philottson's friend from the mere point of view of a candid and sympathetic observer suggests the obvious way to meet such tantrums, but

Hardy has somehow managed to limn Philottson so that beforehand our sympathies are with Sue. Whether it is the sheer Dominie or whether it be his earache one cannot say. And then, too, Hardy has made us feel of Sue in spite of her perversity, how much "she was a creature of delight."

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In trying to understand the novel as a whole we have to take into account the religious motif which Hardy plays consistently, but on an ironic note. Even if we share Hardy's view that religion or at any rate the creeds are a delusion, still we must not lose sight of the fact that religion is apt to be among its votaries the source of the highest virtue and the profoundest consolation. One can imagine that Jude at a certain rebound might have shot off into an austere asceticism. One could see him even in the Salvation Army or in some earnest little evangelical group (is that why I insist on the Adam's apple?). It is true that the Church of England of the day had not much provision for energies of this kind. His career, however, as an intended "licentiate" is rudely broken and Jude hastened to *jeter son frac aux orties* when he realized Sue's new disposition. But shortly after Jude had blown cold in religion Sue begins to blow warm in that direction. Hardy does not describe this too convincingly. Presumably Sue becomes "high church", with which Hardy does not seem to have more than a nodding acquaintance. He refers to its famous centre at Oxford as "the ceremonial church." And yet Sue and Jude alike seem to conduct their religious life entirely as individuals. Where, for instance, is Sue's priest and shrine? Would the curate who suggested Jude's career as a minister have utterly lost sight of him? To do it justice such is not the way of the Church of England and after all you do not prepare for a licentiate like you prepare for the Civil Service!

There is one touch of emotionalism introduced in connexion with the musical composition, "The Foot of the Cross." Jude is at the stage where he feels himself torn between two contending forces. The flesh and the faith are tugging in different directions. At this time he is singing bass in a choir and (this may give to the profane a slight suggestion of caricature!) he has hired a harmonium on which he practises chanting. Then he comes across the composition in which it seems to him that a faith long sluggish or asleep is speaking with a new accent of sincerity and feeling. He seeks out the composer who at once begins to regret the money he ought to have but has not made out of his work, at the same time announcing his intention of going into the wine business. Evidently this artist is like the Rhetor, Ion in the Socratic dialogue; he is only the reed through which the wind blows, but not the afflatus or inspiration. There is a similar incident to this in *Jean Christophe*, when that young genius, weary of pretentious humbug, thinks he has found a master mind in a German musician, and pays a similar visit, only to find a disillusioned voluptuary. But Jean Christophe going away falls in with an old organist who knows him by reputation and passes with him a German 'night of music'. Jude never spoke with one kindred soul except Sue. Is that quite natural or fair? Is it fair for example to Oxford? When Sue eventually "jumps out of the window" and joins Jude there begins for them the life of hardship and petty persecution which finally breaks them. It is at this moment that Hardy chooses to introduce the gnome-like figure of "Father Time." Surely no child in fiction gives one the creeps like he does, and yet no conception I can recall is drawn with more realistic fidelity. From when we hear his heels stumping through the sleeping town on his first arrival right up to his tragic exit, "Done because we was too maney," nothing is amiss or untrue to type. When he speaks we hear his very accent. When he

cries it is heart-rending. He makes a trio with Jude and Sue and like a gnome or goblin he understands everything, not fully, it is true, but by his own childish interpretation. "O, mother, how could you be so wicked as to do it when we was too many already."

It is just when the luckless pair are bereaved of their children, when Jude has already been brought low by sickness that Sue experiences her last reactions. As Arabella says with ironic comment, 'she got religion like I did,' and her conscience takes her back to her husband. I leave it to Hardy's artistic conscience whether she ever should have done this, but I am quite certain it was unfair to Jude.¹ One can see that he must tread the whole path of misery for such is the intention of his artistic creator, with a secondary intention of flinging the fact in the face of the Almighty. But this pilgrimage is accomplished under the drabest possible circumstances under which it seems impossible to think that there is not some deterioration on the part of Jude, who sinks into sheer passivity. The end is told in a scene that reminds one of a picture by Hogarth, and in this Hogarthian vileness, drink, smoke, the smell of stale gas and the reek of liquor there sits Jude maudlin and half dead.

Even in the next and penultimate picture—when Arabella has wormed her way again to his hearth—Hardy must introduce this same note. They are passing through Christminster streets. It is again Hogarthian—the comic spirit which does not cause laughter but pain.

¹ Oh, Sue! Stay with me for humanity's sake! You know what a weak fellow I am. My two arch-enemies you know—my weakness for women and my impulse to strong liquor. Don't abandon me to them, Sue, to save your own soul only." Thus Jude puts the case himself.

Alongside this we may set another comment. Sue has gone back to Alfredston. It is the night before her re-marriage to Phillotson. Naturally she is in a "state."

"I'll tell 'ee what," says that plain dealer Mrs. Edlin, "you ought not to marry this man again. You are in love wi' t'other still!"

"They went along together, like any other fuddling couple, her arm still round his waist, and his, at last, round hers; though with no amatory intent but merely because he was weary, unstable and in need of support.

"This is th' Martyrs' burning place," he stammered, as they dragged across a broad street. "I remember—in old Fuller's *Holy State*, at the burning of Ridley, Dr. Smith preached from the text, "Tho' I give my body to be burned." Often think of it, as I pass here. Ridley was a—

"Exactly. Very thoughtful of you deary, tho' it hasn't much to do with our present business."

"Why, yes it has. I'm giving my body to be burned. But you don't understand—it wants Sue to understand. And she's gone—and I don't care about myself. She did it for conscience sake—Poor little Sue!"

"Hang her—I mean I think she was right, hiccoughed Arabella. I feel *I* belong to you in Heaven's eyes. (hic) It's never too late (hic) to mend."

At this stage Hardy almost abandons the method of the novel for the sheer symbolism we have in *The Dynasts*. Going back a little in the story we have Jude's return to Christminster, like a moth to a lamp, and his tirade in the street at "Remembrance day"—it is Jude in his street-preaching vein, apt to be followed by Jude "in his cups." This is the dismal comment Sue makes on it in the lodgings which are to witness their tragedy. "At some distance opposite, the outer walls of Sarcophagus College—silent, black, and windowless threw their four centuries of gloom, bigotry and decay into the little room she occupied, shutting out the moonlight by night and the sun by day. The outlines of Rubric College also were discernible beyond the other, and the tower of a third farther off still. She thought of the strange operation of a simple-minded man's ruling passion . . . even now

he did not distinctly hear the freezing negative that those scholared walls had echoed to his desire."

This magnetism that draws Jude to Christminster, so that he watches the procession of dons with some of the child's feeling for a circus, comes in again as an accompaniment to Jude's lonely death scene.

"The powerful notes of the music rolled forth and reached as far as to the room in which Jude lay. . . . Shouts and hurrahs came from down by the river.

"Ah, yes, the Remembrance games, Jude murmured. And I here, and Sue defiled."

The hurrahs were repeated, drowning the faint organ notes. Jude's face changed more: he whispered slowly:

"Let the day perish wherein I was born, and the night in which it was said a man child was conceived (*Hurrah!*) . . . Why died I not from the womb . . . for now should I have lain still and been quiet. I should have slept, then had I been at rest. (*Hurrah!*) There the prisoners rest together: they hear not the voice of the oppressor and the servant is free from his master . . . and life is given unto the bitter in soul."

* * * * *

One does not care to touch on the horrible scene in which the consummation of Sue's humiliation is hinted at. One would rather leave such realism to the Russians, and have English literature preserve its decency even at the price of some cant.

And what is one to say of this strangely moving book? There are many logical objections which may be made. How, for instance, if Sue had gone to a High Church priest who told her her marriage was *γάμος ἄγαμος*! And to what end does Hardy quote this passage of Job? Is he dwelling on the first or last verses? And how of the obliterating *riposte* of the Almighty in Job itself?

But in spite of any such objections we have here an artistic presentment of two souls who have come to the dead

end of things, who know it and each in his or her own words tells the other so. One cannot but admit that with ends such as that of Heine, Nietzsche, Synge, these things may be and are, to say nothing of the innumerable wrecks of half-fulfilled attainments, with which all occupations and callings are strewn.

No one could preach a sermon of comfort over Jude's coffin or do aught but cast in *munera pulveris*, with some relief that it was all over. As a tract, however, and it has some such purpose, the story is more open to question. Sue after all is rebelling against the curse laid on woman in Genesis. She desired and claimed to be first a nymph and then a nun. Although Hardy loads the dice against his creatures in every possible way the question is whether Sue should have done what she did, whether, by a law older even than Genesis, she could have forsaken him to whom she had borne children. She was a creature of phases. How do we know that this was her final phase? Some day she may take a carving knife to Phillotson.

And Jude. He aspired for knowledge and learning. Well, he got it. And is there anything which is more self-sufficing than his lore to a scholar or letters to a lover of books? Hardy somehow seems to take it for granted that material success and recognition are essential. Let us suppose for a moment Jude is a real character. Can he not write, and write again until he learns that craft too. "I shall be understood in forty years," said Stendhal, surely a stoical enough outlook for a writer. And should not Sue have been invaluable here? Then Jude is thinking of orders; but on what grounds? As a *pis aller*, one would say, a mixture of social, idealistic and remorseful feelings, by no means adequate for the part. A hundred others may enter the ministry of their church for no better cause and fill their Levite offices with some success, but Jude is a rarer soul, and here his artistic creator has for-

gotten himself and made his creature rather ordinary. There was a good story in the papers around 1916 of Canadian soldiers in English private hospitals making the acquaintance of the masterpieces of literature—Scott, Dickens, Thackeray—and rejecting them scornfully because “they were all about fellows who couldn’t hold their job.” This was really an acute criticism of romantic literature (it fits *Hernani* to a T), and *Jude* in reality comes under this classification. Well, Hardy means him to be such.

MONSEIGNEUR CAMILLE ROY

BY LORNE PIERCE

“Ce qu’ils honorent dans la France,—je parle des jeunes Français,—c’est sa mission civilisatrice et, pour elle, en elle, ils se dévouent à un idéal dont elle est l’image charmante et la bonne ouvrière. Ils sentent la continuité d’une destinée nationale qui résiste à toutes les forces de la décadence et demeure malgré tout, fidèle à une tradition qui n’est que la réalisation de son génie.”—*M. Gabriel Hanotaux.*

Much has been written regarding the fecundity and persistence of the French people. M. Lavissee was not the first to point out, and illustrate with copious examples from history, the vitality and resistance of his race. It withstands assimilation by others, but glories in the fact that nothing touched by the genius of the French spirit remains unchanged. “Rien ne lui échappe.” Whatever be the immortal elements of the French character, they are inseparable from the French tongue, and this they guard with jealous care. It is more than the vehicle of their ideas, more than an idiom, it is a miracle of charm, a spiritual influence, a bond of unity, an ark of the covenant. King Charles VII remarks to the Doge of Venice: “Le roi de France est le roi des rois, et nul ne peut rien sans lui.” If one were to exchange “tongue” for “king” it still makes good sense.

While love of the new, combined with practical good sense, distinguishes the literature of France, when one turns to the literature of the French Canadians it is a love of the old, far-off things, allied with the practical instinct, which impresses one. M. Paul Morin sings of the betrothal of

Les mots canadiens aux rythmes de la France
Et l’érable au laurier.

In truth, however, the literature of French Canada reveals that the words and cadences of France are the vehicles of ideas largely unfamiliar to modernist France. The poets, essayists and critics of France are well known in Quebec. The brightest minds of our sister province are frequently trained in the university of France; but the constant, insistent preoccupations of the French-Canadian man of letters are the pious associations of the altar, the felicities of the hearth, the social amenities of the parish, and the home-spun epics of the people—those quaint manners and traditions handed down from the days of the first fathers in the New World. It is true that they are proud of the ancient glories of France; but it is a somewhat new France to-day, and many of its theories and habits are suspect. True, there are French-Canadian writers who are modernists, who build fantastic and exotic edifices, who probe radical opinions, and exult in their feelings. But the greatest works of French-Canadian literature, those of Parent, Garneau, Crémazie, Fréchette, Gérin-Lajoie, De Gaspé, LeMay and their associates and successors, are rooted in and nurtured by the pious past. Here one may discover the most characteristic, most beautiful and most enduring examples of French-Canadian literature.

French-Canadian literature divides honours among its annalists, essayists and poets. Books of literary criticism are legion, and among them all there stands out the name of Camille Roy, *le grand Seigneur* of French-Canadian literature to-day.

Camille Roy was born on October 22, 1870, at Berthier, comté de Montmagny. He is the sixteenth of a family of twenty children. On both his maternal and paternal sides he is related to some of the most celebrated churchmen, statesmen and men of letters in Quebec. Like many another youth destined for great things he entered the ancient Séminaire de Québec from which he graduated into Laval University. From

1893 to 1898 M. Roy was Professor of Rhetoric in the Séminaire de Québec. In 1894 he was awarded the Doctorate in Philosophy by Laval, and received ordination as a priest of the Roman Catholic Church on May 19. Four years later Abbé Roy proceeded to l'Institut Catholique de Paris and the Sorbonne. In July, 1900, he received the diploma of Licencié ès Lettres from the Sorbonne. Returning to Quebec, Abbé Roy resumed his duties as Professor of Rhetoric at the Seminary, which he discharged until 1918. From 1896 to 1927 he also held the chair of French Literature in Laval University. When Abbé Roy resigned as Professor of Rhetoric in the Seminary he was made Director of Studies in the Seminary, which office he held for five years, 1918-1923. The following year he was elected Rector of Laval University, his tenure of office extending from 1924 to 1927. When Abbé Roy relinquished the Rectorship he became Professor of Canadian Literature.

Along with multiplying duties came many honours. In 1904 Abbé Roy was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. Three years later appeared his first volume of essays on Canadian literature, *Essais sur la littérature canadienne*, the premier work in a long list of critical volumes which were to establish his name as one of the makers of French-Canadian literature. The year 1902 is memorable for the founding of *La Société du parler français au Canada*, in which Abbé Roy took a leading part. He was President of the Society from 1906 to 1908. He continued to write voluminously for the *Bulletin* of the Society, leading the way in a rediscovery of the beauties of French language and literature, as well as laying firm foundations under the new literary movement in Quebec. *Le Canada Français*, a review published under the auspices of Laval University, was founded by Abbé Roy in 1918, and has maintained a high tradition.

One of the most remarkable tributes paid Abbé Roy was the honour of being chosen preacher of the Carême sermon in

Notre Dame Cathedral, Montreal, in 1915. It had been the custom to bring some distinguished pulpit orator from France for this occasion, but, owing to the fact that most of the French priests were enlisted in the armies of France, Abbé Roy was invited to give the address. *L'Événement* (Feb. 22, 1915) declared that Abbé Roy honoured the tradition of Rozier, Gaffre, Tellier, and others of his predecessors. They told how the Cathedral, established by the priests of Saint Sulpice, had called an Abbé from the University founded by the priests of the Order of Jesus, one "nourished in the classics and the Church Fathers," to fulfil an historic mission. "Il avait une éloquence élégante, onctueuse, persuasive, un style délicat, une doctrine assise sur la plus pure théologie, une âme de véritable prédicateur." So wrote Georges Pelletier (Paul Dulac) in *Le Devoir*. "Nous avons un maître de la chaire."

Abbé Roy was elected Rector of Laval in 1924, and in the same year was awarded the Prix David for his collection of critical papers *A L'Ombre des érables*. The next year he was made a Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur de France. The Académie Française, which had crown'd his books, bestowed upon him, in 1925, la Médaille d'Or de Langue française. The supreme distinction came in the same year, when the Pope elevated Abbé Camille Roy to the prelacy, with the title Prototaire Apostolique. The University of Toronto and Ottawa University conferred the degree of Doctor of Letters (*honoris causa*) upon Monseigneur Roy in 1927, and in 1928 he was elected President of the Royal Society of Canada, and promoted Officier de la Legion d'Honneur de France.

It is the essayist and literary critic with whom we are chiefly concerned here. M. Edouard Montpetit in his article on Mgr. Roy in *Le Propagateur* (1914) calls him "l'historien consciencieux de notre littérature et critique averté." Mgr. Roy, in the preface to *Essais sur la littérature canadienne* (1907), outlines his ideas of a critic; he is "un ministère de

justice," who serves the cause of letters by serving the cause of truth, that is, the eternal verities of the mind and heart. Mgr. Roy, as we shall see later, lays stress upon style, upon impeccable craftsmanship, upon elegance and taste, but he is equally, if not more concerned with ideas. Those ideas are the great landmarks mentioned at the beginning of this article, the high traditions of the altar, the home and the Gallic inheritance of his people. Since the foundation of the *Société du Parler français au Canada* there has been a definite conscientious effort in Quebec, methodical as it is sincere, to study French-Canadian literature as a part of the French tradition, and also as an independent expression of the soul of French Canada. French is a living language, and they are therefore proud of the neologisms as well as the archaisms which have ignorantly been called *patois*. They have knit more closely the study of their native letters to the traditions of France, while at the same time encouraging a vital expression of the soul of Quebec. Herein is the greatness, the beautiful individualism, of the literature of French Canada.

His equipment as a professor in Laval University, and his experience as an occasional contributor to the journals of Quebec, prepared Abbé Roy for his first ambitious publication, *L'Université Laval, et les fêtes du cinquantenaire* (1903). While he apologizes for the imperfections of a young author, and the lacunae necessary in a work by no means complete, it is nevertheless a most creditable undertaking. Throughout the book there is in evidence the pride of an alumnus in his Alma Mater and the reverence of the priest for the splendid traditions of the great seat of learning. There is also revealed the earnest and capable literary craftsman. He goes to the original sources, plunders the rich archives of the Seminary and University, and, by keeping his apparatus in the background, succeeds in producing an interesting, authoritative record of three centuries of progress.

In 1907 Mgr. Roy gathered together and re-edited several papers which had hitherto appeared in the *Bulletin de la société du parler français au Canada*, under the title *Essais sur la littérature canadienne*, and definitely launched his crusade on behalf of French-Canadian life and letters. The opening chapter, "Notre Critique Littéraire," reveals an intimate knowledge of his precursors in Quebec, just as his lectures before l'Institut canadien (1917-1918), *La critique littéraire au dix-neuvième siècle*, evidence appreciation of the critics of France. This introductory chapter sets forth what, in his opinion, is the criterion of good criticism. While not overlooking the function of the critic in pointing out to writers the points of weakness and strength in their style, it is even more important, he maintains, to demonstrate the truths which their works contain. The sources of an author's thought condition his talent. Style is the habitual manner of expression of an author's thoughts and emotions. How does the writer organize and dispose of his ideas? Is his work precise, simple, sincere, the luminous confession of an inspired personal experience, capable, to say the least, and bewitching at best? Are these ideas legitimate? Have the rich resources of the language been ordained to an adequate affirmation of the incontestible truths for which, as a people, they stand, or are they devoted to vanities and conceits divorced from the sublime preoccupations of those who have laid the foundations upon the twin stones of Church and race?

Aujourd'hui surtout que la critique s'applique particulièrement à expliquer les œuvres, à étudier les idées, à rechercher les influences qui enveloppent les esprits, qui les pénètrent et se prolongent dans leurs écrits, à dégager des textes les pensées et les doctrines qui y sont contenues, il est nécessaire de sortir des seules formules esthétiques et autoritaires où s'enfermait la critique classique; 'il faut, comme disait Bellanche, renoncer à

cette critique verbale qui n'entre point dans le fond des choses, qui s'attache surtout aux formes du style, à l'économie d'une composition, à l'observance de certaines règles, à la comparaison superstitieuse avec les modèles. (page 22-23).

Having laid down such a philosophy of criticism it is natural that he advocates the nationalization of French-Canadian letters. To the positive spiritual note of Ferdinand Brunetière is added the caution of Hector Fabre, namely, that a people must stand perpetually on guard against the disintegrating elements of radicalism, and the refinements of diletantism. This conservatism has been their strength. It was only after the British occupation that they found their voices. The political fortunes of the French in Canada, combined with the proverbial vitality and persistence of the race, their national pride, the protective moat formed by their language, the cohesiveness of the parish, and the pervading spirit of the church, these welded them together, and out of this has grown something inexpressibly strong and beautiful. Mgr. Roy is under no delusion; the contribution of his people will not come through vaporous assimilation, but by nourishing and cultivating their own soul in their own way.

Turning to *Essais sur la littérature canadienne* one meets the names of Abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain, Laure Conan, Ernest Gagnon, Pamphile LeMay, Alfred Garneau, and others. There are more distinguished writers, but these demonstrate the truth of Mgr. Roy's thesis. They show how, on the foundation of Parent, F. - X. Garneau, Crémazie and Fréchette, others, through history, romance, poetry, even through parish annals, genealogical records, the history of geographical names, oratory and journalism, sought to isolate and define the simple, lovable qualities of the faith, traditions and manners of the unspoiled French Canadian. "Et, il nous plaît de le penser, ce sera Québec qui aura le plus contribué à ce

retour vers les habitudes familières à notre esprit, et vers cet atticisme mesuré et discret dont est naturellement pénétrée l'âme canadienne." The last chapter, "Nationalisation de Notre Littérature," closes with these words of Charles ab der Halden: "Mais laisse les chiffons qui sortent de nos magasins de nouveautés, les oripeaux fripés dont nos marchandes à la toilette ne veulent plus, et va, Canadienne aux jolis yeux doux, va boire à la claire fontaine."

Adjutor Rivard reviewed the *Essais* in the September issue of the *Bulletin de la Société du parler français au Canada*. He opened his appreciation in these words: "L'apparition de ce livre devra faire date dans l'histoire de notre littérature . . . le premier livre de vraie critique littéraire, de critique éclairée, consciencieuse, sincère." Mgr. Roy, in the introduction to his *Essais*, stated that critics had existed long since, but that this existence had been "précaire, haletante et très variable." Adjutor Rivard's comment on that is this. "Mais la critique véritable, qui sait pénétrer une œuvre, la fouiller, la juger sûrement et féconder ses observations par des suggestions utiles et des considérations d'intérêt-général; la critique sincère à la fois et discrète, qui pour base à la science du vrai, le goût du beau, l'amour du bien, et pour motif le désir intime de la justice; cette critique, utile à tout littérateur, nécessaire aux littératures naissantes, ne pouvait guère jusqu'ici offrir pour témoignages, chez nous, que de récentes et louables efforts. M. Roy, le premier, publie un volume où se rencontrent, dans la mesure où il est nécessaire, les qualités sans lesquelles une œuvre de critique risque d'être plutôt nuisible."

Two years later (1909), Mgr. Roy again collected his papers which had appeared in the *Bulletin*, and published them under the title *Nos origines littéraires*. In this volume he sets out to give an ordered history of French-Canadian literature from the beginning, a work to be completed in succeeding

volumes. Since the publication of his first book of *Essais*, he had published a small brochure entitled *Tableau de l'histoire de la littérature canadienne française*. Anyone desiring to become familiar with the origins of French-Canadian literature must turn to *Nos origines littéraires*. He begins with a discussion of the reason for the tardy arrival of French-Canadian literature. Why was it that letters in Quebec, the avocation of writing as well as the press, appeared after 1760? It was partly due to the rigours of the climate and to the lack of a leisured class. Quebec society was cultured, but their teachers were from France, and the books they read were published in France. They looked to the Mother Country most naturally, but when the separation came they were in a sense shut off. There was the literature of their conquerors which they could not read, and later the literature of Republican France, with whose ideas they were not in sympathy. After the founding of *La Gazette de Québec* (1764), there followed a long line of journals, and reviews in which the literary tastes and political opinions of the French people became vocal. Mgr. Roy traces the history of this journalism from 1764 to 1800, and shows how it became the vehicle for essays, poetry, and parliamentary discourse. The major portion of the book is given over to a discussion of journalism in Quebec and Montreal, the founding of La Société littéraire de Quebec, the verses of Joseph Quesnel and Joseph Mermet, and Michel Bibaud, the first birth-right French-Canadian historian, poet and journalist. Mgr. Roy's fairness as a critic may be observed in the study of Bibaud, whose satirical treatment of his compatriots, in his frankly Anglophile *Histoire du Canada*, was the immediate cause of F.-X. Garneau's epoch-making *Histoire*.

Les Fêtes du troisième centenaire de Québec (1911), was prepared by Mgr. Roy for Le Comité de "Livre-Souvenir." It is a handsome small quarto volume of some 630 pages, re-

cordova day by day the pageantry, orations and important events associated with that notable celebration.

In 1914 Mgr. Roy resumed his course of papers on French Canadian literature, *Nouveaux essais sur la littérature canadienne*. Edmond Leo (Rev. Père Chaussegros), writing in *Le Devoir* (May 16, 1914), remarks truly that this volume reveals "sa marche digne et assurée." He also points out that the author, avoiding summary decapitation and satire, succeeds in rising above mere criticism, and analyses his characters with understanding appreciation. The following is equally true: "Ce livre est donc un livre solide. L'auteur ne s'arrête pas à la forme, il fait la critique des idées. C'est un critique catholique et un littérateur entendu en toutes les manifestations de l'art. Son style est grave comme il convient, sobre, bien français et distingué." Mgr. Roy's offering mingles old and new; De Gaspé, Fréchette, Viger and Gérin-Lajoie rub shoulders with Chapais, Rivard, Chartier and Morin. He admires *Les anciens Canadiens*, *Jean Rivard*, *Le Centurion* and other old classics, not only for their simple and sincere narratives, but also because in them he describes those ancient manners, old familiar traditions, loyalties and pieties so dear to his own heart. He does not claim perfection for any of them as craftsmen, but he does discover certain felicities of style, a growing sureness in technique, and above all the heroic voice and indomitable spirit of *la belle France*, the France of the seignories of old Quebec. In the light of this he turns to the newer voices. It is a far cry from *Le Paon d'Émail* to the patriotic rhymes of Jacques Viger. He is not deceived by the crude artistry of the one, or by the exotic sensuousness and neopaganism of the other. He only demands that it be sincere, honest work, the faithful expression of legitimate experience and feeling. M. L'abbé Emile Chartier (*Le Devoir*, February 20, 1915) points out the conscientious and discreet nature of Mgr. Roy's judgments, his luminous understanding, reverent

research, and the unmistakable assurance of assiduous contact with the masters.

Propos canadiens (1912) is a *pot pourri* both interesting and valuable, still further enhancing the author's reputation as essayist and annalist. Edmond Leo in *Le Devoir* (May 21, 1912) has the following to say regarding this work: "Nous comptons dans notre littérature canadienne de charmants causeurs . . . Avec moins de bonhomie sans doute, car nous nous éloignons de plus en plus de l'âge des épopées primitives—mais avec un art plus raffiné, M. l'abbé Roy nous décrit le vieux hangar, la vieille église de Saint-Vallier, les noces d'argent du curé de Saint-Denis, un noel rustique où l'auteur joua un rôle considerable."

The standards by which Mgr. Roy judges literature may be discovered in the first and last chapters of *Essais sur la littérature canadienne*, and in his later work, *La critique littéraire au dix-neuvième siècle* (1918). He is frankly out of sympathy with "les exagérations et les extravagances de l'école romantique," and seeks to discover those principles which have guided authors who have spoken for their age to succeeding ages. He is just as severe with those of an earlier age who, dumbly imitated the classics, and succeeded only in making their works pale copies of the originals, or to use Mme de Stael's phrase "Amarionnettes héroïques," as he is with modern authors who lack original experiences, exalted thought and reverence, and who parade an undisciplined and flashy art. While holding to Aristotle's standards of good taste, he is prepared to acknowledge the demand for independence. New ideas should discover fresh forms to contain them. At the same time it is not difficult to understand why he follows Chateaubriand rather than the glittering Mme de Stael, why he foregoes the cosmopolitanism of the priestess of "l'esprit européen," for the author who reinvested literature with the Christian ideal.

The elder group of "the Quebec School" in the sixties gave their allegiance to Hugo, Balzac, Flaubert, Lamartine, de Musset, Montalambert, de Vigny and Chateaubriand. Of these Mgr. Roy as a critic chose the last. The newer group in Montreal might have for their models Sand, Taine, Sainte-Beuve, or Leconte de Lisle, but Mgr. Roy followed Brunetière and Lemaître. That is not to say he failed to appreciate the historical method of Villemain, the suppleness, curiosity and penetration of Sainte-Beuve, or the solid scholarship of Taine. What he did not accept was the scepticism, flippancy and pessimism of much that passed for criticism. He quotes with approval these words of Saint-Marc Girardin: "J'ai aimé à montrer, autant que je l'ai pu, l'union qui existe entre le bon goût et la bonne morale." In other words, Mgr. Roy expects from the literary craftsman adequate standards of literary taste and skill in the use of his medium, but he also expects substance. Let the music and metaphor be perfect, let there be magic if possible, but the work to be truly memorable must reveal a reverent pursuit of truth, if possible, of the Christian verities.

An interesting side-light upon Mgr. Roy's standards of literary taste are revealed in this work, in connection with his casual comments upon rhetoric. Eloquence is the art of persuasion, as well as the demonstration of truth. Whether it be Balzac, Corneille, Molière or Bossuet, poet or prosateur, let him clothe his thoughts in noble periods, sumptuous if possible, but always noble, well-balanced, luminous with flashing figures, fashioned like a cathedral to bewitch the senses and conquer the judgment.

It is not to be inferred that Mgr. Roy is a rationalist in his insistence upon ideas. He pays tribute to Taine's three forces, "la race, du milieu et du moment," and explains how his compatriots through the spirit of their race, the practical aptitudes of their genius, the rigors as well as the amenities of

their physical, political and social climate, and the inheritance of *les anciens Canadiens* as well as that of the Mother Church, have been equipped with something as beautiful as it is intangible, something to inspire and shape all their thoughts, but something, too, defying barren logic. But there is something more that a social inheritance to account for great literary achievement, and that is the personal equation. That is why he follows Brunetière more than any other, because of his utter humanity and sweet reasonableness, his opposition to sceptical materialism, innocuous dilletantism and fantastic egoism, and his soul-forward affirmation of the preeminence of man himself. He followed him in his *Études critiques*, *Essais sur la littérature contemporaine*, and *Manuel de l'histoire de la littérature française*, but it was not merely *la méthode évolutioniste* which attracted him, or Brunetière's love of the classics. What Brunetière sought and loved in Bossuet, Mgr. Roy sought and loved in his master, "les pensées souveraines de la théologie et du mysticisme."

Mgr. Roy published in 1923 a brochure, *Mgr. De Laval*, composed of addresses given on the occasion of the tercentenary of the birth of the first Bishop of Quebec, and at other times. These orations are dignified, noble utterances, occasionally rising to heights of impassioned speech winged with the twin loves, patriotism and the traditions of the Church.

In *Érables en fleurs* (1923) Mgr. Roy returned to the project he outlined sixteen years before. During those years he had published four books on French-Canadian literature, besides his survey for *Canada and Its Provinces*, in English. *Érables en fleurs* contains appraisals of some twenty-six contemporary writers, Delahaye, the Tremblays, Demers, Beau-regard, Myrand, the Gagnons, Montpetit, and others. With unerring skill he points out their artistic compromises, and their emotional and intellectual inconsistencies. He also notes their solid achievements, always holding before them the ex-

ample of the masters. The age of Crémazie, Fréchette, LeMay, and Garneau is past; new forces are at work; the individualist, the epicure and the cosmopolitan are having their innings. Literature looks elsewhere for its inspiration. True, one finds here and there the old note, a wistful preoccupation with the symbols of worship and patriotism; but this is rare. The spirit of romanticism pervades Parnassus; Gautier and Leconte de Lisle still hold their spell. One imagines it is with relief that Mgr. Roy turns from these to Myrand's *Noels Anciens de la Nouvelle-France*, Morisset's *Ce qu'il a chanté*, and similar works. At the same time his eye is alert for new beauties, his ear attuned for fresh cadences, and his mind always sympathetic of the most recent ideas, providing art and reverence, beauty and truth, keep company.

The following year (1924) Mgr. Roy made another collection of critical essays *A l'ombre des érables*, a better book in several ways. His themes are such as to call out the splendid enthusiasm of his earlier publication. The chapter on Pamphile LeMay is a noble tribute to a simple, sincere and extraordinarily devout poet, the last of the grand tradition. Then there is his old professor of rhetoric, Mgr. Th.-E. Hamel, whom he succeeded. What tribute from a pupil to a master could surpass this in eloquent loving-kindness! Buried in this chapter there are to be found some of Mgr. Roy's finest estimates of the art of public speaking. Or, take the essay on Napoleon Legendre, who passed away in the room where the great Garneau died, and who combined many of the beauties of the old régime and the new; or Raphael Gervais, that ardent polemist who battled for the faith and the endangered traditions of his people; or Mgr. L. A. Paquet, master of pulpit and platform oratory. Then there is the shining spirit, Albert Lozeau, a Lycidas dead before his prime, whose songs of a solitary, but not unhappy or sceptical heart, draw from the author perhaps the finest tribute paid to the new generation.

Fragile as was his edifice, delicate as were his thoughts and emotions, the flame of his spirit was pure, noble and true, Less of an artist, Blanche Lamontagne elicits a friendly appraisal chiefly because she sings with considerable sweetness and entire sincerity the old themes and old loves. After all, Mgr. Roy is right; you may cut through the life of French Canada horizontally or perpendicularly, and always, everywhere, you will find the same heart beating, the pulse that warmed those of the nineteenth century vitalizes the writers of to-day.

In 1925 there appeared *Manuel de l'histoire de la littérature canadienne-française*, revised and corrected from the edition of 1918. In this small survey of 132 pages Mgr. Roy has condensed a great amount of material. It is an admirable guide for any one desiring to become acquainted with French-Canadian literature. The year following he contributed an article on French-Canadian literature to the Thirteenth Edition of *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, which dealt with the period from 1910 to 1926.

Mgr. Roy's latest book, *Études et croquis*, has just appeared. Such essays as "Les Jardins en Deuil," "Québec, un Soir," and "La Messe du troisième centenaire de Québec sur les Plaines d'Abraham," possess a dignified grace, occasional whimsicality and reverent sincerity. While they lack the inconsequence, the airy detachment and bewitchment of Montaigne, they do possess that robust beauty and wistfulness common to the essays of French Canada. Across the hallowed soil move the shadows of soaring spire and humble homestead, and over all brood the spirits of the adventurers, the jealous loves of the Church, and the courageous dreams of husbandmen three centuries old. The remainder of the book is devoted to studies of the language, literature, traditions and patriotic loyalties of Quebec. Mgr. Roy has included several addresses delivered on notable occasions; several of them, "La Défaite

Victorieuse de Québec," "Le Centenaire d'un Grand Idéal," "L'Education de la Race française en Amérique," and "Pro Domo," would grace any volume of Canadian eloquence. Mgr. Roy resorts to no tricks; he builds up his argument logically, and gracefully, without hurry and without indecision. He is always persuasive, occasionally impassioned. One has the feeling that the logic of his addresses has been warmed in the heart and aged in personal experience.

Omer Heroux, commenting on Mgr. Roy's approaching lecture, "Patriotisme littéraire en 1860," remarked that "le choix du sujet est caractéristique de l'homme, de sa tournure et de ses habitudes d'esprit." The lessons sought in Paris and Rome he cherished, in order that he might enrich and guide the life and literature of his native land. This he has done with such singleness of purpose, fine feeling and exalted thought, that his many books "constituent l'œuvre la plus complète encore qu'on ait consacrée aux écrivains de chez nous." (Omer Heroux). Not once, but many times, Mgr. Roy surveys the literature of his province as a whole, and summons it to preserve the great traditions which created it.

"Le vrai chemin de notre âme, c'est celui-là: le chemin des bonnes et saines traditions qu'ont suivies nos pères, et par où il faut souhaiter que passeront tous les fils." (*Érables en fleurs*, p. 24). The meaning and significance of this is illustrated in the following sympathetic yet salutary bit of advice to a young poet:

"Nous souhaitons vivement qu'il ne pousse pas plus loin sur la voie dionysiaque où il s'est d'abord engagé, et qu'il ne mêle plus ses chants à ceux des inutiles joueurs de flûtes d'Apollon. Les inspirations profondes de la conscience, les souvenirs qui enchantent la mémoire, les beautés de la terre canadienne, les actions merveilleuses de notre histoire lui dicteront un jour les vers qu'il saura nous donner. M—— a de trop délicates vertus littéraires pour que nous ne le pressions pas de consacrer à des

choses qu'il sait que nous aimons, et qu'il ne peut oublier, son œuvre d'artiste. Demain, sans doute, nous le verrons prendre vers un idéal plus élevé, vers les plus pures régions de la pensée, son hout vol, et nous l'entendrons marrier

Les mots canadiens aux rythmes de France
Et l'érable au laurier."

(*Nouveaux Essais*, p. 306-7).

Le style c'est l'homme. That is true of Mgr. Roy. He possesses a robust, dignified and noble presence. To strength he adds modesty, to character, charm, to dignity, grace, and to clear reasoning, reverence. He is a logician and not a metaphysician. He begins with certain definite premises which have been found to work through the centuries, the unalterable predilections of his Church and race. His whole life and literary output have been designed to buttress and beautify these axioms of the heart and head. Art is for life, and life for art's sake.

The banks of the lower St. Lawrence are not those of the Seine, or the island of Montreal identical with the Ile d'Orleans. The language spoken is basically the same, yet both are living and growing things, and they express different meanings. Traditions there are in common, yet other new traditions are being formed. But, at the same time, Mgr. Roy is right in holding aloft those ancient masters, because of the light they shed on the pathway of the young craftsmen about him. He is right in desiring that the language of his people should retain all the variety, precision and beauty of the old tradition, and thus become a chaste and perfect instrument for the expression of new world ideas. He is also right in creating an interest in those enthusiasms which have blossomed in the masterpieces of French-Canadian literature; they are beautiful realities, compelling loyalties, while about him he often beholds weak sentimentality, shoddy thinking, morbid self-analysis, and every degree of vulgarity and absurdity.

And so I salute *le grand seigneur* of French Canadian literature. I can see him in his study in the ancient seat of learning, walled in with books and mementoes of the heart. The window faces south, commanding a view of garden, terrace and river, and beyond, the shores of Lévis. Near at hand are the memorials of the old régime, and yonder are the spires vocal with bells, whose music is echoed by other chimes down the valleys of the Laurentians, calling to the faithful in manor, cottage, and counting-house. Mgr. Camille Roy would have the writers of his people shepherd all the beauties for which these things stand, and make them articulate in such a manner that the very words would gain eager immortality upon the lips of his countrymen. “Qu’il écrive, prêche ou dirige, il persuade et convainc, s’adresse tout ensemble à la tête et au cœur.” Mgr. Roy has been doing that for a quarter of a century, and his reward is in the literary annals of his people.

GERMAN BUNTING

A TOURIST LOOKS AT POLITICS

BY FELIX WALTER

THE political impressions that follow were stored up haphazard in the course of a carefree, follow-your-nose sort of trip through parts of northern and central Germany, devised and executed solely as a springtime escape from the winter's round of work. But when the writer reached his destination it was to find the *Reich* in the throes of a general election with civic passions at white heat and every stick and staff and mast in the land seemingly conscripted to bear its fullest weight of symbolic bunting. To anyone with even half a political eye the effect was that of a straw vote made visible, every shade of party cleavage clearly marked out by the flags that flapped and flaunted from every vantage point. Some lovers may wear their hearts upon their sleeves, but every German voter blazons forth his political faith from his house-top or his best front window in hard, bright colours. "Germany, May-June 1928" will always conjure up in the writer's mind a vision of a perfect sea of bunting, and written in it for all who ran to read—even for a vulgar tourist—the destiny of seventy million people for four years to come.

It is modestly claimed for these lines that they are at least as unreliable, as full of half-truths and as biased as any other travel impressions. Even the roughest survey of the German political situation is a difficult matter. The two main factors, party allegiance and provincial loyalty, so often run counter to one another, weaving themselves into an amazingly complicated criss-cross pattern, which the problem of the Occupation hardly tends to simplify. What is true of the capital of a

former Grand Duchy here is hopelessly false of a Free City fifty kilometers further on. It is for this reason that what ideas there are in this article have been classified geographically rather than in any other way. That *Deutscher Particularismus* against which the Iron Chancellor used to rail in vain is still a vital factor in the life of the country, perhaps even more so than it was before the war. As a constant warning to the reader that what follows is a purely subjective study, plentiful use has been made of that most irritating but frankest of all the parts of speech,—the personal pronoun, first, singular.

COLOGNE

British troops stood guard here less than two years ago. Who would think it now? As I came out from the *Hauptbahnhof* into the twilight of a May evening and my first German city I sensed that strange mixture of the mediaeval and the ultra-modern, so typical of a great part of Germany and as utterly different as anything could well be from Brussels and the little Flemish towns I had just left behind. On one hand was the Cathedral, looming up darkly to unseen heights, and on the other was spread a vista of new, bright-lit streets, swept and scoured to preternatural cleanliness and filled with a constant stream of traffic that must assuredly have been regulated by clock-work—or magic. And in these streets and above and across them were rows and festoons and serried ranks of flags. To be exact there were three flags only, each one appearing again and again from every possible coign of vantage. The first of these was the red and white of Cologne, sometimes with and sometimes without the Magi's three golden crowns of the old archiepiscopal prince-electors; the second was the black and white of Prussia—for the Prussian Rhineland; the third was a flag I had been waiting to see for some time,—the black, red and gold horizontally striped emblem of the new Republic.

I don't know whether other people are sensitive to such things, but I must confess that I experienced that pleasantly eerie feeling that one gets on coming in contact with the Utopian, when I first set eyes on the *Schwarzrotgold*. I have felt like that reading certain of the novels of Mr. Wells or looking at the uncannily modern and beautiful French furniture of the *Arts Décoratifs* style. Despite the fact that the official German flag was born politically as long ago as 1848, when it served as the symbol of the abortive liberal revolution, it seems startlingly modern, almost futuristic, and yet with that Teutonic blend of something from the Middle Ages. Perhaps it is only that the juxtaposition of black and red is so unfamiliar to eyes accustomed to the severer usages of English heraldry. Be this as it may, this very flag has at times assumed the proportions of a major political problem. I found few Germans indifferent on the question; all either adored or execrated the new colours. Adherents of the Monarchist and Conservative parties are constantly being hauled before the courts for flag outrages, while the Republican elements of the nation endeavour to counteract this attitude through the many-branched *Reichsbanner* league, the militia of the Social-Democrats, one of whose duties is to foster various forms of flag-worship akin to the half-childish, half-mystical cult which some Americans profess for their Stars and Stripes. The question may seem trivial, but men have been killed for sillier reasons.

I looked almost in vain for a flag of the old Empire. It was like scanning the lawn for a four-leafed clover. There was one, however, and it hung solemnly from the facade of Cologne's most expensive hotel, directly opposite the dark mass of the *Dom*. Poor thing, it must have been lonely with the *Reichsbanner* in such overwhelming profusion up and down every street. And polling-day only a little more than a week away. Could a political prophet draw any conclusions from

the unlit, silent, noncommittal Cathedral and the bright streets around it, eloquent with their Republican colours? Perhaps a political prophet could, but I have contented myself with the easier and safer task of reading the future, as it were, in retrospect. For ten days later,—and it was perhaps the most important single fact in connection with the German elections,—the voters of the industrial Rhine provinces for the first time in the history of German suffrage deserted the Catholic Central party and cast their ballots for the *Sozialdemokraten*, or Socialists. The vote of this one section of Germany destroyed the powerful mediating position that the Centrists had enjoyed for so long and threw the balance of the new Reichstag sharply to the Left.

No wonder there was so much black-red-gold in Cologne. I saw the same colours on house and factory as my train sped through a corner of the Ruhr. Under the folds of the *Reichsbanner* belching factory chimneys have replaced French bayonets.

The evacuated section of the *Rheingebiet* is Republican and for a reason.

HAMBURG

The good burgers of the Hansa towns, like many merchants the world over, do not like to be disturbed by theories or factions, and I think this pre-election war of the flags troubled them not a little. Fortunately for them they found a ready way out of the difficulty by flying their own traditional city colours. And so it was that in the streets of Hamburg, for instance, and all along the various branches of the Alster that beautify this queen of cities, I saw many three-towered argent castles on their field of gules and comparatively few of the conflicting emblems of Monarchist, Republican or Communist.

To take the measure of Hamburg politically I had to go outside to the suburbs. One institution in Germany which has

survived the War is the allotment garden. These little cultivated patches form a circlet of green about all the larger cities. And every lessee of a few square meters of good, black, municipal soil flies his flag. You see them waving proudly above the runner beans and the kohlrabi. Near the suburbs where the lesser bourgeoisie dwell there is a dense, exclusive mass of black-red-gold. Round about the factory districts cabbages grow beneath the crimson of the Third International. Here and there in either camp are many Hamburg flags with perhaps a stray emblem or so of the old, dead Germany. It is only a question of putting two and two together. It was easy to see that the banners of the Left outnumbered those of the Right in the proportion of about four to one, and so it turned out to be on the following Sunday when the Hamburgers went to the polls and elected a member of the *Volkspartei* (Stresemann's Conservative party), a *Demokrat*, four *Sozialdemokraten* and a brace of Communists.

As election day drew near walls were placarded with political posters. Accusing, futuristic fingers pointed at the good citizen and commanded him to vote "*Liste eins*" (*Sozialdemokrat*) or "*Liste zwei*" (*Deutschnational*) and so on up to list 34, which was the serial number of a very small party with a very long name. The well of political bitterness was almost overflowing by this time and even the house of my kind hosts was divided against itself, though in the most amicable fashion. Mother and daughter were *Volkspartei*, while master and maid were staunch for the *Demokraten*. On the fateful Sunday morning when I came in to my rolls and coffee all four had already returned from the solemn duty of nullifying one another's votes.

I think they found my interest in politics too keen to be healthy. Two days before I had been over eager to rush to the scene of action when Hittler's Racists (Fascists) murdered two Social-Democrats, who were sitting drinking in a

Barmbeck café. In the kindness of their hearts my hosts spirited me away from the city on election day and took me out to the Bismark estate at Friederichsruh. No possible danger there with the only signs of life a few dachshund puppies playing in a moss-grown courtyard and an occasional villager drinking his Sunday beer out under the trees or plodding to the polls to register his Nationalist vote. Barn walls were placarded with the favourite Nationalist poster, a brightly-hued picture of a German mother teaching her children to read the Bible of Luther, while underneath a phrase in Gothic characters called on the passer-by to preserve the German home.

Next day Hamburg was as cool again as the traditional cucumber. I went for a stroll along the harbour-front and met with a new flag. We Anglo-Saxons pretend to a monopoly of the spirit of compromise, but I doubt if we have ever achieved anything as subtle as the new banner of German commerce afloat. Sailors are wont to be traditionalists and the German merchant captains would not fly the flag of the Republic on their ships. So it was that an ingenious and paternal government was forced to invent a new one for their special use. Two modest oblongs of red and gold were set in the top left-hand corner of the black stripe of the old Imperial flag. And now when the palatial *Cap Arcona* of the *Hamburg Sud-Amerika* line ties up in the Elbe at the end of her trip from Buenos Ayres, any *Reichsbanner* enthusiast passing near the landing-bridges can—if he looks hard enough—quite plainly distinguish his beloved black, red and gold floating at her stern. But pass this good ship or any of her sisters on the high seas and unless you have powerful glasses you will see only what appears to be the flag of the former Empire.

I think it is possible to assert that there is a small but powerful nucleus of militarism at work among these ultra-conservative sea-faring men. Much advertised Skagerrak

banquets to celebrate the "victory" of Jutland were held in Hamburg when I was there. The papers seldom speak of the Army, but whenever the dockyards of Bremen or Stettin launch a new light cruiser there is much blaring of brass and a general atmosphere of *Deutschland über alles*. Enthusiasm for the German Navy coupled with a strong and insistent colonial propaganda is more noticeable in Hamburg than elsewhere, and it is natural enough.

BERLIN

After a Rhenish city and a great world port, what of the head and the heart of this baffling conglomerate called the *Reich*? I had heard so much of the evil ways of Prussianism in my youth that I was quite prepared to encounter an ogre or two on the platform of the *Anhalter Bahnhof*. Looking back on my stay in Berlin now, I very much doubt if the ex-Allied traveller has anything to fear there except stodgy cooking. And then there are so many Berlins. Which is the real one?

There is the famous *Unter den Linden* section, looking a little seedy and *passé* now. The great street that once led to an imperial palace now ends in a museum, so it no longer has any real *raison d'être*. Your typical, modern Berlin street is the *Kurfurstendamm*, which leads out westward full of hum and bustle to Charlottenburg. One can go still further to the princely villas of the *Grünewald*, and so on, skirting the *Wandsee* to Potsdam, where all good civil servants go when they retire. Plenty of black-red-white out there and devout-looking people laying wreaths on one or other of the many statues of Frederick the Great.

The *Kurfurstendamm* is all right. It has a watch-tower for traffic direction at one end of it, if I remember rightly, and this the Berliners seem very proud of; it is so "*aktuel*", so "*modern*", "*ganz wie New York*." But the real Berlin to me centres about the *Alexanderplatz* and a score of other working-

class districts. Hundreds of thousands of red flags flutter from these windows on great "days". The Berlin that really mattered seemed to me to be Communist.

It should be remembered, I think, that after all Marxism was made in Germany, and that its revised version, Leninism, is not nearly so exotic a doctrine to the Central European as it is to us. We are accustomed to see the German government blow now hot now cold to Soviet Russia, as the whims of western chancellories dictate. They seem to have little in common. But official Germany and the German proletariat are two distinct entities. The latter has pretty definitely cast in its lot with the new social economics, and if you wish to see Communism at work outside the U.S.S.R. you cannot do better than go to Berlin. There the party owns and operates two large and well-informed dailies, a weekly illustrated publication and a satirical journal of the *Simplicissimus* type. What are two of the best theatres in Berlin? Possibly the one directed by that stage genius Piscator in the *Nollendorferplatz* and the old *Lessing Theatre*. Who runs them? The Communists.

But the *Genossen* can do much more than that when they really try. In Berlin I was lucky enough to witness the annual mobilization of the *Rotfrontkämpfer* or Communist militia. The Sunday after the general elections, in which their gains were second only to those of the Social-Democrats, they came from all over Germany by special train and motor-lorry, wearing a serviceable sort of grey uniform but without arms. The Minister of the Interior forbade the whole thing at first, but yielded to pressure and cold feet at the last moment. Old von Hindenburg was sent out of town for a "visit" and the capital was given over to the invaders.

To the lay observer it was a perfect mobilization. I have seen the Communists play soldier before, when fifty thousand

of them suddenly appeared in the streets of Paris in 1924 to escort the body of Jaurès to the Pantheon. In Berlin there were two hundred thousand of them. Their converging march from the suburbs to the *Tiergarten* was synchronized to a nicety. There they listened to the orthodox oratory for the hour and a half that the *Shupos*, or special political police had allowed them, and then, red banners to the wind, with massed bands playing the *Internationale*, they left the square in front of the ex-Imperial palace for a route march through the principal streets of Berlin. I stood in front of the *Karl Liebknecht Haus*, named after one of the leaders of the 1918 Revolution, and watched their leaders take the salute from the windows. As each detachment came abreast of the building clenched fists swung up smartly in a line with the right shoulder, a curious, symbolic gesture of defiance and solidarity, at once offensive and defensive.

What impressed me most was the attitude of Berlin itself to the demonstration. Every second person in the crowd seemed to be wearing a red rosette or one of the bronze "sympathizer" badges that were sold in the streets. That is why I say that Communism is the thing that impressed me most in Berlin. Others may be struck by cosmopolitan Berlin, by the aforementioned bad cooking or by the huge army of street-walkers that throngs the *Frederichstrasse* from as early as nine in the morning. I can only give my own impressions.

DRESDEN

From Communist Berlin to "das rote Sachsen," as it is generally called in Germany, is only a step politically. Saxony is the only state in which the parties of the extreme Left can count on a substantial agrarian vote. It was the Saxon Communists mobilized in the nick of time, who were really responsible for the stifling of the Kapp Monarchist "*Putsch*" in 1920. Yet walking down the *Pragerstrasse* ten days after

the elections one would never guess the extreme political complexion of the former kingdom from the streets of its capital.

Dresden still has an atmosphere of young ladies' boarding-schools, and is very *gemütlich* and *comme il faut*. It was not considered quite the thing to discuss anything so vulgar as politics at the pension dining-table. Richard Strauss had just come from Vienna to conduct the *première* of his new opera, *Die Aegyptische Helena*, and tickets were selling at a hundred marks each. A new historical museum was to be opened that week in the wing of an ex-castle. The world-famous *Technische Hochschule* was celebrating its centenary by a torchlight procession. Such subjects of conversation were to be preferred to the bickering of party in the *Reich*.

For a little I thought my infallible bunting index had played me false, for there was only one flag to be seen anywhere and that one was the green and white of Saxony. I saw one or two *Reichsbanner* in Leipzig, but in and around Dresden none. Even the glossy white pleasure boats that ply on the Elbe, some of them going across the border to Teschen and Bodenbach in Bohemia, fly Saxon colours. There was nothing for it but to follow the flag, so down the river I went to Meissen, where the porcelain comes from, and up into the *Böhmische Schweiz* for a taste of Czecho-Slovakia. And each day I perceived more clearly that I was living among a people who were Saxons first and Germans only after that. Not that this provincialism implies even a shadow of disloyalty to the *Reich*; far from it. In fact the Saxon attitude reminded me forcibly of the French Canadians, of the Quebecers, who are not any the worse Canadians for being staunch provincial autonomists, and who also would be happier with a flag of their own.

Dresden showed me yet another phase of the new Germany by an incident connected with the *Zwinger*. The *Zwinger*, as Herr Baedeker will tell you, houses one of the

four or five great art collections of the world. In a special room on the second floor the Sistine Madonna hangs in a sort of ecclesiastical hush for tourists to come and gaze at it. But in the main courtyard of the *Zwinger* there is some sort of a state or municipal atelier for stone-cutting. It is there they make fingers for chipped Venuses or a new lyre for Apollo when his old one is worn out. The properly unionized, socialist or communist stone-masons were hard at work when I saw them. Sculpting Phygian caps or the crossed hammer and sickle, you say? Not a bit of it. They were busy on a rush order for new stone crowns to be used on some of the many well-preserved monuments to the deposed Royal House. Even in Red Saxony the German Revolution has apparently preferred to build and to preserve rather than to destroy.

WEIMAR

Homeward bound. Funds are low. Quick, a map, and a straight line to Paris with pencil and ruler for economy's sake. Is there any little town on this line where one may rest a day or so from the hard wooden benches of the *Bummelzug*,—for it must be fourth class now or nothing.

Weimar, Goethe's Weimar and Liszt's and Wieland's and Nietzsche's and the Weimar of Frau von Stein! The old picture-book city has not vanished and the bust of Shakespeare still stands beneath shady trees in the park that the author of *Faust* and his friend, the Grand Duke Karl August, laid out along the banks of the Ilm. There is another flag, though, red and white with the seven silver stars of the *Freistaat Thuringen*. It is the emblem of one of the new, post-revolutionary states that opposition within the *Reich* to the former Prussian hegemony has set up here and there in Germany. At the present moment the anti-Prussian forces are planning another creation of this sort to consist of the Hansa towns, the two Mecklenburgs with what is left of Schleswig-Holstein.

The plan seems excellent in theory, tending as it does to make the new Germany a federation of free and equal states to take the place of that feudal hotch-potch under the domination of the most aggressive of its kingdoms, which was the pre-War Germany.

Weimar, then, is the capital of this new Thuringian state, which is a compound of a half a dozen of the little forest Grand Duchies of Central Germany. It takes itself very seriously and there seem to be cabinet meetings nearly every day at which solemn memorials are drawn up admonishing the Federal authorities to do this, that and the other thing. In fact the *Freistaat Thuringen* gives Berlin more trouble even than Bavaria does.

The new flag flies everywhere, but the forest state is not as rich as it might be, and here as well as in some of the smaller towns like Erfurt and Gotha the flag-staffs have not been painted for ten years and more. If you look closely you can still see their green, black and gold stripes, the colours of the junior branches of the House of Saxony that held sway not so very long ago.

To the average German ear the name Weimar has a very special connotation. A new brass tablet on the municipal theatre informs the passer-by that in this building in August 1919 the elected representatives of the German people promulgated the new constitution. Almost every German has a pamphlet copy of it in his house and it is an interesting document, not as brilliant and showy a piece of statecraft as Latins would draw up on a like occasion, but cautious and, on the whole, astonishingly conservative for the government of a Republic founded on Revolution. It follows in some respects the broad lines laid down by Bismark, especially in the careful parsimony of the representation given to urban districts. (Hamburg with a population of close on two millions sends only eight deputies to the Reichstag.) The Weimar

constitution also provides for the eventual inclusion of foreign states, which may wish to form part and parcel of the Reich, a statesmanlike loophole for the *Anschluss* with Austria, which Germans of all parties seem now to regard as inevitable.

EISENACH

What are the flags of the Wartburg town? They are the pennons and bannerets of a hundred and more patterns, which the *Vandervogel* and the athletic clubs and the youths and maidens from the schools bear before them as they march singing through the fir-clad hills of Thuringia. As I lay awake in the *Hotel zur Phantasie*—delicious name—out in the *Mariental*, the sound of young voices singing those hymn-like yet lilting German marching-songs would come floating in through the windows until late at night, and looking out I would see the white caps of a group of *Primaner* from some distant part of the *Reich* bobbing through the trees.

In the summer young Germany rises up and walks, anywhere, everywhere. Trains and stations are crammed with *Vereine* and outing associations of every kind. All over the country the municipalities have built special cost-price shelters to house them on their peregrinations. In reality all Germany has become seriously infected by the virus of athleticism. The younger generation cares not a fig for the Dawes Plan or the war-guilt question, though 1929, the most critical of the Reparation years, is close at hand. They preferred to enthuse over the runners and jumpers and swimmers, whom they felt sure would win the Fatherland a place in the Olympic sun at Amsterdam, or to discuss every intricate detail of the flight of the *Bremen*. People found me a disappointing sort of Canadian because I had never been to Greenely Island.

It was in Eisenach that I had my first and only glimpse of the Army. Cologne is in the permanently demilitarized zone; the Free City of Hamburg has always preferred not to

have troops within her boundaries; and in Berlin I saw only two soldiers, the steel helmeted sentries, who stand guard before the official residence of the Marshall-President in the *Wilhelmstrasse*.

The troops I saw were walking and sightseeing like the school children,—like myself. They were “doing” the Wartburg at the moment. Somehow or other they fitted into the picture with St. Elizabeth of Hungary and Martin Luther and the other worthies of the castle. There was much bowing and scraping and saluting and clicking of spurred heels, and they looked very smart and healthy. But then all young Germans are so distressingly fit.

The Treaty of Versailles allows Germany a permanent force of one hundred thousand men, and with Teutonic thoroughness this relatively tiny federal army has been carefully picked and carefully trained. My French friends wring their hands at me and tell me that the Army and the athletic associations form a single system, that at a given moment Germany can put three quarters of a million men in the field by the simple expedient of using the trained soldiers as *cadres* and filling in the ranks with the sunburned young men who walk their thirty kilometers a day for sport's sake.

My French friends are probably right, but what is one to do about it?

DOWN THE RHINE AND UP THE MOSELLE

I have discussed the violation of Belgian neutrality or submarine warfare calmly and academically with intelligent Germans. These are merely interesting historical questions to them, to be viewed dispassionately like the events of the Franco-Prussian War or of Napoleon's German campaigns. The problem of the Allied Occupation cannot be so discussed. It is burning, actual, and of the present; a galling source of irritation to a proud and sensitive people, never out of German mind, never absent from the columns of the German press.

My pencilled line to Paris took me through this sore spot of Europe and gave me liberty to sojourn for a little under the Union Jack at Wiesbaden, under the Tricolor at Koblenz. I did not really enjoy it.

It is not generally known that as a result of a fairly recent Briand-Stresemann "conversation" orders were given to make the yoke of occupation lie as easily as possible. So I saw this section of the country in the rosiest light it could afford me, but it was not a pleasant experience. In the first place where were the singing *Vandervogel*, where were the tourists, where were the Germans themselves? In the huge, teeming station of Frankfort-am-Main I stepped for the first time into a practically empty train, bound for an invisible frontier a few kilometers west. Wiesbaden station was deserted. A British military policeman paced the platform in almost solitary state. The occupied Rhineland is a deserted country and has an air of eerie unreality about it. The inhabitants have sent appeal after appeal to their compatriots urging them to give them at least the comfort of their presence, but all in vain.

If one feels sorry for a subjected people cut off for reasons of pride from their kith and kin, the "invaders" themselves have their own claim to compassion. This does not apply so much to the Tommies who play their inevitable football cheerfully enough in the grounds of the former *Kaiserliche Kaserne* in Wiesbaden, though I think the owners of those Cockney voices would be happier with their London sweethearts on 'ampstead 'eath of a Saturday afternoon than lolling here on the summit of the Neroberg. But the French in Mainz and Trier and Koblenz . . .; poor, woebegone, homesick lads of nineteen and twenty, doing their *service militaire* in what seems to them a barbarous land, with pay so ridiculously small that they cannot even afford a glass of beer, but

must slouch about the cafés looking in from outside, and, with dirty, ill-fitting uniforms, uphold the "prestige" of France.

The old regime of friction is over, but there is still plenty of room for petty annoyances on both sides. In this connection I shall long remember a certain journey down the Rhine by river steamer. The boat was full of German school-teachers on their way home to Berlin from an Italian tour. All went well from Biebrich, where they embarked, until Bingen was reached. There at the landing-stage was a khaki-clad corporal's guard with the sun glinting on their fixed bayonets. It was the school-teachers' first experience of occupation and I saw them all take a quick breath and turn towards the opposite shore. But there was more to come. The Rhine is international water now and every ten or twenty minutes we passed a huge French river-freighter,—the *Strasbourggeoise* or the *Belle Alsacienne*—with a tricolor at her stern. The school-teachers were utterly miserable and drank too much Rhine wine, poor dears, so that they became sentimental and Teutonic and impossible. They insisted on chanting Heine's lyrics in chorus as they passed the *Lorelei*, and to my shame, I must confess, I prayed then for another sight of British bayonets. The cup of their tribulation was not yet full, however. We sighted the bridge of boats at Koblenz and over across from the city the historic heights of Ehrenbreitstein. There upon the battlements waved the largest French flag I have ever set eyes on. Later at sunset I watched the garrison haul this huge thing down, and it took four soldiers to do it.

Logically the French have every right to flaunt this monster flag in the face of all the Germans who sail the Rhine. But the appalling tactlessness of it! The British and the Belgians don't do that sort of thing. It is on a par with the use of Annamites and Senegalese and other yellow and black colonial oddments in the French Army of the Rhine; logically

unimpeachable, but hardly worth the bitter enmity of seventy millions that it has indubitably stirred up.

Formerly Germans were not allowed to fly their national colours in the occupied territory, but this prohibition has been rescinded. In evacuated Cologne they fly the *Reichsbanner*. What tale has the flag of these other Rhinelanders to tell? As a general rule they fly one flag and one flag only,—the black, white and red of the former Empire. The lesson seems clear enough.

* * * * *

My train sped on across Luxembourg, that Grand Duchy which formerly was a link in the chain of the Germanic *Zollverein*, is now detached therefrom, and, if I read the signs aright, likely soon to be annexed to Belgium. So to Longwy and the French frontier, fateful Sedan, Reims, the Marne and then the familiar rolling country of the Ile-de-France. I sat catechizing myself, sorting a host of impression and suggesting answers to the stock questions on German politics that people always ask one:

“Will the Kaiser get his throne back?”—“No.”

“Is the Republican spirit strong?”—“It is.”

“Will Germany ever ‘go red’?”—“Perhaps.”

“Will she ever become reconciled to her western frontiers?”—“In time.”

“To her eastern frontiers; the Polish Corridor, Dantzig, Silesia?”—“Never.”

And then I became conscious that a pair of beady black eyes were gazing with singular malevolence at a point immediately above my head. In front of me sat a middle-aged Frenchwoman dressed in black. I turned to see what she was looking at and my heart sank. On my portmanteau in the luggage-rack was a sticker with the words: “*Hotel Hohenzollern, Weimar.*” A Boche label and I, the owner of the bag, presumably a Boche!

The incident cut short my musing, for I realized that I had overlooked the most important impression of all. It is that the Germans do not know they were beaten, or, if they have ever known, they have forgotten it now, occupation of the Rhineland or no occupation. And here I was back in that unhappier part of Europe, among the gallant but vanquished victors.

SMITH OR HOOVER?

By TOM KING

SIR John Macdonald is credited with the epigram, "that nothing is more uncertain than a horse race, except an election." Like all epigrams, this is only a half truth. In many elections, in most of them, the final result is never seriously in doubt. Strong governments, apparently impregnable, have been unexpectedly turned out of power at a general election. In nearly every case, however, it will be found that many signs and portents had given warning of the coming disaster. Few voters are converted from one party to another during a political campaign. The final result is usually due to apathy among the voters on one side or an intense interest among the voters on the other side.

In nearly every presidential election in the United States the odds are in favor of the Republican party. That party has been victorious in thirteen of the last seventeen presidential elections. Only two Democrats, Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson, have occupied the presidential chair since March 4, 1861. The Republican candidate in 1920 had a popular plurality of seven million votes over his Democratic opponent. This lead was retained by the Republican candidate in 1924. However in 1924 only 48 per cent. of the electorate were sufficiently interested to go to the polls, and while Mr. Coolidge, the Republican candidate, had a plurality of seven million over Hon. John W. Davis, his Democratic opponent, he had a meager majority over all. Nearly five million votes were polled by the late Senator LaFollette, a third party candidate. Although Mr. Coolidge was triumphantly elected, only one-fourth of the people entitled to vote actually went to the polls and cast their ballots in his favor.

In the coming election a much heavier vote will be recorded. More popular interest has been aroused than in any election since the "free silver" election of 1896, when 93% of the electors went to the polls. The personality of the candidates and their views on public questions are engaging more attention than the platforms of the parties which they represent. Hon. Herbert Hoover, the candidate of the Republican party, has never been identified in the public mind with party politics. Eight years ago the Democrats were as likely to nominate him for President as the Republicans, and there would have been no impropriety at that time in his accepting either party's nomination. Indeed up to that time he had never voted at any Presidential or Congressional election. It is therefore entirely probable that many Democrats, dissatisfied this year for one reason or another with their own party and their own candidate, will vote for Mr. Hoover at the coming election. On the other hand, Governor Alfred E. Smith, the Democratic candidate, makes an appeal to a vast number of Republican voters, who are dissatisfied with the Republican party and distrustful of the Republican candidate. In his own state of New York Governor Smith has demonstrated over and over again his ability to enlist the support of voters who usually vote the Republican ticket. The so-called wet and dry issue cuts across both political parties. Upon that issue there will undoubtedly be Republicans voting for Smith and Democrats voting for Hoover.

The situation is further complicated by the peculiar method of election. The election is not by the people of the country at large but by the states. It is quite possible that the successful candidate may be in a minority so far as the popular vote is concerned. Some states are over-represented and others under-represented in the electoral college because their representation is based not upon the population they had according to the census of 1920, but upon the population they had

according to the census of 1910. Even apart from this the smaller states have a certain advantage. Nevada with only seventy thousand people has three electoral votes while the state of New York with ten million people has only forty-five votes.

I stress these considerations because, after all, the interest in any contest must largely hinge upon the uncertainty of the result. If Republican success this year were a foregone conclusion (as it was four years ago) little concern would be evinced in the perfunctory struggle which preceded the inevitable result. The personality of the candidates and political cross currents, that have little relation to the official programmes of the contending political parties, are not to be overlooked as factors in the coming election. But, after all, the contest is between the two great political parties, and to visualize the political struggle now going on in the United States, we must consider the two parties—their historical perspective, their avowed policies at the moment, and their outlook upon the problems, national and international, which confront the United States.

A political party is usually a slow growth. It represents the gradual coming together into one organization of many groups originally formed by reason of geographical, ethical, or occupational identity. The political party into which they finally unite has some broader appeal which enables it to find recruits in every section of the country. It advocates some underlying principle of political life upon which the members of these unrelated groups find a common interest. But the evolution is usually slow and the result lasting. A political party formed almost over night to meet some real or supposed emergency may grow with great rapidity and achieve ephemeral success, but it burns out quickly and its supporters soon return to their old-time affiliations. To this general rule the Republican party is an exception. Hastily formed from most

discordant elements, frankly sectional in its outlook, having no unifying programme except a determination to curb the arrogance of the Southern States and confine African slavery to the states where it had already become a fixed institution, the party was apparently destined to be merely a party of protest which would soon be absorbed into a political organization more truly national. Yet within six years the newly-formed Republican party found itself in complete control of all branches of the federal government and has retained that control almost without interruption for nearly seventy years. This in spite of the fact that it has virtually no existence in the Southern states and stands for economic policies always distasteful to the West. The South and West, with economic interests very similar, have been unable to coöperate in the field of political action. The South has been almost solidly Democratic, and the West has been on the whole Republican, not for economic reasons but because of issues growing out of the Civil War. This has enabled the Republican party to devote itself almost exclusively to upbuilding the mammoth industrial expansion and financial concentration which causes one-third of the population and probably two-thirds of the mobile wealth of the nation to be congested in a half dozen or more states, all of them situated north of the Potomac and Ohio rivers and east of the Mississippi. This astounding subjection of the agricultural to the manufacturing states has been due to a certain genius for government undoubtedly possessed by the Republican party. It is a many-sided organization in which anyone can say what he pleases so long as he votes right on election day.

The Democratic party fancies itself descended from Thomas Jefferson, but it was really moulded and fashioned by Andrew Jackson. Although strongest in the south, it has always had a respectable number of adherents in every state of the Union. While it has often radically departed from its

old-time slogan of "Free Trade, Hard Money and Personal Liberty", it has consistently struggled against the ever increasing concentration of wealth and the hectic stimulation of industrialism. It has stood not so much for the accumulation of national wealth as for the widespread diffusion of the nation's prosperity among all the states and among all the people. It writhed for years under the charge of disloyalty, an aftermath of the Civil War. It did not recover for years from its rash campaign for free silver under the leadership of Mr. Bryan. Its advocacy of a lower tariff has caused it to be feared by big business as unsafe. It has had about all the bad luck that could happen to any one political party in seventy years and it has displayed a genius for blundering on official occasions. It is in the north a minority party, especially among those in a position to mould the public opinion of the communities in which they live. The press of the country is predominantly Republican.

What keeps the Democratic party alive? What enables it under such strain and stress to retain adherents in every section of the country? What is the vital difference in the viewpoint of the Democratic party and its all-powerful opponent? To my mind it is the difference in their approach to the economic question. The United States to-day is rapidly becoming a plutocracy. Local self-government is disappearing; the individual citizen becomes every day of less consequence. The factorizing of the farm seems inevitable, and the deflation of farm values and farm population is a startling phenomenon. The Democratic party has protested, not always intelligently, but it has protested against the economic system that during the past forty years has wrought an astounding change in American civilization. For this reason it has inveighed against the Tariff Legislation of the Republican party. It has instinctively felt that all efforts to check the present economic trend would be futile unless the theory and practice of the

Protective Tariff System was brought under review and approached from the standpoint of public welfare. True, the issue is not always pressed by the party managers; there are undoubtedly high tariff Democrats and low tariff Republicans, but the one subject upon which the two parties have never agreed is the tariff. Free Silver, the League of Nations, and other issues have been vehemently presented at one time or another by the Democratic party only to be forgotten later, but a tariff plank is to be found in every Democratic platform which has been presented to the people since the Republican party came into existence. One would think that the South and West would combine on the tariff issue against the industrial East. The western farmers have more than once rebelled against the high duties imposed by the manufacturing East. That the West as a rule submits to the East and makes no alliance with the South is due to the bitterness and distrust which followed the Civil War, the reconstruction period, and the suppression of the Negro vote. Only four years ago the present Secretary of the Navy (then, as now, a member of President Coolidge's Cabinet) announced that the issues dividing the Republican and Democratic parties were mainly issues growing out of the Civil War. The western farmers favor a low tariff, but the Democratic party would be mad indeed to rely upon the western states for victory in the presidential campaign.

As a matter of fact the Democrats this year are carrying the war into Africa, and expect to win or lose on the eastern front. For the first time in nearly forty years they are seriously contesting and hope to carry great industrial states like New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Michigan and Illinois. They will more or less soft-pedal the tariff issue. Yet everyone knows that there will be a revision of the tariff in 1929 or in 1930 at latest. Every one knows that if the Republicans are in power the revision will

be upward and that if the Democrats are in power the revision will be downward. One needs only to examine the Underwood Tariff Act, passed in the Wilson Administration, and the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act, passed in the Harding Administration, to realize how differently the two parties approach the Tariff question. Some tariff schedules are complicated and difficult for a layman to interpret, but the specific duties found in the Agricultural Schedule are easy to understand. In 1920, for instance, the last year of Democratic rule, wheat and flour came into United States from Canada free of duty. To-day the tariff on wheat is forty-two and one-half cents per bushel, and on flour \$1.04 per one hundred pounds. In 1920 butter was subjected to a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ c. per pound; to-day the duty is 12c. per pound. In 1920 cattle were on the free list; to-day there is a duty of $1\frac{1}{2}$ c. per pound on cattle weighing less than 1050 pounds and a duty of 2c. per pound upon cattle weighing more than 1050 pounds. Rye and barley have been transferred from the free to the dutiable list, and the tariff on oats increased from 6c. to 15c. per bushel. The duty on hay was increased one hundred per cent. Milk and cream were transferred from the free to the dutiable list; a tax of 20c. per gallon is being levied on cream, and it is pretty well understood that this duty will be increased to thirty cents by presidential proclamation under the so-called flexible tariff clauses of the Fordney-McCumber Act.

Canadians may be interested in knowing how the relations of the United States with Canada and other nations may be affected by the result of the presidential election. Mr. Hoover, the Republican candidate, has already made it plain that he favors an increase in the already high tariff duties upon cattle and grain. So far as the American tariff causes irritation in Canada, it is safe to say that the irritation will continue should the Republicans be returned to power. On the other hand, Mr. Hoover personally favors the construction of the St. Lawrence

Deep Waterways. And upon that account, if no other, he will be anxious to maintain the most cordial relations with the Dominion. Governor Smith, the Democratic candidate, as a New York man, has a sentimental preference for the All-American Route. But he will be none the less anxious to be on the best possible terms with Canada. In neither political party is there any disposition to be unfriendly toward the British Empire. So far as Continental Europe goes, the United States will maintain its traditional policy of aloofness, no matter who is elected president. The League of Nations is no longer an issue in American politics. There is every reason to believe, however, that a Democratic Administration will be more successful in promoting better relations with the countries of Latin America. The Democratic party is less inclined than the Republican party to economic imperialism. Moreover, it must be admitted that the people of the United States take only a languid interest in foreign affairs.

The real issue in the coming campaign is one not presented by the party platform, i.e. the so-called wet and dry issue. It is upon this issue that the Democrats hope to carry the great industrial states which for years have been the impregnable strongholds of the Republican party. No one up to date has transferred his allegiance from one party to another because of its position on the tariff, farm relief, or foreign affairs, but men of prominence are daily passing from one party to the other upon the issue of prohibition. Except for this issue the Democrats would have no hope for success. It may in the end avail them nothing but it has introduced an element of uncertainty into the campaign without parallel since the "free silver campaign" of 1896.

This issue is presented by Governor Smith's proposal to substitute for bone-dry prohibition, the system of "government control" which prevails in many of the provinces of Canada. Had he the power to make the change if he were elected Presi-

dent, it is quite likely that he would be elected. Nearly all the great metropolitan dailies supporting Mr. Hoover commend the Smith proposal, but say that it is academic and presents no reason why any Republican should vote against Mr. Hoover because of his views on prohibition. The next Congress, even though it be Democratic, is unlikely to modify the Volstead Act, and neither the next Congress nor any other Congress can legalize the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquor. The Eighteenth Amendment ties the hands of Congress and of every state legislature until it is amended or repealed. To amend or repeal the Eighteenth Amendment would be a political impossibility. The Constitution can only be amended by a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Congress and by a clear majority of both houses in the legislatures of thirty-six states.

Undoubtedly there is dissatisfaction, at least in the eastern states, with the working out and net results of the Eighteenth Amendment. I have no doubt personally that a plebiscite in many states would show a popular preference for the Canadian system of government control. The reasons for this may appear to many insufficient; they are probably much the same reasons that carried weight from time to time with the people of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Quebec, and Ontario. But the stubborn fact remains that this change, however desirable, and even though desired by a majority of all the people in the United States, can never be made.

The eleven states composing the solid South, plus Kansas and Nebraska, could for all time prevent any modification of the Eighteenth Amendment. It is startling but nevertheless true that the thirteen states of Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Delaware, North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, New Mexico, Nevada, Colorado, Florida, Wyoming, and Arizona with an aggregate population of six million, could, by merely failing to act, prevent an amendment being made to

the Constitution which was earnestly desired by the 114 million people of the remaining thirty-five states of the Union.

In the end it may happen that by common consent the Eighteenth Amendment will be nullified in certain states where popular opinion is overwhelmingly opposed to its rigid enforcement. That happened with the Fifteenth Amendment which conferred the right of suffrage upon the emancipated slaves and their descendants. Everyone is aware that the Negro vote has been suppressed in many of the southern states for half a century but at the same time it would be a political impossibility to repeal or amend the Fifteenth Amendment.

I would be sorry to have anyone infer from the above that Governor Smith or the Democratic Party favors nullifying the prohibition amendment. As a matter of fact, the Democratic party is probably more dry than the Republican, because nowhere is prohibition so popular as in the southern states. Governor Smith has pledged himself to faithfully observe his oath as President and to enforce the Volstead Act to the best of his ability. To assume that this pledge is not made in good faith is gratuitous; to assume that it has a double meaning because the Governor belongs to some particular church, is unwarranted. It is true that the Roman Catholic Church has never dogmatized on the subject of prohibition, although prominent Roman Catholic ecclesiastics like the late Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul and the late Bishop Watterson of Columbus, Ohio, were militant leaders for years in the fight against the saloon and the liquor traffic. That church with millions of adherents in countries like France, Spain and Italy, where the moderate consumption of wine with meals is well nigh universal, has commended but has never commanded total abstinence. It has, moreover, insisted upon its right to use wine for sacramental purposes. This may or may not constitute a line of cleavage between the Roman Catholic Church and some of the Protestant churches, but there is certainly a

disposition on the part of the Republican party to weave together the prohibition and the religious issues.

There is a religious issue, quite apart from prohibition, and it would be childish to deny that Governor Smith's religious belief will have some influence upon the result of the election. Quite apart from the campaign being carried on by the Ku Klux Klan, we find the subject engaging the attention of the Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Virginia, a public-spirited and broad-minded conference. On August 16, 1928, Dr. Albert C. Dieffenbach, editor of the *Christian Register* of Boston (Unitarian), a highly respected religious weekly which has been in existence for a century, opened the discussion upon the disqualifying influence of Governor Smith's religion as a factor in the presidential contest. After an exchange of views which disclosed sharp differences of opinion, we read in a special dispatch to the *Washington Post* from Charlottesville, Va.:

"It is not any fear of the Roman Catholic Church—it is my love of liberty, and I warn you of the encroachment," Dr. Dieffenbach said in rising to his own defence. "It has been beaten in Mexico, in Italy, and in France," he said of the Catholic Church, "so why should we not be warned and avoid the strife."

Expressing personal admiration for Governor Smith and reasserting the "guarantee that every man may worship God according to the dictates of his conscience," Dr. Dieffenbach emphasized the belief that "religion is already a factor, perhaps the principal factor, in the discussion of people throughout the country, ranking and perhaps outranking in real importance the issue of prohibition, farm relief, ordinary party differences, or any other question the press attempts to keep foremost."

It is doubtful if as many people are discussing Governor Smith's religious belief as are discussing his proposals in respect to prohibition. It is probable, however, that more people are interested in that subject than in the subject of "farm relief."

Farm relief is an issue of peculiar interest to the West. Agricultural producers of perishables — truck farmers, gardeners, dairymen, poultry raisers and the growers of fruits and vegetables—are little affected by the depression which for the past seven years has from time to time affected the growers of great staple crops like wheat, corn, cotton, and tobacco, not to mention the growers of swine and cattle. Again we find southern planters and the western farmer in much the same economic situation, but as unable as ever to combine for political action which might bring them some measure of relief.

Forty years ago the western farmer had an eager market in Europe for all the breadstuffs and meats he could produce. His capital investment was small, often the free gift of the federal government. Labor was plentiful at low prices and transportation costs were moderate. He lived in rude plenty but the actual cost of living was low. If he sold at the world price he sold in a market where there was little competition. Even though he made little profit on his crop, the ever increasing value of his land made it certain that he would die well to do. To-day his capital investment is large, labor is scarce and wages high. The value of his land is decreasing and the land itself must be revitalized with fertilizer. The rise of Canada and Argentina as great agricultural export nations has materially changed his position in the world market. The cost of machinery and transportation has increased, so has the farmer's cost of living and the burden of local taxation. For none of these things can he hold the government responsible, but he does claim that his condition has been aggravated by legislation intended to benefit other classes at his expense. By

the tariff, the manufacturer has been given a monopoly in the home market, and can sell at a higher price at home than he does abroad. Labor has been given a privileged position by drastic restrictions upon immigration. The transportation companies have been practically guaranteed a return upon their capital investment and a high level of wages for their employees has been prescribed by federal enactment. The farmer must not only sell his exportable surplus at the world price but the existence of that surplus drags down the domestic price to the export level. He is therefore selling in an open market and buying in a closed market with the net result that the purchasing power of the farmer's dollar during the last seven years has ranged from fifty cents to ninety and now probably stands at about eighty cents. The tariff upon agricultural products is naturally of no benefit where there is an exportable surplus.

To segregate the surplus, dump it on foreign markets and bring the domestic price up to the world price plus the U. S. tariff duty has been the farmer's dream. He thought it could be done by the passing of the McNary-Haughen bill, which created a federal farm board with power to bring all the producers of wheat or any other agricultural product into a compulsory pool. This bill was twice passed by congress and twice vetoed by the President. Mr. Hoover looks upon this measure as "economic lunacy." The Democratic platform does not mention the bill by name but endorses its underlying principles and Governor Smith declares that he stands upon that platform. Both candidates favor a waterway from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean. Mr. Hoover prefers the St. Lawrence and Governor Smith inclines to the All-American Route. Obviously the St. Lawrence route involves the negotiation of a treaty with Canada which would not become effective unless ratified by a two-thirds majority in the Senate. However, there is less public interest in the St. Lawrence

project than many Canadians imagine. A mere glance at the map of the United States will disclose a large number of states already on the seaboard and other states whose economic outlet to the sea would not be via the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence river.

Both presidential candidates appeal to the intelligence and the imagination of the American people. The biography of Hon. Herbert Hoover reads like an international romance. Born in a two-room cabin, the son of an Iowa village blacksmith, he worked his way through the engineering course at Palo Alto University. Sent by a British mining firm to China, Mr. Hoover worked so well that at the age of twenty-six he was several times a millionaire. His services in connection with the Belgian Relief Commission made him a world figure. It was after an absence of nearly twenty years that he returned to the United States to serve as food controller in the Administration of President Wilson. In 1920 he threw his vote and influence in favor of Mr. Harding, the Republican candidate, and was appointed by President Harding secretary of commerce. His successful administration of that office and his wonderful work in conducting the relief for the Mississippi flood sufferers made his nomination for President by the Republican national convention of 1928 a foregone conclusion.

Governor Alfred E. Smith rose less quickly from poverty to power. He was a newsboy on the sidewalks of New York, a clerk in a fish market, and an obscure member of the New York Legislature. It was his work in the Legislature which gradually brought him into prominence and made him Governor of New York. Three times he has been re-elected Governor in a state strongly Republican, and no one doubts that he could go on being re-elected Governor indefinitely. It may be argued that this is not sufficient training for the presidency, but the state of New York, after all, has a larger population than the Dominion of Canada. How far the people outside

of New York State are familiar with his achievements no one can tell. Were the election to turn solely upon his record as Governor of New York, Mr. Smith might with reasonable confidence anticipate that the people who have found him faithful over a few things would make him ruler over many.

THE KU KLUX KLAN IN SASKATCHEWAN

BY AN OBSERVER

BURKE is authority for the difficulty of drawing an indictment against a whole people. Can one then treat so curious and fantastic a phenomenon as the Ku Klux Klan of Canada as a commentary on the psychology of a whole province? Yet, the great orator to the contrary notwithstanding, one is at times tempted so to consider it. That high-pressure American organizers, actuated by the prospect of obtaining money from the credulous, could enroll tens of thousands of ordinary decent citizens in an organization with a record such as that of the Klan in the United States is an illuminating sidelight on a peoples' mentality. Still more illuminating is it when one realizes that a large proportion of the people of the province who have not joined the Klan have taken the movement so seriously as to cause it almost to be regarded as part and parcel of the social and political scheme of things.

The invasion of Saskatchewan by the Ku Klux Klan is one of those curious phenomena which seem to appear from time to time in the western provinces and more particularly in Saskatchewan. It is similar in some respects to the extension northward of the Non-Partisan League some years ago from North Dakota where it had become a state-wide movement. The programme of the Non-Partisan League, however, was purely economic and the League disappeared with the improvement in economic conditions, while the Klan is presumably not affected by such sordid matters as mere finance. But while the Non-Partisan League may have had an economic beginning it quickly took on a political aspect and in this respect there is a parallel. The Klan did not start

as a political movement in Saskatchewan but, if it has not already done so, it is likely to become predominantly political in character. It is perhaps not correct to say that the movement had no economic beginnings. To a degree it had; but the economics were of the organizers rather than of the people who joined it.

It is quite freely admitted that the Klan came to Saskatchewan, and incidentally to Manitoba, via Toronto, through the direct agency of certain American salesmen, who had been connected with it in the United States. These men, as was disclosed at the trial of Emmons, one of the group, came to Saskatchewan with the understanding that they were to keep for their services all the initiation fees they collected. They apparently expected to secure as many adherents for the order as possible and decamp. Emmons subsequently came back and told his tale; he was acquitted on a charge of theft by producing evidence that he was entitled to all he obtained.

Probably no one was more surprised than the organizers at the manner in which their wares sold. They were happy in their choice of Moose Jaw as their first objective. Moose Jaw is an important railway centre; it is the nearest large city to the United States border and is the first place of importance at which trains from the south stop for any length of time. Local conditions had developed there which admittedly seemed out of hand; there was a sort of underworld which appeared to defy the authorities. Here were precisely those conditions which could be represented as capable of responding to direct action. It is possible that this proved to be the case. Moose Jaw civic affairs, however, were inadequate as a basis for appeal to the country communities. Stronger medicine was needed and it was readily forthcoming. The platform of the Klan in the States had as its foundation the prejudice of certain of the non-Catholics against the Roman Church and against the Jewish people. An appeal to such prejudice

seemed, therefore, the logical approach to the rural districts which had no interest in the local politics of Moose Jaw. Aided by the well-known method of admitting aggressive Protestant ministers without the payment of dues, the movement started with the appearance of respectability. The new crusade spread like wildfire; local enthusiasts were enrolled as additional organizers and brought in fresh recruits.

The Klan terms itself "an invisible empire," and, living up to that description in certain respects, it is impossible even at this date to determine to what extent its membership has grown since its beginnings in the winter of 1926-27. Nor is it safe to say that, either since, or because of, the direct attacks made on it by Premier T. G. Gardiner and other members of the Saskatchewan cabinet, its membership has been reduced. Its ramifications were at one time, if they are not now, much more extensive than some people would like to believe.

Premier Gardiner commenced his attacks in the legislature in the session of 1928. He characterized it in no uncertain terms, declaring that it had no place in the British scheme of government, and announced his determination to root it out of the country. Whether he has been completely successful in this respect is doubtful; he has, however, brought the organization out of the obscurity in which it was operating. He has thrown it squarely into the realm of practical politics and by the ballot boxes next summer will the final tale be told. A preliminary test will be made in a by-election in the riding of Arm River not far north of Regina. There has always been a fairly large Orange vote in parts of this constituency and it is believed that the Klan has a number of lodges in the riding. A majority for the Government, especially an increased majority, on this occasion may be taken as proof that the "invisible empire" has not succeeded in weaning away from the government side many militant Protestant Liberals

who are in sympathy with the objects for which the Klan is striving.

Possibly the simplest method of outlining what these objects are is to quote from a speech delivered at Regina on February 28th, 1928, by "Doctor" J. H. Hawkins. The "Doctor," until a few weeks ago when he was ordered deported for infringement of the immigration laws, was the most recent principal lecturer and organizer of the Klan in Saskatchewan. Prior to that he had been in Ontario and he got his "doctor's" degree in Virginia in the profession of optometry. To a crowded meeting at which he was announced as undertaking to reply to the premier's attack on the "invisible empire," he had this to say regarding the Klan:

"Mr. Gardiner tells you that the reason he is against the Klan is that it has left a trail of blood throughout the United States. Mr. Gardiner has no more right to blame the Klan in Canada for what has happened in the United States than I have to-night to stand upon this platform and accuse the Roman Catholic Church in Saskatchewan of doing the same thing to-day that they did during the dark and bloody period of the inquisition. The Klan in Saskatchewan has no connection with the Klan in the States. Neither has the Klan in Saskatchewan any right to bear the blame for what the Klan in the States might be doing. Let us see some of the things that have brought the Klan into being: what it stands for. You have been told the Klan is here to fight the Jews. As some of you may have heard me say before, the Klan doesn't help the Jews. We are perfectly frank and willing to admit that we don't need to help him because he gets about all he wants himself. Did it ever occur to you that the Jew is granted greater privileges in Canada than in any other country in the world? You can't become a member of his synagogue; you can't join his B'nai B'rith Order; you can't join his Sons of Israel. Then, if the Jews have for fifty years past had their organizations in Canada from which they bar you without cause, do you mean to tell me that the Klan hasn't the right to form an organization and let the Jew remain outside of it? Are we discriminating against a man because we are not allowing him to join our organization when he has an organization which we cannot join? The church does the same thing. If you want to join the Baptist Church, what must you do? If you don't accept the teachings of Christianity as taught by that Church, you cannot join that Church. If you want to join the Church of England you must accept

its teachings. If you want to join the Roman Catholic Church, I tell you now you must believe in the infallibility of the Pope and his triple alliance as King of Heaven, Earth and Hell."

Why do attacks on Jewry and, more particularly, on Catholicism appeal to the people of the Canadian middle-West? The Roman Catholic population of the province is not very extensive; the census of 1921 gave it as 147,342 out of a total of 757,510—less than the Presbyterians of those days by some 15,000, and not much more than half as many as the total of Methodists and Presbyterians combined. Why, then, the appeal to religious prejudice?

The impression is abroad in the province, whether rightly or wrongly, that the Catholic hierarchy in Saskatchewan is exercising too much influence in secular affairs. It is accused of being in league with the Department of Immigration at Ottawa in flooding the province with central Europeans who are alleged to be predominantly Catholic in religion. And the opinion is widely held that too much latitude is allowed to Catholics, and particularly French Catholics, in the matter of language, religious exercises and symbols in the Catholic public and separate schools.

Inasmuch as these are the two main arguments which are used for the acquisition of adherents, the strong-arm American method having entirely disappeared, they deserve special consideration. Let us therefore once more quote "Doctor" Hawkins at a meeting held in Regina:

"I know they don't like the stand the Klan takes upon immigration and loyalty to the flag and to the Crown. The Klan takes this unalterable stand—that the permitting of any race of people to enter Canada that cannot become assimilated and become heart and soul Canadians, the permitting of the entry of those people is a detriment to that country. The flag of no country can be greater than the people living under it. And when people like that enter your country, what happens? Why, such occurrences as happened at Ponteix (a village in Southern Saskatchewan) last summer when the great celebration was on and the Union Jack was pulled down and the tri-colour of France raised on the pole until some man went

and pulled it down and threw it on the garbage pail, and said, "Remember, the flag of Canada is still the Union Jack." Do you believe that any country is safe where the people in it refuse to honour the flag? He is the most contemptible being on earth—the man living under the flag of a country and refusing to honour it.

"Prior to 1920 Canada was in every sense of the word a British Dominion, because the majority of the people living in Canada were of British descent. To-day, you have no moral right to say that Canada is still a British possession. Less than forty-seven of the people living in Canada to-day are of British descent. The balance of power has passed out of your hands absolutely. . . . From 1921 to the close of the fiscal year of 1927 the figures at Ottawa show that Canada lost to the United States 700,000 of your citizens. You lost not only all that you received into Canada but you lost part of the natural increase of Canada. For fifteen months prior to July 31st, 1927, there passed through Immigration Hall at Winnipeg 2,534 of English descent and 23,009 continental Europeans coming into your western provinces, or nine to one was the ratio. And then when you hear of those great families that Brother Rondeau has told you about, with that natural increase in Canada and with the increase in immigration, will you tell me what ten years will mean to Canada?

"Then do you wonder why the Klan has been called into being? To awaken the conscience of Canada, that is what the Klan is trying to do, to awaken the conscience of this Dominion; make you realize and face those dangers as men."

The figures quoted by "Brother Rondeau", who also spoke at this meeting, related to the families of French Canadians. He is, as his name indicates, of French-Canadian extraction but is not now of the Catholic faith. He is stationed in the province of Saskatchewan as a minister of one of the Protestant churches. He dealt almost entirely with the school issue and it will be well to quote from various sources to explain this most vital subject.

The Saskatchewan Act of 1905 permitted separate schools. A minority people in any public school district may provide for themselves within that district a school of their own, which, when established, they must support. According to figures quoted by Premier Gardiner in a speech delivered at Rosetown in June of this year, there were in the province at that time 4,776 school districts. Of these only 31 had

separate or minority schools, and 8 of these were Protestant separate schools erected in districts where the majority of the population was Catholic. In all but about half a dozen of the school districts of the province, said the Premier, there had been no trouble about religious matters. Of the 7,779 school teachers engaged in the province, he said, only 146 were nuns, and all of these but one were fully qualified under the act to teach school. Mr. Gardiner declared that the Department of Education discouraged the wearing of religious regalia by teachers except practically by unanimous consent. The law does not prohibit the placing of crucifixes on the walls of schools, but where there is any objection, the government, said the Premier, who is also minister of education, does all in its power to discourage it. Some two or three cases of trouble over the crucifix had come to public attention and where the people had been allowed to settle the matter without the interference of the Klan, said Mr. Gardiner, matters had been amicably arranged. Text-books to which objection had been taken were the same as those which had been in use in Ontario. New text-books had been ordered with the objectionable passages deleted and he expected no further cause for complaint.

Such trouble as has arisen in a few schools had been due mainly to placing the crucifix on the wall, although there have been complaints that in the French-speaking districts, despite the fact that English is the language of instruction, French has been used too widely. Complaint as to the French domination of Catholic schools has not been confined to the Klan alone. There is a feeling among English-speaking Catholics that the hierarchy is too French in its outlook; that the priesthood is influenced as much by considerations of language as of faith and that there might well be found common ground between Orangeman and Irish Catholic against the increasing domination of Quebec.

In this connection it might be well to refer again to the report of the Rev. S. P. Rondeau's speech at the meeting in Regina already mentioned.

"A little book is in the public schools of Saskatchewan, at least in some of them, and in that little book there are very biased passages. I am going to be short. It is in French, I will translate it.

"In 1897, at London, a Protestant minister went with his child of five years of age into a Catholic Temple. The little girl saw the lamp burning in the temple and said to her father, 'Father, why this lamp?' 'That, my daughter, is to hide the presence of Jesus behind that little golden door. My child, the door is not open.' Then the little girl replied, 'Father, I would like to see Jesus.' They went into a reformed Temple (Protestant Church), no lamp. 'Father,' said the child, why is there no lamp here?' 'My child, it is because Jesus is not here,' and since then the child talks only of the temple where the lamp burned. 'I want to go,' she said, 'where Jesus is.' The father was greatly touched, shaken, he understood as his child that they were not well where Jesus was not, he must abjure and, for him, it meant ruin. No matter, the father and mother were converted, saying, 'let us go where Jesus is.' They are poor to-day, but they are where Jesus is."

That is taught in one of the official text-books of the public schools of Saskatchewan. The only Church where Jesus is, according to this, is in the Roman Catholic Church. That is what is being done to-day in the schools of Saskatchewan."

This book was only used in the lower grades in Saskatchewan and, as Mr. Gardiner stated, has now been discontinued.

The separate schools have been a special object of attack. To quote Mr. Rondeau again:

"In Ontario and the States, any child of any nationality or creed can go to the public school without being affected in a biased sense regarding his faith. Do you know why these things happen in the public schools of Saskatchewan? It is because those who have manufactured the Public School Act have conveniently left the term "public school" without any definition. You go to Gravelbourg and the Sisters go to the public school to teach. They wear their religious emblems. They have crucifixes on their person. The Mother Superior of the public schools of Gravelbourg and Willow Bunch are the principals of the public school and high school. That is what is happening all through this country and we say that the time has come when the intelligent citizens of Saskatchewan must see to it that these matters are redressed."

What is likely to be the upshot of this movement? What chance has it to impress itself on the government of the country? It is possible that in some of the urban centres it has carried some weight in municipal elections. There is no doubt in the mind of the author of this brief sketch that at the peak of the movement Klan principles and aims made an appeal to more than members of the Orange order and imperialistic Conservatives. Dr. Hawkins has claimed that one of the leading members of the Liberal organization who helped to put the government of Saskatchewan back into power in 1925 was a klansman. It is safe to say that at one time possibly 40% of the Klan had voted the Liberal ticket. What that number amounts to in terms of the actual voting strength of the province cannot be determined. Nor is it safe to make a guess as to how many of the Liberal adherents will finally vote for the government on election day. Probably a very large number will be found to have returned to the party fold.

It does not seem probable that the Klan as such will put candidates in the field. It is more likely that it will support the Conservative candidates. Liberal newspapers and government speakers have definitely proclaimed an alliance between the Klan and the leaders of the Conservative party. It is quite possible that in so doing they are going further than circumstances warrant. Admittedly, the extreme Orange wing of the Conservative party are probably members of the Klan while leading Conservative lawyers have appeared in the courts on behalf of klansmen or sympathizers with the Klan programme. It is probably fair to say that the Conservatives hope to capitalize the Klan movement to their advantage.

A full year, or nearly so, will elapse before there is a general provincial election in Saskatchewan. At the next session of the legislature, it may be expected that the few Conservative members—half-a-dozen out of a house of 63—

will give evidence of the lines on which they will appeal to the country. The Klan attitude to education and immigration may be emphasized. But, after all, how far is that going to influence votes where they count most?

The people who are going to swing Saskatchewan next year are the people who have swung it every election since 1905, that is the independent, thinking, farm vote. If Klan propaganda and appeals to race and religion are to succeed they must make an impression on these people. Out of a population now of over 800,000 in Saskatchewan, fully 250,000 voters live on the land. Probably some 80,000 heads of families are going to think twice before they allow themselves to be swayed by these appeals. These are the men who have signed contracts with the farmers' pools.

The Saskatchewan farmer has found that his economic salvation lies in co-operation. The pools have made him more independent of politics than he has been at any time in the history of the country. It is the writer's firm conviction that the great influence of the United Farmers and of the wheat pool is going to be swung against a vote for the disruptive tendencies involved in an appeal to religion and racial prejudice. The pools know no race, no religion, no creed. Their aim, and that of their parent organization, is co-operation—co-operation between all classes of the community. Only by the closest co-operation can the pools survive. Co-operation cannot exist with a great wedge driven between neighbouring farmers. The Klan will get votes in the urban communities; the Conservatives will probably gain a few seats where the voting was previously close and where a constituency contains a large town vote. But it is the firm conviction of this writer that unless the Klan succeeds in penetrating the heart of rural Saskatchewan it will gradually lose influence. If it makes little impression on the complexion of the next legislature it will cease to be more than a fraternal organization. If it

should succeed in controlling the next legislature, even without appearing in the election as a body, one can look for disquieting times in Saskatchewan, unless it should feel that it has achieved its end and quietly disappear.

Political prophecy being the most gratuitous form of folly, it may be as well to leave the situation at that.

WHAT IS THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM?

BY DUNCAN McARTHUR

MOST Canadians will agree that immigration presents a serious national problem. Yet, few issues have been more completely confused by ignorance and by careless thinking. As a people, we are not self-critical; there is, however, almost universal agreement that, whatever may be right in our national economy, our immigration policy is wrong. We have been disappointed that our population has not increased more rapidly; administrative officers have been condemned because recent immigration has fallen short of that of the pre-war boom years. We in the East are told almost daily by wise persons that the supreme national need is greater immigration and we learn of projects for bringing immigrants by the millions. Such criticisms of our immigration policy and these grandiose schemes assume that we have practically unlimited capacity for absorbing new people and that we retain at least a substantial majority of our immigrants. It is the purpose of this article to indicate by reference to the history of the growth of our population that these assumptions are wholly unwarranted.

We are like a certain man who prepared a great feast. We, too, have sent our servants into the streets and lanes of the city to invite the poor; we have received the maimed and the halt; (we have debarred the blind, but in their place have admitted the feeble minded)*; we have gone to the highways and hedges; but, alas, our house is not filled. Many have come and have tasted of our viands and have bid us farewell. We should like to suggest that we may have valued our hospitality

*Witness, the record of deportations from Canada.

too lightly and that our guests would remain longer were the company more select.

The census of the three prairie provinces taken in 1926 provides the latest data regarding the movement of our immigrants. During the five years, 1921-1925, the total immigration to the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta was 179,312. In 1926 only 90,486 of this immigration remained *in these provinces*, a shrinkage of 50%. In the decennial period 1911-1920 which included the boom years the total immigration to the three prairie provinces was 717,260; in 1926, only 266,327, or 37% remained. It is significant to note that 60% of the total immigrant population of the three prairie provinces in 1926 were of foreign birth and that 80% of these were rural dwellers. The period 1911-1920 includes the War which involved a substantial return of British immigrants for enlistment. It is possible also to argue that those who left the prairie provinces may have gone to other parts of Canada. For the years 1921-25 no check can be made by reference to Dominion statistics but an analysis of the Dominion census for 1921 and previous years indicates that our loss of immigrants has been abnormally high.

In 1921 our total immigrant population was 1,955,736, composed as follows*—

Immigrants of 1911-1921	854,890
Immigrants of 1901-1911	742,072
Prior to 1901	332,073
No [date]	26,701

The total immigration for the decade 1911-1921 was 1,780,688 but the net increase in our immigrant population was only 368,775, or approximately 20% of the total immigration. It follows that during this decade 1,411,913 of our immigrant

*For this and other statistical data used in this article the author is indebted to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

population either died or left the country. Again, of the total immigration of 1,780,000 during the decade, only 854,000 remained in 1921; hence, 930,000 or 52% of those who came during the decade left by 1921. Making allowance for deaths, approximately 400,000 of those who left between 1911 and 1921 came prior to 1911. An analysis of the 1911 census indicates that approximately 40% of those came to us in the decade 1901-1911. These facts are significant in demonstrating that our loss is progressive and not limited to the years immediately following migration. This analysis may be carried back still further, and indicates that, after proper deduction for deaths, we have not retained more than one-fifth of our immigrants.

Where do they go? An examination of emigration statistics is of interest in this connection. The following table indicates the movement of people to Canada and from Canada to Great Britain and Ireland and to the United States.

Year	Total Immigration	Emigration to the U.S.	Emigration to Great Britain and Ireland*
1919	57,702	124,136	34,435
1920	117,336	109,123	24,341
1921	148,477	59,563	21,055
1922	89,999	81,910	16,197
1923	72,887	158,850	12,498
1924	148,560	159,058	16,158
1925	111,362	85,757	14,214
1926	96,064	93,468	10,481
1927	143,991	81,506	12,570
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	986,378	953,371	149,379

It will thus be seen that during these years our emigration

*These statistics include Newfoundland. A slight deduction must be made to obtain the emigration from Canada.

to the United Kingdom and the United States has exceeded our total immigration and that from 1919 to 1926 the emigration to the United States was in excess of the total number of new immigrants. The record of the movement of people between Canada and the United States is not complete without considering the return from the United States of British subjects formerly resident in Canada. These are not regarded as immigrants and do not appear in the immigration returns. Accurate data is not available prior to 1924. In the three years subsequent to April 1, 1924, 148,000 former residents of Canada returned from the United States; of these, 126,000 were native-born Canadians while only 22,000 were of immigrant origin. To offset this inward movement in part, there is the flow of immigrants of British and continental origin from Canada to the United States by the underground passage, of which, obviously, no record is kept. It is known that the actual arrivals in the United States of certain southern European 'nationals' is several times in excess of the quota. As long as continental immigrants are prepared to pay from \$200 to \$500 to be smuggled into the United States the highly organized traffic in immigrants across the border will flourish. It seems obvious therefore that of the four-fifths of our immigrants who leave us, a small number return to Britain or the continent, but the vast majority cross our southern frontier, and that many who remain with us send as a proxy to the United States a native-born Canadian. In 1920 the Canadian-born population of the United States was 1,125,000, while the total immigrant population of Canada was approximately 1,850,000. It is estimated that four months after they are placed on farms, 70% of the immigrant agricultural labourers have left the land. They gradually drift to the city and create conditions there which encourage the movement of native-born Canadians across the border. The profit on our exchange of old Canadians for new would seem to go to Uncle Sam.

This conclusion is not wholly comforting but there may be consolation in the realization that this phenomenon is not peculiar to Canada, nor is it of recent origin here. The United States has been assumed to possess practically unlimited power of assimilating immigrants, yet the United States Immigration Commission estimated in 1910, (in pre-war and pre-quota days), that 40% of the immigrants who came to that country left within a relatively short period. During the seven years 1921-1927, 2,013,000 immigrants came to the United States from Europe; during the same period 692,000 emigrant aliens left the United States to reside permanently in Europe.* It has been seriously contended that if the United States had excluded all immigrants after the Civil War its population would not be substantially less than it is to-day. New France prior to the conquest provides an example of the growth of population with a minimum of disturbance by immigration and emigration. In the seventy-five years prior to 1759 the population doubled each succeeding twenty-five years. Since the conquest the descendants of the French-Canadians and the Acadians have doubled each twenty-seven years. If we assume that the rate of increase of the French-Canadians is 50% higher than among English Canadians and apply the French rate to the population of Quebec in 1871 and the English rate to the population of the other provinces in the same year, excluding immigration and emigration from the calculation, our population in 1925 would have been larger than it is today and would have been limited, practically, to Anglo-Saxon and French stock. We need to be reminded that there is an intimate connection between immigration and emigration and between immigration and the rate of increase of our native stock.

The history of our immigration during the past century

*See Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, United States Department of Labor, 1927.

demonstrates nothing more clearly than the fluidity of our immigrant population. The geographic and economic background of this history is of fundamental importance. Our country adjoins a nation possessed of similar natural resources, a less severe climate, and which had obtained the advantages of population and of wealth associated with practically a century's growth in advance of ours. Because of these advantages it offered greater opportunities for profitable employment than did Canada. In pre-railway days our St. Lawrence and Great Lakes waterway provided easier access to its frontier of settlement than its own Atlantic ports. During the past century, it has acted as a highly electrified magnet exercising a constant 'pull' over a field of world-wide extent. Nature has placed us in immediate contact with the magnet where its power of attraction has been greatest. A common language and similarity of institutions have created conditions most favorable to the exercise of this magnetic force.

There was little emigration from the United Kingdom to British North America until after the close of the Napoleonic wars. A substantial emigration from Britain to America began in 1816. The movement to the British provinces increased more rapidly than did that to the United States and reached its peak in 1831. In 1836 the United States drew more settlers from Britain than did the British provinces and retained its lead until the early years of the new century. British policy valued the colonies as a refuge for the unemployed of the home land and favoured state-aided emigration as a solution for an acute domestic economic and social problem. We seem to hear echoes of such a policy today. The United States, on the other hand, offered no aid to immigration and charged higher prices for its public lands than prevailed in Canada. The rich lands of the northern middle states then provided the chief attraction for British settlers. Emigrants who possessed sufficient capital to buy improved

farms, stock and equipment preferred the United States. Canada received a large proportion of the poorer immigrants who could not afford to buy lands in the United States. Many of these were engaged as labourers on canals and other public works in Canada and when they saved sufficient to buy land in the United States they left us. The emigration from the British North American colonies to the United States in the decade 1831-1840 was 13,000 and in the following decade increased to 41,000.

The 'pull' of the United States is much stronger now than it was then. Today the centre of attraction is the large city rather than the fertile plain. Such cities as Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and Buffalo, whose aggregate population is more than half that of the Dominion, are located along the frontier and seem to present opportunities for continuous and profitable employment. The revolutionising of the means of transportation during the past century has greatly facilitated the movement of people. The Upper Canadian pioneer of a century ago 'stayed put' because of the difficulties of moving. The railway and especially the motor car have enabled the immigrant to go wherever he may wish. The most serious obstacles to the exercise of the enormous magnetic force of the large American city have now been removed. Much of our immigration from Britain and the continent merely represents the transfer of workers from the fringe to the centre of the magnetic field with the inevitable result that they have attached themselves to the larger and more powerful magnetic body. The attraction of the large city is not peculiar to the United States but the rapid expansion of industry in the United States has given their industrial centres an unrivalled drawing capacity. Our immigrants and our own people will continue to be subject to this attractive power until such time as we develop large cities capable of exerting an equal force in the contrary direction.

Consideration of the sensitiveness and the great mobility of modern immigration is essential in determining the capacity of Canada for absorbing new settlers. We are in danger of forgetting that the movement of people is determined largely by world forces and not by conditions in our country alone. Capacity for economic assimilation is purely relative. Were the administrators of Soviet Russia able to persuade the Russian peasant to grow wheat as in pre-revolutionary days the attractive power of the western Canadian farm lands would be materially altered. It is quite conceivable that the price of wheat may be so depressed in the early future as to create an exodus from our prairie farms. It has not been wholly to our disadvantage that we have had a neighbor to whom we could give our surplus population. The immigration of the period 1901 to 1914 could not have been retained in Canada without a serious depression in the standard of living in our western provinces.

Conditions in the United States have been responsible not only for emigration from Canada but for an abnormal and unjustified migration to Canada. The great disparity between our total immigration and the increase in our immigrant population has been due largely to the undue inflation of our immigration by the exercise of economic and political pressure.

The adoption of the quota by the United States has materially modified the immigration situation in Canada. The door to the United States has been closed to thousands of continental immigrants. These select Canada as an alternative place for settlement but there is no assurance that the conditions of economic depression in continental Europe which create unemployment will synchronise with conditions of expansion in Canada which will create corresponding employment. The flow of immigration to Canada is being determined not by our absorptive capacities but by the economic exigencies of other countries.

Nor is this the most subtle form of economic pressure artificially increasing our immigration. The north Atlantic passenger fleet was constructed to meet the heavy demands of emigrant traffic from Europe to the United States in pre-quota days. The immigration from southern and eastern Europe to the United States fell from 872,000 in 1913 to 23,000 in 1925. This involved a most serious decline in Atlantic passenger traffic. The Atlantic fleet has therefore a much greater carrying capacity than the present traffic requires. Atlantic passenger rates have increased enormously and the steamship companies have endeavoured to maintain their revenues by increasing the emigrant traffic from continental Europe to Canada. With the possible exception of the Canadian Pacific, which as an extensive land owner is vitally interested in colonization and, as a railway company, in increasing Canadian production, the transportation companies have little interest in the immigrant after he arrives in Canada. The traffic requirements of the ocean transportation companies, which, likewise, bear no relation to the absorptive capacity of Canada, have abnormally increased our immigration, especially from continental Europe. This kind of pressure is a disturbing element in the immigration situation and constitutes a serious menace to Canadian development.

From time to time political pressure has been exercised to increase the flow of immigrants beyond the demands of the Canadian situation. The old theory of empire dies slowly. Since the war Britain has been confronted with a serious problem of unemployment. Emigration to the Dominions has been advocated as a measure of relief and within proper limits such a movement may work to the mutual advantage of Britain and the Dominions. There is a real danger, however, that the flow of migration shall be determined by the urgency of getting the unemployed out of Britain rather than by the opportunities for employment in the Dominions.

There is to be a general election in Britain next year; the employment situation is undoubtedly giving the ministers much concern politically and we have an abundant crop of schemes for sending the unemployed to Canada. Solely as an example of how this kind of political pressure operates, one may refer to an incident in connection with the recent negotiations relating to the immigration of harvesters. We are not concerned here with the merits of the scheme; Canadians would be happy if all the harvesters could find profitable employment here and remain as permanent settlers. On Wednesday, August 1st, according to *The Times*, Mr. Amery announced in the House of Commons that 'arrangements have been made, in consultation with the Canadian government, under which 10,000 men are to be assisted in going to Canada from this country for work in connection with the Canadian harvest.' In point of fact, the proposed arrangement, as it then stood, was opposed by the Canadian government which properly insisted that responsibility for the return of the harvesters who might not be able to find employment should be assumed by the transportation companies. The arrangement was not 'made' until the following Saturday and in the meantime negotiations were in progress regarding the responsibility of the railways, a feature of the scheme of fundamental importance for the protection of Canadian interests. If Mr. Amery had wished to bring pressure to bear on the Canadian government to assent to the original proposals of the British government and the transportation companies which, from the Canadian point of view, were not satisfactory, he could not have done so more effectively than by his premature announcement. The placing on the transportation companies of responsibility for the return of those who could not support themselves may have been partly responsible for limiting the number to 8,500 and thus reducing the danger of unemployment and dissatisfaction. More harm can be done to the true interests of

British emigration to Canada by the protests of fifty harvesters who return to England with a 'grouch' than can be counteracted by five thousand contented settlers in Canada.

The Federal Immigration Department has been subjected to severe criticism because our immigration has fallen below that of the 'golden age' of the Sifton regime. Mr. Sifton had free land to offer the immigrant; transportation charges were but a fraction of the present rates. Not more than a third of the immigrants who came during that period remain today. The era of free land has passed. Officials of the Immigration Department realize, doubtless better than their critics, the enormous wastage in money and effort involved in our present immigration methods. Public opinion, based, as we believe, on ignorance and misunderstanding, demands still greater immigration; various interests, for purely selfish reasons, exert constant pressure on the Government to accept still more immigrants, utterly regardless of the opportunities for employment. Since the beginning of the century Canada has been 'stuffed' with immigrants much beyond its digestive capacity and has reacted, as a healthy organism should, by ejecting the surplus, which, unfortunately, has been larger than the quantity assimilated. The Immigration Department, knowing this, has directed its efforts to preventing the admission to Canada of elements which obviously cannot be assimilated and to aiding immigrants to adjust themselves to our conditions. When it was found that our immigrant population was contributing much more than its share to the insane asylums the Department insisted on a more rigid medical examination. The Canadian government in conjunction with the British government has contributed to the transportation of certain types of immigrants. When the Immigration Department asks for evidence that applicants for this aid shall be physically and mentally fit and capable of earning a livelihood in Canada it is accused of placing obstacles in the way

of immigration. We should be gratified that those are left at home who find the inconvenience of obtaining a photograph for purposes of identification or of travelling, if need be, twenty miles for medical examination a bar to emigration. That type would almost certainly join the 80% of our vanishing immigrants. Not in that spirit did the adventurous pioneers of a century ago leave the mother-country for the Upper Canadian wilderness.

Our immigration problem is a problem of keeping immigrants, not, as is generally supposed, a problem of getting them. It is conceivable that if we had fewer but more carefully selected immigrants our population would increase more rapidly. There can obviously be no adequate adjustment of supply to demand as long as corporations interested in the revenue derived from the transportation of immigrants are able to direct the flow of immigration. Our supreme need is a more careful adjustment of immigration to economic and social conditions in our own country. We have suffered from a condition of chronic indigestion of immigration; we should be placed on a rigid diet both respecting the quantity and quality of immigrant we take into our system. A serious effort should be made to determine our capacity for assimilating both agricultural and industrial workers, for there are indications that our next 'expansion' will be industrial in character. If we are to keep our immigrants we must give them profitable employment. Labour cannot be employed without capital; labour and capital will not be united unless there is a profitable market for the product. The immigration problem is fundamentally a problem of capital and of markets and until it is approached as such it will not be solved. The conservation of our own resources of capital by the reduction of taxation, federal, provincial and civic, will contribute more to its solution than most of the half-baked proposals now being made to flood the country with immigrants.

IS THERE A CANADIAN RACE?

BY W. BURTON HURD

THE war marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of Canada. The achievements of her armies in the field and the recognition of her statesmen in the councils of war and peace rid the public mind of the incubus of an insidious inferiority complex. From 1914 dates a new tradition, a new sense of power, a new spirit of confidence. A Canadian nation emerged from the struggle enjoying full equality of status within the British Commonwealth, appointing diplomatic representatives abroad and exercising an unchallenged right to negotiate and sign treaties with foreign powers. Evidences of a self-respecting national consciousness are seen on every side. To-day citizens both of British and non-British origin are proud to be called "Canadians," and in many quarters one finds an insistence on the existence and recognition of a Canadian race. The present article is devoted to a discussion of this last expression of a new-born nationalism.

The idea of a Canadian race has a strong sentimental appeal for the writer, which is not unnatural in a Canadian of the fourth generation. Certain sections of the press have argued that the time for recognizing a new Canadian type is at hand. Many societies and public bodies have become exercised over the matter, and the discussion has been carried to the floor of Parliament. In some circles opinion favours not merely the recognition of a Canadian race, but the abolition of all official records of racial origins in Canada. This is advocated sometimes on the ground that existing data are woefully inaccurate, and sometimes because the recording of racial origins encourages loyalty to one's ancestral home and tends to perpetuate the peculiar traditions of the motherland to the prejudice of Canadian unity.

At first blush, the argument for a Canadian race seems very plausible. If the terms 'English race', 'French race', 'Italian race', etc., are justifiable as describing modern racial units, why not a Canadian race? Each of those groups is the result of the commingling of a number of distinct biological strains and as many separate cultures. In England the ancient Briton left some of his institutions if little of his blood. So with the Romans. The Angles and Saxons took possession of the land. In due course they appropriated many institutions from the Scandinavian invaders who followed a few centuries later, and probably also absorbed a quantity of that northern stock. The Normans brought a new culture to the Anglo-Saxon, but finding it impossible to maintain their racial identity, merged with the more numerous inhabitants of the country in the formation of a new and distinct people. Centuries of such intermingling at length produced a homogeneous population, racially and culturally, with a common language, common ideals and common institutions. History furnishes many such examples. Indeed, most modern European racial groups have been formed by the fusion of a number of different stocks. Can it be disputed that a similar process is working itself out in Canada? Is there no distinctive Canadian type—no Canadian culture?

A superficial knowledge of the history of Canada and of our contemporary institutions and population structure is sufficient to convince the most skeptical that racial and cultural fusion has made considerable progress during the past two centuries. Whether a Canadian race has yet made its appearance is a different matter. We of the twentieth century have a flair for speed. Our mechanical devices have made it easy to move from place to place and have enabled the different sections of the population to intermingle more freely than in earlier years. But, though modern science has facilitated the development of a common culture, it has done comparatively

little to speed up the evolution of a new biological type. No scientific invention has been devised to mature a child in less than the number of years allotted by nature, nor to speed one generation closer on the heels of another. Consequently, it seems somewhat much to expect that even so enterprising and virile a nation as we claim to be should achieve in less than two centuries a biological amalgamation requiring of our ancestors between one and two thousand years. Added point is given to this statement when we are reminded that, compared with ours, their task was simple. It involved the consecutive fusion of perhaps half a dozen different strains. In Canada we have upwards of fifty in our racial melting-pot, and each year brings an additional quota of foreign blood.

If such general considerations lead one to question whether the declaration of a Canadian race is not a little premature, an examination of the origin of the Canadian people and of our present population structure confirms one's misgivings. From the conquest, Canada has been confronted with a fundamental obstacle to a one-race nation. The basic stock of the country was of two different origins. There was a time when British statesmen expected the native French Canadians to merge racially and culturally with the British colonists and to lose their identity as did the Normans centuries ago in England. This expectation has not been realized. In the Report on Vital Statistics for 1925 is found the racial origin of the parents of children born in that year in the registration area which includes the whole of Canada outside the province of Quebec. Less than 13% of the French fathers appear in the records as married to wives of British origin and only 16% of the French mothers to husbands of British extraction. That these figures fairly represent the extent of intermarriage of the French with the British races in the eight English-speaking provinces is substantiated by all recent reports on Vital Statistics. Were data available for the province of Quebec much

smaller proportions would be found since, except in the eastern counties and a few urban centres, the population of that province is almost entirely of French extraction. The same report indicates that only 3.0% of the fathers of British racial origin were married to wives of French derivation, and of the 95,000 mothers of British origin only 2.6% had French husbands. The two basic stocks of the country have not mixed to the extent commonly supposed. Biologically, Canada is still bi-racial.

Marked differences also are reflected in the cultures of the two native stocks. It is not without significance that the Parliament of Canada and our official records are bilingual. In 1921 approximately 50% of Canadian residents of French racial origin (10 years of age and over), were unable to speak English and more than 95% of those of British origin reported themselves as unable to speak French. Other cultural differences might be pointed out were it necessary or expedient to enlarge upon the subject, but the mention of the language cleavage is sufficient for the purposes of this discussion.

The bearing of this division in our basic population on the question of a Canadian race is obvious. The French and the British peoples in Canada have not yet evolved a new and dominant biological type nor are they culturally homogeneous in so fundamental an institution as language. No man-made law can make them a racial unit. Natural processes must work themselves out. Were the French in Canada willing to waive their French extraction and join with residents of British derivation in the formation of an official Canadian race, the product would be a race only in point of law. In point of fact it would be a scientific monstrosity. An alternative would be to select one of these basic stocks as the new Canadian race. The French have first claim on the score of length of residence. The English-speaking races have the priority of numerical strength. Yet the designation of either of these sections of

our population as the 'Canadian race' would exert a disruptive influence of the first magnitude on our national life. A less innocuous solution would be to reserve the title for those of mixed French and British derivation. Politically, such a course would prove less inexpedient than choosing one of the two basic stocks; and scientifically, it would be less absurd than combining the two into one official racial unit. However, to confine the term, 'Canadian race', to those of such mixed derivation would hardly meet with the approval of the majority of our population, though it would probably put an end to much of the present agitation.

Great as are the difficulties occasioned by the bi-racial character of our basic population, they are overshadowed by those confronting the protagonist of a Canadian race when he comes to deal with the numerous other stocks in Canada. There are thousands of citizens of non-British and non-French origin who have had several generations of Canadian residence and are just as thoroughgoing Canadians as are members of the two dominant racial groups. It would not be practicable to exclude these from the privilege of membership in the Canadian race. Obviously, some rules would be required for eligibility. A residence qualification has been suggested. Let us assume that a three generation or a one hundred year basis were agreed upon. To designate all qualifying nationals as a Canadian race would postulate the inclusion in one biological and cultural category of not only such distinct racial and cultural elements as French and English, but Jews and Negroes, Orientals and Red Indians and a multitude of citizens of other derivations who happen to come under the stipulated residence qualification. On such a basis, the progeny of the 936 children born of Chinese and Japanese parents in 1926 in Canada would officially lose their oriental origin in two more generations and be grouped with the English, Irish, Scotch, French, Italians, etc., of similar Canadian residence, the whole being called,

officially, the "Canadian race." Of course, some of these stocks might be excluded. For example, discrimination might be made against the non-white races, or the whites of non-British and non-French origin whose ancestors had not contracted a legal number of marriages with the basic stocks of the country. To pilot such a law through Parliament would require great courage and greater finesse; and, assuming the possibility of securing the necessary information, its administration would be intriguing, to say the least.

A reasonable and practical basis for the institution of a Canadian race is thus most elusive, and any classification sufficiently broad to exercise other than a dividing influence on our national life would be exceedingly difficult to justify. There is an "American" nation but even the government of the United States does not claim that there is as yet an "American" race. Surely our new-found nationalism will not lead us into the absurd position of postulating a Canadian race at this early date.

The advocacy of a Canadian race is sometimes associated with attempts to ridicule our present racial records. Their alleged inadequacy is used to bolster up the case for the official recognition of a Canadian stock. The method of determining racial derivation for census purposes is chosen as a special object of attack. Racial origin records merit more careful consideration than they usually receive, and reference to the subject is pertinent to the theme of this article not merely because it is closely linked with the agitation for a Canadian race, but because existing origin data throw considerable light on the outlook for a racially homogeneous population in Canada.

In this country we follow the common practice of tracing derivation through the male line. The method is by no means new. But in Canada we are faced with a unique situation. An attempt is being made to record the derivation of a people

composed of forty or fifty different races; and where inter-marriage has taken place, tracing derivation through the male line inevitably gives rise to many individual absurdities. A Canadian who is one-eighth Dutch, three-eighths English, a quarter Scotch and a quarter Irish is listed as Dutch because a paternal grandparent several generations removed was a Dutchman. Such a procedure seems grossly inaccurate. However, a little reflection on the purposes for which racial records are kept shows that the system is not as foolish as it may appear on the surface. The census of modern times does not purport to trace the pedigree of the individual citizen. It is not a *Burke's Peerage*. Nor are racial records kept as a matter of personal convenience. They are concerned with the racial derivation of the group and are of national importance. Their significance is twofold: first, as measuring the proportions of the several racial strains being combined into a Canadian nation; and second, as throwing light on the problem of the assimilation of immigrant stocks.

As a measure of the racial strains in the population, the present system works very satisfactorily in spite of individual inaccuracies. The explanation is based on the compensating action of errors when dealing with large numbers. The operation of the principle may be illustrated by a simple example. Let us suppose that through following the male line a thousand persons with less than fifty per cent. German blood are described as of German racial origin. Some of them are predominantly Anglo-Saxon, some Swedish, some Danish, and so on. Such a discrepancy would seriously interfere with the reliability of the records as a measure of the racial derivation of the population were it not for compensating errors in the other groups. For every thousand English, Irish, Swedish, etc., wrongly classed as Germans, there will tend to be an equal number of Germans included under these other origins; and were a redistribution effected the totals would remain to all

intents and purposes unchanged. A similar compensating influence works even in the case of those whose origin is so mixed that there is no dominant strain. Thus, in so far as the data are used to record the racial elements which have gone and are going into the formation of the Canadian people, the compensatory action of errors ensures an adequate result.

Nativity data alone is not sufficient for this purpose. A given population group is augmented in two ways: first, by immigration; second, by natural increase. Data as to birth-place is a satisfactory record of racial increase by immigration only in the case of countries sending emigrants of one race to Canada. Such records give no information as to the principal stocks represented among immigrants from a country like the United States. Nor is there a place for Jewish immigrants in nativity data, yet in 1921 there were 126,000 residents of Jewish extraction in Canada; next to the Germans, the Jews are the most numerous foreign stock in the Dominion. We must record the racial origin of incoming people if we are to keep track of the racial derivation of our population.

The importance of racial origin records is further emphasized when we come to the second method of population growth, viz., natural increase. In Canada, the rates of natural increase show marked variation from race to race and it is quite as important to know, for instance, that the Slavs are reproducing at least 50% more rapidly than the Anglo-Saxons as that certain numbers of immigrants arrive from year to year from Slavic countries. Differences in fertility (and mortality) exert a determining influence on population structure and with large blocks of our population multiplying much faster than the basic British stocks in Canada, it will be a matter of only a few generations until large sections of country are dominated by Canadians of non-British and non-French extraction. Thus, in the periodic racial origin data we have an effective method of measuring not only the net result of

immigration (and emigration) on the composition of our population, but a device peculiarly adapted to recording the effect of differences in the rates of natural increase obtaining among the several groups domiciled in the Dominion.

That there is marked variation in the rates of natural increase of the different racial groups in Canada is shown in the reports on Vital Statistics taken in conjunction with the recent census enumerations. In 1921, out of every 100 residents of British derivation, 21 were children under 10 years of age. As against this figure, that for stocks originating in South, Eastern and Central Europe works out to 34 per 100—a proportion sixty per cent. larger than in the British races. A more detailed analysis shows that the Slavic peoples are contributing to future generations in Canada, 8.0 children to every 5.0 contributed by a similar number of British origin; the Latin and Greeks, 7.7; the French, 7.6; and the Germans and Scandinavian peoples, slightly less than 6.0.

It is significant that the large proportions of children among those of South, Eastern and Central European origin, occur in spite of infant mortality rates much higher than among the English-speaking races, and of much larger surpluses of unattached adult males. The British races in Canada had a surplus of six adult males per hundred adult females in 1921 and the aforementioned proportion of 21 per cent. children under 10 years of age. The sex distribution of the French was approximately the same as that of the British, and children constituted a proportion 32 per cent. larger than in the latter group. The Ukranian group, on the other hand, showed a surplus of 48 men for every hundred women and 37 per cent. of that stock was under 10 years — three men to every two women, yet a proportion of children three-quarters larger than among the British. Those of so-called Austrian origin had a surplus of 57 males per hundred women and a proportion of children 68 per cent. greater than that for the British races.

For the Roumanian group the figures were 101 per cent. surplus men and a 68 per cent. larger proportion of children; for the Polish, 48 per cent. and 60 per cent.; the Russians, 57 per cent. and 57 per cent. Within the Italian racial origin group there were 216 men for every hundred women, yet children formed a proportion of the whole 52 per cent. greater than in the British races where there was approximate equality of the sexes.

The above figures suggest bona fide differences in fertility rates. Recent data for the Prairie Provinces confirms this hypothesis. The birth rates per hundred women, 15 to 49, of the principal racial origins in the middle west were computed for the year 1926 and corrected for differences in age distribution as shown in the census for that year. The rates so determined constitute a reasonably accurate index of fertility. The French showed a corrected rate 51 per cent. greater than the British; the rate for the women of Ukranian origin was greater by approximately 82 per cent.; that for those of Austrian extraction, by 68 per cent.; that for the Roumanians, by 98 per cent.; and similarly high figures were found for many other stocks. It may be shown further that, up to the present, the birth rate of the *average foreign race* in Canada has increased rather than diminished with length of family residence, which implies that certainly the second generation, and in some cases the third, reproduce more rapidly than the original immigrants.

These facts are of national importance quite independent of the present discussion and their bearing on the thesis of this article is obvious. They serve, in the first instance, to emphasize the last point advanced in connection with racial origin records, viz., that as long as differences in fertility rates persist, the only means of recording the changing racial ingredients in our population is by retaining racial origin data in our periodic census enumerations. Moreover, they constitute

additional evidence of the futility of speaking of a Canadian race. A Canadian people with a French-speaking wing reproducing half again as rapidly as the English-speaking section cannot seriously be regarded as a race by anyone having the faintest notion of the connotation of the term. Further, the application to foreign stocks of a residence qualification for membership in the Canadian race would involve the inclusion of a score of other racial elements with as many different rates of natural increase. There could be no permanency about a Canadian race constituted on such a basis. Each succeeding decade would register a change in its composition. In time, a new Canadian type will doubtless emerge, but it can be neither definite nor permanent until racial elements in our population have shown much greater homogeneity in the matter of birth-rate than has been the case up to the present. Our racial melting-pot is boiling; the ingredients therein are increasing at different rates and foreign elements are being added continuously. Anyone who is so rash as to explore the cauldron for the Canadian *par excellence* will find him most elusive, and probably succeed only in getting burnt.

Before concluding, a brief reference should be made to the second purpose of racial origin records, that of tracing the progress of assimilation. In certain cases mixed derivation seriously impairs their reliability. These instances, however, occur where assimilation is already far advanced. Mixed derivation is the result of intermarriage and intermarriage is the first test of homogeneity in a population. The social behaviour of groups who have intermarried with the basic stocks in the country is found to be much similar to that of the British or French. Here racial origin data merely records the fact that assimilation has taken and is taking place. Intermarriage with the French and British, however, has scarcely begun with the majority of foreign stocks, many of whom are exceedingly difficult to assimilate. It is for such groups that

the social significance of social origin data is great, and in such cases the racial classification is sufficiently accurate to bring out the peculiar characteristics of the different immigrant stocks.

A few figures may be cited by way of illustration. The extent of intermarriage may be directly inferred from the racial origin of the parents of the 150,000 odd children born in the registration area from year to year. These records show that only 5.2 per cent. of the men and 2.5 per cent. of the women of South, Eastern and Central European stocks had intermarried with the British and French by 1921. Not more than 3.6 per cent. of the married men of Polish racial origin had intermarried with the British; 3.3 per cent. of those of Roumanian extraction had done so; 1.6 per cent. of the Hebrews; 1.3 per cent. of the Austrians; and 0.7 per cent. of those with Ukranian antecedents. It is true that fusion with the basic stock of the country has made greater progress in the case of North and Western European peoples, notably the Dutch, Swiss and Danish; but the data cited clearly indicate that the racial origin figures for many groups are not ready for the discard. In many instances the records describe the behaviour of comparatively homogeneous, unassimilated sections of our population; and if space permitted it could be shown that many of these peoples have not only failed to assimilate but are relatively unassimilable.

A basic condition of national unity is a population composed of stocks which readily fuse and of cultures which are not so different as to make assimilation excessively difficult. Racial origin data reveal the presence of such foreign elements and are invaluable in formulating any scientific immigration policy. This being the case, it cannot fairly be charged that the census enumeration of racial origins, once every ten years for Canada as a whole and every five years for the Prairie Provinces, is of major importance among the disintegrating

forces in this country. An infinitely greater source of division and dissent would be the official recognition of a Canadian race, apart altogether from the obvious absurdity of such a category. The agitation for its immediate legal establishment is patently misdirected when advanced in the interests of Canadian nationalism, and when it is coupled with attempts to discredit the recording of the changing racial derivation of our population and the assembling of information which may be used to advantage in the selection of desirable immigrant stocks—and the rejection of the undesirable—it is particularly harmful to the best interests of the country. It is difficult to think of two more effective means of jeopardizing our national unity than the abolition of records so vitally related to the building of a homogeneous population, and the selection of a Canadian race from the midst of a Canadian nation. Canadians have a common bond of unity in Canadian citizenship. That is broad enough to include Canadian nationals of every race and of every tongue.

THE ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY GEORGE W. BROWN

THE possibilities of the St. Lawrence have aroused enthusiasm ever since the time when Jacques Cartier described it with pardonable exaggeration as "the greatest river without comparison that is known to have ever been seen." On its banks, wrote a French governor in 1663 to his king, there might be set up a "Great State of America,"—"the finest and greatest state in the world." The French with justified confidence made it the centre of their plans in the northern part of the continent, and the English were well aware of its value. The very able surveyor-general of New York, Cadwallader Colden, to quote only one opinion, wrote in 1724:

"If one considers the length of this River and its numerous branches he must say that by means of this River and the Lakes there is opened to his view such a scene of inland Navigation as cannot be paralleled in any other part of the world."

So the story of unbroken interest in the St. Lawrence as a channel of commerce might be traced from the beginnings of the colonial period to the present day.

In viewing the commercial history of the continent one is struck, however, not so much by the importance of the St. Lawrence as by its long-continued and intense rivalry with other highways of trade. In no other continent can the whole of the interior be approached with such ease by several competing routes, and geography has thus determined that a rivalry of routes for the trade of the West should run like a red thread through the history of commerce in North America.

When, in the eighteenth century, Frenchmen from Montreal, Spaniards from New Orleans, and Englishmen from New York, Philadelphia, Virginia, and Hudson Bay matched wits and swords in that vast stretch between the Gulf of Mexico and the Arctic Circle, it was plain that the commercial struggle was to be fought out on a continental scale. The fur trade has receded, but the contest of routes still goes on, although in less sanguinary fashion, happily, than in the eighteenth century. Even the coming of canals and later of railroads changed the course of trade less than might be thought, for these ribbons of water and steel followed in most cases the river valleys and portage paths of the *voyageur*. New York, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Montreal remain as great outlets for the trade of the West, and to the routes of the colonial period modern engineering has, in fact, added only one, the Panama canal.

With the opening of the West in the early years of the nineteenth century the St. Lawrence entered on its development as a modern commercial waterway. In 1790 Canadian settlement west of Montreal had scarcely begun; while the first census of the United States in that year showed that the frontier line did not at any point touch the St. Lawrence or the Great Lakes. By 1800, however, the scene had changed. Upper Canada was well established; Ohio was about to become a state of the Union, and the American frontier line had reached the St. Lawrence and the southern shore of Lake Erie. After 1810 there began that truly amazing rush of settlers into the American West which, during the next fifty years, transformed the central part of the continent. The fur trader vanished, and in his place came the farmer and merchant interested in exchanging their bulky products for the manufactured goods of far distant markets. This western expansion coincided with the rise of world commerce on an unprecedented scale. In the years following the Napoleonic

War the full effects of the Industrial Revolution began to show themselves across the Atlantic, and as the century progressed Europe provided a direct stimulus to the growth of the American West by opening up wider markets for food stuffs and raw materials. The result of these and other influences in the area tributary to the St. Lawrence was an increase in population and wealth the rapidity of which has probably been unparalleled in the history of the world. After 1815 especially, the improvement of transportation became therefore a problem of the greatest importance, and canals, river steamers, railroads, ocean liners, and a multitude of lesser devices were brought forward one by one to meet the demands of an ever-increasing commerce. This is the background against which one must view the history of the St. Lawrence in the nineteenth century.

At the beginning of the century, on the eve of this economic expansion, predictions were not lacking that the St. Lawrence route with its great natural advantages would outdistance all its rivals as a highway of western commerce. Nevertheless, the river had handicaps of a very serious nature—the only consolation being that Providence, with a kind of perverse impartiality, had bestowed equal disadvantages on its competitors. The long winter with its suspension of activity was an apparently insoluble problem, while, from the point of view of navigation, the channel was virtually unimproved and had an unsavory reputation as a waterway full of snares even for the experienced navigator. Colden's description of 1724 remained in fact almost literally true. "The French labor under difficultys that no art or Industry can remove. The mouth of the river of St. Lawrence and more especially the Bay of St. Lawrence lyes so far North and is thereby so often subject to tempestuous weather and thick Fogs that the Navigation there is very dangerous and never attempted but during the Summer months; the wideness of this Bay, together

with the many strong currents that run in it, the many shelves and sunken Rocks that are everywhere spread over both the Bay and the River, and the want of Places for anchoring in the Bay all increase the danger of this Navigation so that a Voyage to Canada is justly esteemed much more dangerous than to any other part of America." The difficulties in the river, he continued, were equally great. When winds were adverse, the strong current and a channel in many places crooked and narrow made progress almost impossible, and the voyage from Quebec to Montreal might take three, four, or even six weeks, although under favorable conditions five or six days were sufficient. Sailing at night was never attempted even in fair weather, and only one voyage a year could be made to Europe or the West Indies as compared with two from the Atlantic coast ports. Above Montreal there were several portages, and canoes had often to be pushed with poles or dragged with ropes from the shore, so that the journey to Lake Ontario was never accomplished in less than twenty days, and frequently twice that time was necessary.¹

A century later, in 1822, the commissioner for inland navigation at Montreal could write:

"It frequently costs the proprietor the value of one half the Raft, sometimes the value of the whole, to carry it to Montreal I have frequently known Boats drove upon the sand Shoals, to the imminent danger of the passengers and the crew, who suffered much in their perilous situation, during a dark and tempestuous night."²

Another observed in 1817, "'Tis a sad waste of life to ascend the St. Lawrence in a batteau," and one must sympathize with the French governor who, in 1671, after journeying on the river in a canoe, declared that to such dangers "a prudent man cannot expose himself, unless obligated either by the Service of God or that of his King."

Of even greater importance than the natural obstacles in determining the commercial development of the river were certain artificial conditions. The international boundary had given to both Britain and the United States a share in the Lakes, but had placed most of the river, including the entire stretch navigable from the ocean, under the British flag, while the other great outlet from the Lakes by way of the Mohawk valley and the Hudson river had been left entirely under American control. This division of the waterway opened a door to all the difficulties and uncertainties of international negotiation, and, when the commercial policies of Britain and the United States were opposed, the St. Lawrence became at times a pawn in a bitter game of conflicting trade regulations. There can be no doubt that, had the waterway been shared equally throughout its entire length, the history of its improvement would have been very different.

Most important among the artificial conditions affecting the use of the St. Lawrence was the system of British Navigation Acts, which until the middle of the nineteenth century held the trade of the river within the confines of Britain's old colonial system. By these Acts British ships, including those of the colonies, were given a monopoly in colonial ports; colonies were encouraged to supply their needs as far as possible from other parts of the Empire and were obliged to obtain their foreign imports through England; in compensation, colonial exports were largely free from foreign competition in the markets of the Empire, and in some cases they enjoyed the advantage of a tariff preference on entering the United Kingdom. The end of the American Revolution strengthened rather than weakened these principles in public estimation—a tendency which was confirmed by the long period of the Napoleonic War. In this scheme of things the St. Lawrence held an important place. The British West Indies were closed to American ships. Canadian grain and

lumber were given in the early years of the century a tariff preference in British markets, and in 1790 an Act of parliament provided that American goods when imported through the St. Lawrence were to be received in Britain as if they were of Canadian origin. Under these regulations British shipping interests hoped through the St. Lawrence to control much of the trade of the American West, import as well as export. British manufactured goods would, they argued, inevitably find their way across the boundary, despite American tariffs and customs officers. "No human power," declared a pamphleteer in 1814, "can prevent a commerce highly advantageous to the British being carried on between the two countries—a commerce which to us must be a permanent source of wealth."³

It must not be thought that this policy of trade regulation, which lasted with little interruption till the middle of the century, was on the whole displeasing to Canadians. The regulations tended to tie Canadian trade to Montreal, and Montreal merchants with short-sighted selfishness would have turned their advantage into a rigid monopoly. Upper Canada, the West of that day, chafed at times, but for the most part trade with the United States was not seriously impeded. Undoubtedly the system gave the colonies certain definite advantages, and in Canada it was generally accepted that only the preferences enabled Canadian grain and lumber to compete with the products of Russia and northern Europe. As for England, although the preferential system lasted until the introduction of free trade, there were always those in agreement with the member of parliament who declared in 1822 that

"it would be a good thing for this country if Canada had been sunk to the bottom of the sea; it cost us £500,000 per annum and did not make a return of 500 pence. It had been cheating this country out of

£300,000 a year by suffering great quantities of American timber to be sent down the St. Lawrence and brought to England as Canadian The sooner the Governor was called home, and the assembly and colony suffered to go to the devil, the better.”⁴

Until the triumph of free trade, however, the preferential system held its own against all opposition.

Such is a summary of the most important conditions, natural and artificial, which determined the commercial use of the St. Lawrence a century ago. From one point of view, the history of the river since that time has been a record of the gradual modification of these conditions under the pressure of economic and political necessity. As at the present time, a tangle of interests and rivalries was to be found behind every change which took place, and the building of canals at various points has been only one chapter in a larger story.

The first serious break in the conditions described above came in the 1820's—a period of acrimonious debate between Britain and the United States as to the regulation of trade. Huskisson's Acts of 1822 to 1826 destroyed many of the anomalies of the old colonial system, and enlarged the scope of the preferences. But, incidentally, these Acts ended for several years the arrangement of 1790 for exporting American goods through the St. Lawrence, and at the same time West Indian ports were more freely opened to American vessels. The resulting interruption of the St. Lawrence export trade stimulated, as has always been the case, an interest in alternative routes from the Lakes, and some agitation arose for the building of an all-American canal from Lake Ontario to Lake Champlain. The government of the United States also requested Great Britain to open the river from the Lakes to the ocean to American vessels. The request, however, came to nothing as the United States contended that the concession would be simply the recognition of a natural and permanent

right. The British government replied that it would consider granting the privilege as a matter of expediency, but that every such question must be controlled by treaty agreement—a point of view which, it may be noted, the Canadian government has always upheld. Neither government would agree to compromise, but after 1827 British legislation once more opened the St. Lawrence to American export trade, and the discussion of free navigation for American vessels subsided.

It was in the 1820's, also, that the St. Lawrence was swept almost unprepared into the canal building period. The Erie canal from Buffalo to Albany, opened in 1825, proved remarkably successful from the start. Tolls promised shortly to pay the full cost of construction and to provide a handsome revenue. At the same time the prospects of western expansion aroused the greatest enthusiasm. Canals, it was felt, provided a perfect solution of the transportation problem, and plans to capture the trade of the West sprang up on all sides like mushrooms. One gets an impression of the exaggerated nature of some of these schemes from the satire of a southern editor in 1819, describing the future of the great metropolis of Skunksburgh:

“To commercial men a mere statement of its geographical position is deemed sufficient without comment. It stands on about the middle ground between Baltimore and New Orleans, Charleston and Nickajack, Savannah and Coweta, Knoxville and St. Mary's, Salisbury and Cusseta. . . . A line of velocipede stages will be immediately established from Skunksburgh straight through the O-ke-fin-o-can Swamp to the southernmost part of the Florida peninsula, and as soon as a canal shall be cut through the Rocky Mountains there will be a direct water communication with the Columbia River, and thence to the Pacific Ocean. There opens a theatre of trade

bounded only by the Universe! Ships may sail with equal facility to London and Lima; to Montevideo and the ivory coast; to Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope; to Canton on the east or Botany Bay on the west. The world will present one vast commercial system with Skunksburgh in the centre."⁵

Canadians shared in this enthusiasm regarding the trade of the West, and the St. Lawrence undoubtedly had great natural advantages in competition with other routes. But the few canals then built around the rapids in the river could accommodate nothing larger than a Durham boat drawing about three and one-half feet of water; and the Ottawa-Rideau route, planned chiefly for military reasons and opened in 1832, was never a commercial success. Lack of towing facilities, making necessary the use of steam tugs, threw its trade in the 1830's into the hands of Montreal forwarding agents who held rates at a very high figure and preferred to maintain a monopoly even although it encouraged the merchants of Upper Canada to use alternative routes whenever possible. After 1815 a great deal of discussion took place in Upper Canada about the improvement of the St. Lawrence, but nothing was done till 1833 when, with the first Welland canal almost finished, the legislature made an appropriation. A nine-foot channel was contemplated, and, in 1837, £930,000, an enormous sum for the small population of the province, was voted for internal improvements. Lower Canada, however, showed no disposition to co-operate. In spite of the Erie canal the commercial interests of Lower Canada preferred to maintain a monopoly of what they had rather than run the risk of ships sailing past Montreal. With the Lachine Rapids under the control of the lower province it was impossible for Upper Canada to proceed with a deepening scheme even had her resources been equal to the task. Divided political control seemed a stumbling block to any solution of the problem, and

Lord Durham used this as one of his arguments in favor of a union of the provinces.

If a nine-foot channel could be completed to the upper lakes, the prospects of the St. Lawrence seemed assured. The Mississippi was handicapped by a tortuous and shifting channel, by the length of the voyage from New Orleans to Europe, and by the southern heat in which cargoes of food stuffs deteriorated and which, it was said, "no art of man could overcome." The Erie canal began in fact in the 1830's to encroach more and more on the area tributary to New Orleans. In comparison with the Erie canal, the St. Lawrence had two great advantages, the British preferences on grain and lumber and, above all, the possibility of continuous navigation for steamers from the upper lakes to the ocean. It is not surprising that advocates of the St. Lawrence route were enthusiastic in their claims, and the construction of a nine-foot channel to be opened in 1848 or '49 was undertaken with confidence soon after the provinces were united. The investment was large but success seemed certain and the British government guaranteed the interest on the loans.

Could this first St. Lawrence deepening scheme have been completed twenty years earlier it might have achieved a striking success. It would have met its chief American competitor on nearly equal terms before New York had secured a firm grip on the trade of the North West. Methods of transportation and trade regulations, especially the British preferences, would, for the most part, have favored the St. Lawrence in the twenties and the thirties, and by 1840 the Canadian route would have been sufficiently well established to offer resistance to the shock of changing conditions. But it was the misfortune of the canals to be completed just when changes of an almost revolutionary character shifted the very foundations on which the trade of Canada and the St. Lawrence had hitherto been forced to rest. By the middle of the

century enthusiasm for canals was already declining and the railroad age had commenced. Even more serious in its immediate results was the adoption of free trade in England and the sudden collapse of the preferential system. This change was more disastrous because it was preceded by an artificial stimulation of trade due to a series of new preferences, and because the American tariff of 1846 provided a bonding system by which Canadian exports might pass through the United States free of duty. The repeal of the Corn Laws was accompanied by an imperial statute granting Canada control of its own tariffs, but this was only a partial compensation for the loss of the preferences. That the trade of the St. Lawrence would be most seriously injured, if not destroyed, was well understood by both the advocates and opponents of free trade in England. In Lower Canada and especially in Montreal, a veritable panic seized the commercial classes in 1846. The fact was that, in spite of all the talk about the potential advantages of the St. Lawrence, the river had been weighed down by the lack of a canal system and by restrictions and monopolies. Only the British preferences had enabled it to compete with the Erie canal. The only hope lay in a repeal of the Navigation Acts, the completion of the canals, and the opening of the new waterway so that American vessels might contribute their tolls to the revenue. Even these measures offered none too good a prospect of relief.

The fight in the British parliament for the repeal of the Navigation Acts was bitter but it succeeded in 1849. British shipping interests predicted their own ruin if their monopolistic privileges were reduced, and contended that, in such cases as the St. Lawrence, high freight rates were due to natural causes and not to the exclusion of foreign vessels. That freight rates from Canada were very high was undisputed. The average cost in 1844-6 of shipping a barrel of flour from Montreal to Liverpool was 4 s. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., as compared with 2 s.

1 d. from New York. The repeal was finally forced through parliament and proved to be a benefit to St. Lawrence trade. It was estimated that the saving on exported lumber alone in 1850 was £118,000. The desire to have the river opened throughout its entire length to American vessels was not realized until the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States of 1854. While Canadians were desirous that the privilege be granted, advocates of reciprocity in both countries found it advisable to represent free navigation of the St. Lawrence as a concession to win American support for the treaty. The government of the United States abandoned its argument of natural right, which had been such a difficulty in the twenties, and the British government treated the question as one in which Canadian opinion should be the determining consideration.

The opening of the first canal system, the fall of the colonial preferences, and the agreement of 1854 marked the end of a troubled period. During the remainder of the century the conditions underlying the development of the waterway underwent no fundamental change. Improvements in the channel went on almost steadily. It was not long before the nine-foot canals proved inadequate, and soon after Confederation their enlargement was demanded. After an investigation by the Dominion government in the early seventies, it was decided that a channel with a minimum depth of fourteen feet should be constructed. The enlarged Welland canal was opened in 1887, but it was not until 1903 that the lower canals were completed. The Canadian canal at Sault Ste. Marie was finished in 1895, while in 1914 a new canal replaced the one which had been used on the American side since 1855. Equally important, although less noticed in public discussion, were other improvements such as dredging, charting and providing safeguards to navigation. When the new Welland canal is completed, Canada will have spent in the

neighborhood of \$185,000,000 on the canals between Montreal and Lake Erie. The United States has devoted its attention for the most part to the channel above Lake Ontario, some \$46,000,000 having been expended, much of it on the Canadian side of the boundary line. At present a channel of 30 feet is available to the head of ocean navigation at Montreal, while much has been done towards a channel of 35 feet; there is a minimum depth of 14 feet from Montreal to the Welland canal; the new Welland canal will give a depth of 25 feet, and above it to the head of Lake Superior the channel has normally at least 20 feet of water. Very large sums have also been spent by local governments and transportation companies on harbors, terminal facilities, etc., all of which must be taken into account if one is to understand the remarkable development which has taken place in the waterway as a whole during the last half century.

From the point of view of traffic, progress has also been notable. The upper lakes with their enormous coal, grain, and ore trade have become unquestionably the greatest inland waterway in the world. Freight carried, for example, through the canals at Sault Ste. Marie totalled in 1900, 25,643,073 tons, and in 1926, 85,681,615 tons, a figure exceeded in several previous years. In 1926 the freight tonnage through the Panama canal was 26,037,448. In comparison with the enormous traffic on the upper lakes, the traffic through the St. Lawrence canals has been small. Most of the cargoes on the upper lakes are, of course, not destined for ocean ports, but it is true that the St. Lawrence as a highway for the trade of the West has never realized the expectation of its most enthusiastic advocates. Nevertheless traffic through the canals since they were deepened to 14 feet has shown a really significant increase. The total freight in thousands of tons, carried through them has been:⁶

1902.....	1,093	1923.....	4,542
1906.....	1,636	1924.....	5,536
1910.....	2,760	1925.....	6,206
1914.....	4,391	1926.....	6,123
1918.....	3,031	1927.....	7,913
1922.....	4,319		

Comparatively, this increase of traffic is much greater than that on the upper lakes or on Canadian railways. In sharp contrast are the figures for the Erie canal⁷:

1901-1905	yearly average	2,144
1906-1910	" "	2,207
1911-1915	" "	1,626
1916-1920	" "	799
1922	.....	1,485
1923	..	1,626
1924	....	1,692
1925	.	1,945
1926	...	1,935

It is apparent that the St. Lawrence, even without further deepening of the channel, has far outstripped its old time rival. The building of even the 14 foot canals freed the St. Lawrence partially from the blight which railroad development threw over canal and river transportation during the last part of the nineteenth century.

The spirit of co-operation in viewing the common problems of the waterway has developed noticeably between Canada and the United States since the middle of the last century. At points in the international section where a restricted channel falls wholly on one or other side of the boundary, the principle has been recognized that equal freedom of navigation should be enjoyed by the vessels of both countries. The creation early in the present century of the International Waterways Commission, now the International Joint Commission, was a most important step in advance, as it provided a routine method for the investigation and solution of common difficulties. Undoubtedly, the opinion has grown in both countries that, without a sacrifice of national rights, full recog-

nition may be given to mutual interests in the discussion of every problem. Retaliation as a means of bringing about an adjustment might easily bring to both countries injury much more serious than the original cause of dispute.

Finally, it may be noted that the rise of hydro-electric power has introduced since the beginning of this century an entirely new and most important element among the problems touching the river. Lord Durham was justified in believing that a union of Upper and Lower Canada would eliminate from the question of improving the river the difficulty of a conflict between governments. The Confederation agreement also avoided the evils of divided control by giving to the Dominion parliament power over navigation in lakes and rivers. But electricity has revived the interest and right of provincial governments, and created a new conflict of jurisdictions. The same development has taken place, also, in the United States. The possibilities of power development have, in fact, made the question of improving the river infinitely more complex than it was in the nineteenth century for the engineer, the lawyer, the politician, and, incidentally, for the common citizen who foots the bill.

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CURRENT EVENTS

THE KELLOGG TREATY

The Kellogg Peace Treaty is peculiarly the product of the United States. It represents an attempt to make the nations of the world subject to the same principles of conduct with respect to the resort to force as apply to individuals within the state. The right of the individual to resort to force for the defence of his life or his property is admitted by the state, but the state does not concede the privilege of determining rights or settling disputes by violence. Except in self-defence, the employment of force against a fellow-citizen is an offence against the law of civilized communities. The state provides courts and indicates a peaceful mode of procedure for the settlement of disputes.

Although the mass of the people of the United States are not internationally-minded, it must be admitted that more serious thought has been devoted to the problem of world peace in the United States than in any other nation. Groups of enlightened students of world affairs have brought an extraordinary fund of ability and intelligence to the discussion of international questions. Among these, the League of Nations has many friends; yet, there are those who have found the Covenant of the League and the Locarno Pacts defective in that they rely ultimately on the sanction of war for the preservation of peace. As early as 1920, the idea of outlawing war as a means for the settlement of disputes was advocated in the United States and gained acceptance in certain influential quarters.

No satisfactory opportunity for embodying this idea in national policy arose, however, until the spring of 1927, when M. Briand declared the willingness of France to agree with the United States to renounce war as an instrument of public

policy. The declaration was implemented by the submission to the United States of a draft treaty intended for the signature of the two nations only. The advocates of the outlawry of war in the United States then turned their artillery on their own State Department. The failure of the Naval Disarmament Conference during the summer of 1927 and the increase in its naval appropriation placed the United States in an unfavourable light in Europe. A suitable setting had been provided for the launching of the scheme for the outlawry of war, not between France and the United States alone but by all the members of the family of nations.

This project was much more extensive than was contemplated by M. Briand's original proposals and did not arouse much enthusiasm in France where the realities of the European situation are envisaged and their significance appreciated. The idea of a multilateral agreement, as opposed to M. Briand's bilateral proposal, was distinctively American in origin and seemed to be divorced from actuality, an uncomfortable reminder of Wilsonian idealism. On Mr. Kellogg, therefore, fell the responsibility of promoting the new proposals for making war illegal. In April, 1928, he submitted to Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan the draft of a treaty embodying the outlawry programme. The proposed treaty was a model of simplicity and directness. In two articles containing less than a hundred words it was proposed that the contracting parties should renounce war 'as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another' and 'agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them shall never be sought except by pacific means.'

Questions at once arose regarding the bearing of this proposal on the network of obligations arising out of the Covenant of the League and of the Locarno Treaties. What

of the right of national self-defence, a right of more direct, concrete concern to the states of Europe than to the United States of America? The sanctity of existing engagements and the preservation of alliances is of fundamental importance to France. To obtain security she has pursued a dual and, seemingly, inconsistent policy since the war. She has made the smaller states surrounding Germany her allies and has relied on their armament as a means of her own defence. On the other hand, she has encouraged every practical effort to promote the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. She has one foot in the camp of the militarists and the other in the camp of the pacifists. She knows from bitter experience the terrible cost of war, but some day she may wish to resort to war to protect her allies or herself. Moderation might be a virtue, even in the prohibition of war. The banishment of war might conceivably set a faster pace in the reduction of armaments than France was prepared to adopt.

The position of Britain was not fundamentally different from that of France; the danger zones were not her frontiers but her lines of communications encircling the globe. She, too, had assumed obligations under the Covenant of the League and the Locarno treaties which might involve her in a war which could not be described as defensive.

Obviously, therefore, if the Kellogg proposals were to be adjusted to the realities of the European situation, there must be reservations and generosity in interpretation. Early in the course of the discussions President Coolidge made it clear that the treaty would not limit the right of a nation to defend itself when and in such manner as it should determine. That the proposed treaty should not be deemed inconsistent with existing international obligations was also made clear by the United States. These 'interpretations' cleared the way for the acceptance of the treaty by France. The protection of British interests required a further qualification and Britain's

assent to the treaty was given on the understanding that "it does not prejudice her freedom of action in unspecified regions of which the welfare and integrity constitute a special and vital interest" for her peace and safety.

Canada, with the Irish Free State and the Dominions, members of the League of Nations, was invited to become one of the original parties to the agreement. It is peculiarly fitting that Canada should be associated with this latest endeavour to make war more difficult, which merely extends the scope of those principles of conduct adopted by the United States and Canada in the preservation of uninterrupted pacific relations for more than a century. Mr. King, in going to Paris to sign the treaty, carried with him the sincere hopes of Canadians that these principles may be applied with equal success in the Old World.

What is the significance of the treaty? It has not yet been approved by the Senate of the United States. President Coolidge, Mr. Hoover, and Senator Borah, Chairman of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, have expressed their cordial approval of the treaty. It is difficult to conceive that the Democratic party will assume the responsibility of defeating the scheme and thereby placing the diplomatic credit of the United States under a heavy discount. There is much less justification for rejecting the Kellogg treaty than there was for refusing President Wilson's League of Nations, but the consequences of its rejection might be equally damaging to the reputation of the United States abroad.

Assuming the treaty to become operative, it would be folly to claim that it revolutionizes the European diplomatic situation. It does not remove the causes of international conflicts. As long as there remain such wide differences of opinion regarding the 'settlement' effected by the Treaty of Versailles as are held by France and Germany, there will be cause for international disputes. The Kellogg treaty is

concerned only with the manner in which such disputes shall be settled. The most significant consequence of the treaty is that it gives the United States a new interest in a settlement by peaceful means. The treaty is its child; it will naturally be more interested in its protection than were it the offspring of another state. The realization that the United States, with its enormous power and resources of wealth, will be interested in the pacific adjustment of international differences may not be the least potent factor in promoting peace. The treaty implies resort to other means of adjudicating disputes. Only with the development of a habit of resorting to arbitration or other peaceful means will war-mindedness decline. Between the United States and Canada, though differences have arisen, the peace habit has become confirmed through long practice; only by a similar method will the principles of the Kellogg Treaty become effective in Europe.

D. McA.

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA ELECTION

There was no dominating issue in the recent political campaign in British Columbia. In the matter of policies, the parties were quite evenly matched, and the Liberals had the advantage of being entrenched in office. But other forces combined to place the Conservatives in office after twelve years in opposition. Due credit must be given first to the personal equation. British Columbia has always had a liking for strong or picturesque characters. She repeatedly placed her trust in Sir Richard McBride simply because of his picturesque and likeable personality and of his political sagacity. McBride was never a strong administrator; he didn't need to be, for he rode on a swelling tide. John Oliver had more ability and industry than McBride, and more need of these qualities, for the seas he navigated were more difficult. But it was neither Oliver's ability nor his industry that brought him his success.

It was rather his rugged personality. A pioneer, who had spent years fighting the encroaching waters back from his farm in the Fraser dikelands, he talked to the people in their own language, and the people trusted him. Dr. J. D. MacLean, who succeeded Oliver, did not have the old leader's personal appeal. Dr. S. F. Tolmie, the new Conservative chieftain, was widely known and highly popular, and he brought with him a very considerable prestige won as minister at Ottawa and as Conservative organizer in the Dominion.

Campaign funds played no inconsiderable part in the election. The Liberals were accused of replenishing their party chest from commissions on liquor purchased for the government dispensaries, and, though a royal commission failed to find evidence to support these charges and exonerated the ministers concerned, yet the vote showed the electorate believed there was fire as well as smoke.

In Greater Vancouver, which returned nine Conservative members and no Liberals, there was resentment against the MacLean government because, for almost eight years, the city had been allowed no representation in the cabinet, and, during that time, there were frequent clashes between the city and the government. In the country, there was strong disapproval of the government because it had allowed itself to fall into the clutches of a number of machine politicians in Vancouver, and these had used it or some of its departments for their own ends. The government had received a warning at the 1924 election, when its majority was reduced to the vanishing point so that it was able to retain office only by making a bargain with the Labor members in the Legislature.

The new prime minister will have a following of thirty-five members in a house of forty-eight; the Liberals will have twelve and Labor one. In the two cities of Vancouver and Victoria, both multiple constituencies, four Conservative votes were polled to three Liberal, and none but Conservatives were

elected. In the country constituencies, five Conservative votes were polled to four Liberal.

When Bancroft, the historian, was in British Columbia, seeking material for his history of the Northwest Coast, he interviewed Dr. Tolmie's father, a Hudson's Bay Company factor and physician, and records that he found him a difficult subject. The old man would not tell all he knew. Those who questioned Dr. Tolmie regarding his cabinet plans in the period between his election and the day on which he took his oath as prime minister found him quite as difficult a subject as Bancroft had found his father. He kept his own counsel, and, seemingly, chose the cabinet that pleased himself. In making his choice, he did not go outside the thirty-five members of his party elected to the Legislature. He looked first for capacity, then for legislative experience. Lengthy and distinguished party service was rewarded, and the cabinet seats were distributed as evenly as possible, geographically.

The cabinet, on the whole, is promising, though, of course, it is quite inexperienced. Dr. Tolmie is the only man among the eleven who has administered a department, and there are only four with legislative experience. But it is recalled that Sir James Whitney took office in Ontario years ago, with a cabinet of tyros, and made legislative and administrative history with them, and that the late Liberal government took office in 1916 with no administrative experience whatever, and that it did not do too badly once it got into its stride.

But, if they are inexperienced in government, the new ministers are not inexperienced in affairs. It would be fair to call the Tolmie cabinet a cabinet of business men. Four of the members at least are men of considerable wealth who feel that they can afford to devote their time to public service in the province which has given them their fortunes. Dr. Tolmie himself and Mr. Pooley, the attorney-general, are native sons of British Columbia, descendants of men who came

to the Pacific Coast in the old fur-trading or crown colony days. Mr. Hinchliffe, the minister of education, is an Englishman, but received his education in Canada. He was an Anglican clergyman before the war, went overseas as a padre and on his return entered the Legislature and took up the study of law. Last session, he was always referred to by the irreverent members to the right of Mr. Speaker as the "honorable and gallant and reverend and learned third member for Victoria." Mr. Bruhn, president of the council, came to Canada from Sweden when a youth. He is a prosperous lumberman. Mr. Burden, minister of lands and forests, is from New Brunswick and is a surveyor by profession. He represents Prince George, a constituency of tremendous extent which includes British Columbia's portion of the Peace River country. Mr. Shelly, minister of finance, received his education in the United States. In private life, he is vice-president and general manager of Canadian Bakeries, a large corporation with bakeshops in several western cities. All the other members of the cabinet are natives of Ontario. Mr. Lougheed, minister of public works, is a lumberman in a large way. Mr. MacKenzie, minister of mines, is a contractor. Mr. Atkinson, minister of agriculture, is a dairy farmer. Mr. Howe, provincial secretary, is a retired business man. Mr. Maitland, minister without portfolio, is a young Vancouver lawyer.

The Tolmie ministry has taken office under favorable auspices and with the utmost goodwill. There is a desire evident on every hand to facilitate its work, and it is unlikely that any of the ministers will be opposed when they seek reelection. Dr. MacLean, the Liberal leader, is at present without a seat in the Legislature, but arrangements are being made to have him sit for Yale, which he represented in the last House.

Dr. Tolmie is winning golden opinion with the early work of his ministry. He was elected on a platform which

contained a no-patronage plank, and though not a great deal was made of it during the campaign, the prime minister is adhering to it, and already is being looked to as a sort of protector of the civil service.

He will have need of all the good will he can gather, for several difficult problems confront him. The Pacific Great Eastern Railway is resting on the shoulders of British Columbia like an old man of the sea. Commenced by the McBride government before the war to give the Grand Trunk Pacific an entrance into Vancouver and to tap the Peace River country, the line is still unfinished and hangs with both ends in the air, the southern one thirty miles from Vancouver, the northern one seventy miles short of the Canadian National at Prince George. To date, the P. G. E. has cost British Columbia about \$55,000,000, and the debt is increasing at the rate of \$3,000,000 a year. The country through which it passes is sparsely populated and there is little traffic, and, as the National has already a satisfactory entrance into Vancouver, there is no hope that the P. G. E. can get any of the through Grand Trunk traffic which it was designed to carry.

Three solutions to the problem have been offered. One is to colonize the Cariboo country through which the road passes and create traffic. The second is to extend the road northward into the Peace River district and develop traffic there. The third is to sell the line, and the 16,000,000 acres of land which have been attached to it by way of dowry, to either the Canadian National or the Canadian Pacific. There are difficulties in the way of all three solutions. The province has no machinery for colonization. If the road were extended into the Peace River country, there is no certainty that the traffic it would bring south to the Canadian National main line, would continue to the coast on the P. G. E. rails. It might be diverted to the Canadian National, which has a better grade and could handle it more cheaply. The plan of tempting one

of the transcontinentals to purchase has been tried already without success.

A second problem Dr. Tolmie will have to face has to do with the sale of liquor. In a measure, liquor was responsible for the downfall of the MacLean government, and it will require constant and careful watching. The business is so great—\$15,000,000 a year—that the possibilities for graft are enormous, and if there is graft, despite the government's best efforts, its fair name will be sullied.

The marketing of fruit and vegetables is causing great anxiety in British Columbia at the moment. Nearly two years ago legislation was passed creating a marketing committee to handle these products in certain areas and giving this committee certain price-fixing and regulating powers. Last year, the area under control was extended and a separate committee was constituted for the marketing of potatoes. These committees have operated under great difficulties. American competition has hampered their work, and the legislation has been challenged as *ultra vires* of the Legislature and as in violation of the clause of the Criminal Code which forbids combines or arrangements in restraint of trade.

These are the major problems. But there are others. The Oriental problem is ever present. It shifts its ground, from fishing to lumbering, from lumbering to farming, from farming to merchandizing, but it never leaves. There is an acute irrigation problem in the Okanagan Valley. There are road-building problems everywhere. The trans-provincial highway is not yet completed. Paved highways are in demand in the neighborhood of the coast cities, and colonization roads in the interior and miners' trails in the mountains. In connection with lumbering, the province's principal industry, there are problems of conservation, protection and research. In education, important reforms urged in the report of a recent commission are still to be taken up, while a building programme

survey must be arranged for the university. This institution was provided with buildings for 1,400 students. The buildings were too small before they were ready for use, and this fall it is expected the students will number between 1,900 and 2,000.

Very likely there will be problems of legislation. The British Columbia parties call themselves Liberal and Conservative. But they are both radical. The late government fathered some quite advanced social legislation, providing for workmen's compensation, mothers' pensions, old age pensions, a minimum wage, an eight hour day and loans to farmers. Some of this legislation was, doubtless, the outcome of the government's bargain with labor. But it stands to the credit of the Liberal party. The Conservatives may be expected to equal this programme, but it is scarcely likely they will embark on social experiments at first. They are more likely to work for stabilization and a consolidation of the ground already gained.

Dr. Tolmie enters office in a time of prosperity. The population of the province is increasing, industries are growing in number and magnitude, finances are in good condition and revenues buoyant. He will have difficulties, but, in his cabinet, men who should be able to surmount them. If he can exert a strength comparable with his geniality and his honesty, he should make history in his native province.

D. A. MCGREGOR.

CANADA AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES

Sportsmen the world over doff their hats to the small but gallant band of Canadian athletes who so ably upheld the honor of their country at the 1928 Olympic Games. It was the best showing that the Dominion ever made in these world championship events. Canada's progress in track and field, boxing, rowing and other branches of sport during the last ten years has been little short of marvellous. Therefore it is

fitting that in this country the titles and the laurels won should be appreciated to the full.

It is not cricket to single out one competitor or a group of competitors from the others. All did their best and their best was good enough. But nevertheless Percy Williams, the speed boy from Vancouver, was the hero of the Olympiad. It was his "hour" of triumph, and he made the most of it. Not since Bobby Kerr of Hamilton flashed down the cinder track at London, England, twenty years ago to win the world's 200 metre dash has Canada produced a sprinter capable of successfully matching strides with the fastest in the world. Many others tried and failed and, truth to tell, there were few who even dared hope that the Dominion's 1928 representatives would fare any better.

One year ago Williams came out of the west "unheralded and unsung," so much so in fact that he wasn't even allowed to compete in the final for the 100 yards Canadian title. Very quietly he arrived in Toronto on the morning of the meet and just as quietly he stepped out and qualified to race for the championship. But at the last minute it was discovered that there weren't enough lanes to accommodate all the finalists and in the grand shuffle that followed Williams was declared out of the running.

Right there he showed his mettle and his sportsmanship. He didn't argue, he didn't point out that he had just completed a journey across the continent and he didn't notify anybody that his heart was breaking. No, that is not the Williams way. He looked on just a bit remorsefully as slower sprinters fought it out for the crown and then he turned away, took up his bag and baggage and was on the road to Amsterdam.

They used to say that Charlie Paddock was the "fastest human", but now there is a different story flashing over the civilized world. Williams stands alone, practically unchallenged. He is one of the few men who won two sprinting

titles at the Olympiad. And now only in his twenty-first year the new champion bids fair to equal or better records that have successfully withstood the assaults of numerous super-dashmen.

But not alone as a titleholder has Williams won the hearts of a sporting world. He's a gentleman and the idol of his country. What he accomplished as a sportsman and an athlete others can strive to equal. Gracefully he lost his chance to win the 1927 Canadian title and just as gracefully he accepted his amazing victories over the world's best in the games across the sea.

Four years ago it was not thought that Canada would make much headway in track and field events in the arenas of the world. Interest in this form of athletics was at a low ebb in this country, but finally came the revival. The good work done by such organizations as the Ontario Athletic Commission produced beneficial results. And a new, care-free training era was born. Lacking the stupendous sums of money that are devoted to athletics in the United States and other countries Canadians did not have the time nor the opportunity to copy these exaggerated and highly commercialized ideas.

And at Amsterdam, where the Dominion's representatives were housed in a most unpretentious way while two hundred and sixty-eight United States athletes lived in splendour and luxury aboard the steamer Roosevelt, these new and care-free Canadian training tactics brought such good results that commercialized amateurism was astounded.

Canada's little contingent did the trick. The remarkable showing made by competitors like Jimmy Ball, Percy Williams, "Fanny" Rosenfeld, Ethel Catherwood, Jane Bell, Myrtle Cook, Ethel Smith, Jean Thompson and other stalwarts served as a warning to other and larger nations that Canada will have to be reckoned with in future world championship games.

Undoubtedly our athletes were urged on to supreme efforts by the realization that not in Amsterdam but in Flanders' Fields was Canada's greatest glory won. There lie forever many athletes of another generation, "men who knew how to play and how to die." They laid down their lives that Canada might live. 'Twas the most gallant contingent that ever crossed the sea. What an inspiration left by our pals of yesteryear!

Again it would not be cricket to attempt to calculate in dollars and cents just how valuable was the advertising received by Canada at the Olympiad. It is not exactly a monetary affair but it is well that any land can so forcibly present its allurements with the whole world as a stage.

Space does not permit us to give all the Canadian winners or near-winners at the recent Olympic Games. The story has already been told, but "lest we forget" it might be well to mention that some of the leading acts presented on the Amsterdam stage were the great victories by Williams, Miss Ethel Catherwood, the women's relay team, and the hockeyists.

Canadians have every reason to feel elated. They made the best showing in their history and it was much better than was anticipated. It gives rise to the belief that another Olympiad, that of 1932 at Los Angeles, will find Canada more formidable than ever. Williams should then be at his best, other sprinters will share the burden with him. Canada's supremacy in hockey should remain unchallenged, the Marathon will be contested under conditions better suited to North American runners.

It was hardly to be expected that there would be no disputes in 1928. We learn slowly. Seemingly the world is making rapid progress in everything but the proper spirit of sportsmanship. From Amsterdam therefore came disquieting news of protests lodged by nearly every country represented. Loathfully it must be admitted that in this connection cable

despatches mentioned Canadian officials, who, convinced that they were in the right, entered these verbal battles. They were on the ground floor, as it were, and they believed that it was their duty to convince the men in charge that the Dominion did not send athletes to the Olympiad to have them wrongfully deprived of hard-won laurels.

In this sentiment we confess we are tempted to agree. It costs a lot of money to send teams across the sea and the very lack of finances this year made Canada's team one of the smallest assembled in the old Dutch city. But for some reason or other these despatches didn't read well. Protests are obnoxious.

"Far better to have playd and lost
Than never to have played at all."

Canadian officials returning from the games claim that stories of protests were much exaggerated. "A mountain out of a mole hill," they say. It is to be sincerely hoped that in all future Olympiads even the closest of decisions will bring no fault-finding statement from any of Canada's representatives. If it is true, as claimed, that other countries indulge in this kind of conduct, let Canadians wish them well. There's a hollow sound to any championship trophy when the bells are tolling.

M. J. RODDEN.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS

PEOPLE OF OUR REMOTE FRONTIERS

The Downfall of Temlaham. By Marius Barbeau. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1928.

The People of the Twilight. By Diamond Jenness. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1928.

Much has been said about racial problems in Canada, the antagonism between French and English, the difficulty of assimilating Doukhobor, Galician and other indigestible groups, the American invasion, the Jewish question, the Asiatic menace, and so forth, but we hear very little about the native inhabitant, Indian and Eskimo, whose forefathers occupied this land long before white men knew of its existence. We took away from them their country and most of their freedom. What have we given them in return? Some of them still survive in out-of-the-way corners of the Dominion. Have they gained or lost by reason of their contact with the white man? One finds an answer to these and to many other questions in two notable books recently published. Canadian in authorship and subject, they are both so admirable in matter and manner, in the combination of sound scholarship and firsthand knowledge with the ability to turn mere facts into literature, that a Canadian reviewer must thank the kind Providence that sent such books his way. Mr. Barbeau and Mr. Jenness are both members of the staff of the Anthropological division of the Geological Survey of Canada, the latter in fact is chief of that division. Their reputation in the field of ethnology is much more than national. It will be enhanced by these books. And because of their quality the message they contain will

reach a much wider audience than their authors could hope for if they were not literature as well as science.

The Downfall of Temlaham is one of the results of several summers' intensive field work among the tribes of the Skeena, in northern British Columbia. At the outset Mr. Barbeau found a good deal of difficulty in even gaining access to some of the Indian villages, because of the bitter prejudice of their inhabitants against the whites. How this prejudice arose will be evident to anyone who reads the book. That there was justification for it will be equally evident. Mr. Barbeau did finally convince the Indians that his purpose in visiting them was altogether friendly, and in the end he succeeded not only in gaining their confidence but by patience and sympathy and imagination learned to understand, as few white men have, their peculiar point of view and the tragic story of their attitude toward the white man, an attitude at first almost that of an inferior race toward demigods, but transformed by bitter disillusionment to fear and hatred and contempt.

It is this quality of understanding that gives peculiar value to Mr. Barbeau's book. One feels throughout his pages that they reveal, not the usually distorted image of the Indian, but the real man, with his faults and virtues, his shrewdness and his simplicity, the limitations of his knowledge, his standards and his point of view so different from our own. It is the tragedy of circumstances that for the most part the wrong kind of white man has been brought into contact with the Indian. From the beginning he was looked upon as an ignorant and cruel savage. That was inevitable, because to the average member of the white race any one whose knowledge is not of his own type is necessarily ignorant; methods of warfare that are not his methods are cruel; and if you are not white you are of course a savage. With a few notable exceptions, the fur-traders with whom the Indian first came

into contact were incapable either of understanding the Indian or feeling for him any human sympathy. He was merely an agency for collecting peltries, to be exploited more or less unscrupulously.

The story Mr. Barbeau has to tell, and he tells it with unusual charm, is that of the downfall of a little native community on the banks of the Skeena, the entry of the serpent into an Indian Garden of Eden. It is a true story; in fact the central figure Sunbeams, wife of Kamalmuk, is still alive, and her portrait by Langdon Kihn forms one of the illustrations in the book. It is a face very much alive, full of strength and character. The tale involves a double tragedy—a conflict of racial misunderstanding and of individual viewpoints. Sunbeams built her faith upon the past and distrusted the white stranger. Kamalmuk, an Indian Radical, scorned the traditions of his race and was filled with a pathetic faith in the highmindedness of the white man. Out of this clash of ideas grew the wider conflict that brought about the downfall of Temlaham.

“A rich vein for poetic inspiration,” says Mr. Barbeau, “lies within native themes and surroundings. The writer, the painter and the musician may discover treasures in this virgin field of human endeavour, so far untrodden. In the conflict between aboriginal races and the white conqueror, thinkers and moralists will find wide vistas on every side. The door is wide open for all to enter who would rather venture into new avenues than blindly follow the herd in the beaten trails.” And one may add that the credit for opening wide the door and revealing something of the inviting vistas that lie beyond is largely due to Mr. Barbeau.

The Downfall of Temlaham is enriched with coloured illustrations by W. Langdon Kihn, A. Y. Jackson, Edwin H. Holgate, Emily Carr and Annie D. Savage. It is an excep-

tionally fine piece of book-making and reflects great credit upon its Canadian publishers.

In *The People of the Twilight* Mr. Jenness tells the story of his life during two years (1914-1915) among the Eskimo of Coronation Gulf, on the Arctic coast of America. One finds here the same qualities of sympathy and understanding that mark the work of Mr. Barbeau. The Eskimo of Coronation Gulf, primitive in their native culture as compared with those of Greenland or Alaska, had also had comparatively little contact with white men. That contact, as Mr. Nansen says in his Preface to the present book, "when not carefully guarded as in Greenland, will upset the whole system of their life and community." There is the possibility here of tragedy as in the case of the Skeena River Indians, but fortunately it is still only a possibility. The responsibility of preventing it rests upon our shoulders as Canadians.

Nansen speaks of "the happy mirth of these lovable children of the twilight," and that is perhaps the outstanding impression one gets from a reading of Mr. Jenness' book. He lived with them, under the intimate conditions of family life, throughout the long Arctic night and the brief but intense Arctic summer, in times of plenty and times of semi-starvation, and found them friendly and hospitable and cheerful—cheerful under conditions that would drive the average white man to despair. They have learned to adapt themselves to climatic conditions the most rigorous under which man has ever made his permanent home. But the margin of safety is always narrow. The Eskimo live mainly upon the caribou in summer and the seal in winter. If these are reduced beyond a certain point, or driven away by the excessive use of civilized weapons, the Eskimo are doomed.

Of these people of the extreme north, their personal appearance and characteristics, their manners and customs,

family and communal life, their winter and summer homes, ways of hunting, weapons and household appliances, their religious and other ideas, one gets a very complete picture in Mr. Jenness' book. Men and women are much the same the world over, in the Arctic or the Sahara. Here is an illuminating incident:

I lay back among the caribou skins after supper, using my sleeping-bag for a cushion, and listened to Ikpuck's account of our day's adventures. A careless movement of my foot upset a tea-cup, emptying its contents onto one of our best robes. Icehouse sprang up indignantly. "You miserable wretch!" she exclaimed. "Do you think you are lying upon sealskins? See what you have done. You have ruined our best robe." I cast an apologetic look at Ikpuck, who sat in the opposite corner. A faint smile flickered over his face, and his left eye gave a perceptible wink. Poor Ikpuck. Icehouse intercepted the wink, and, transferring her wrath, heatedly upbraided him for his indifference, while the old man silently hung his head. But her anger gave way to laughter as she helped me to scoop up the tea, and the incident became only a standing joke within our family circle.

And here is another admirable picture:

The snow was melting everywhere, and the women, skirting the ridges, filled their bags with dryads to cook our evening meal. We wandered along like bees, sipping at every thimbleful of water that collected in the cracked soil. A few pink saxifrages were opening out their blossoms, and Lapland longspurs sang gaily all around. My companions laughed and chattered as, marching steadily, we re-entered the Colville Hills. But when we approached a knoll slightly higher than the others Ikpuck raised his voice and wept shrilly. Yonder, on its crest, lay the bleaching bones of his only brother who had died six years before; and of all his family he alone remained. The whole train wept aloud in sympathy, the hills echoed their cries, and the frightened longspurs crouched silent in the moss. Slowly our gloomy procession trailed past the fatal site; but when it lay far behind us my companions ceased their wailing and filled the air again with cheerful laughter.

"Humour," says Mr. Jenness, "is never lacking in an Eskimo community, especially during days of idleness." The men of one of the villages had played a trick on the women by calling out that fish had entered the weir. The women stopped their gossiping, snatched up their spears and rushed down to the stream, only to be met by loud guffaws from the men. Hear the sequel:

About six o'clock the next morning, while the camp still slept, I rose to light our breakfast fire. A woman appeared at the door of her tent, and, after gazing tranquilly around, picked up her fish-spear and sauntered down to the weir. As I watched her she shouted, and wading into the water, plied her spear frantically to right and left. Instantly the camp was in an uproar. First the men dashed out, some naked, some half dressed, and racing headlong to the stream, plunged into the water after her; but all the women loitered in the rear. Then shrieks of laughter mingled with the loud shouts and angry ejaculations of the men; the weir was empty, and the women had taken their revenge.

Mr. Jenness has learned to feel such real affection for these simple-minded folk that the rapidly changing conditions of the north fill him with anxiety. Here is his concluding message:

The country has changed since 1916. White men have invaded it from every quarter, and the twilight of ignorance and superstition is yielding to the dawn of a greater knowledge. Bows and arrows have passed with other weapons into the darkness of the past, and a new mechanical age has brought magazine rifles, shotguns, steel traps, and even gasoline engines. The caribou are passing with the bows and arrows; of all the herds that once crossed the narrow strait to Victoria Island hardly one now reaches the Arctic shore. Strange diseases are making their appearance, diseases that the old-time Eskimo never heard of and for which he has no name. The stern laws of civilization have descended on the land; no longer is infanticide tolerated, or the blood-feud allowed to run its course. "Furs, furs, more furs", is the white man's cry.

"Without furs there is no salvation, no ammunition to shoot the scattered game and satisfy your hungry children." The tribal bands where each man toiled for all and shared his food in common are resolving into their constituent families, and every family vies with the rest in the race for wealth and worldly prosperity.

Whither will it all lead? Fifty years ago the cyclone swept over the Eskimos of the Mackenzie River delta, and of its two thousand inhabitants a scant two hundred survive. Fifty years earlier it struck Baffin Island with a similar result. Will history, fifty years hence, record the same fate for this twilight land where for two years we carried on our mission? Were we the harbingers of a brighter dawn, or only messengers of ill-omen, portending disaster?

The book is very well illustrated.

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE.

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